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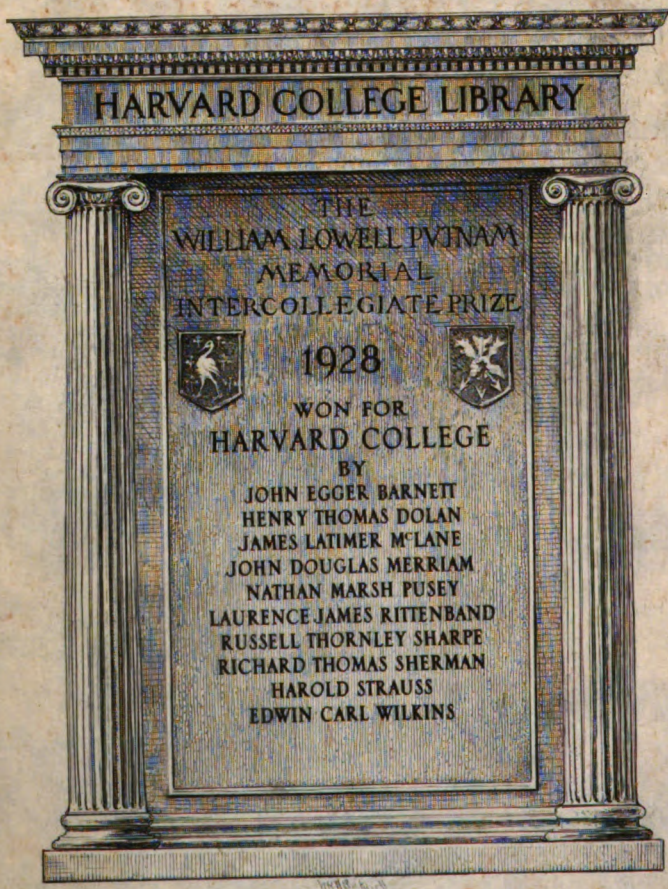

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RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE:

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF HIS WRITINGS,

BY THE

RIGHT REV. REGINALD HEBER, D.D.,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

REVISED AND CORRECTED

BY THE REV. CHARLES PAGE EDEN, M.A.,

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

CLERUS DOMINI—OFFICE MINISTERIAL—DISCOURSE OF FRIENDSHIP—RULES AND ADVICES TO THE CLERGY, &c.—LIFE—AND INDEXES.

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OR

A DISCOURSE

OF THE DIVINE INSTITUTION OF THE

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This edition of the Works of Jeremy Taylor contains some writings not found in the edition of 1822, and omits some which are there contained.

In this edition are added,

1. Tract on the Reverence due to the Altar; see vol. v. p. 317, and vol. i. p. *xix*.
2. Sermon on Luke xiii. 23, 4; see vol. i. p. 115.

In this edition are omitted,

1. Contemplations on the State of Man;
2. Christian Consolations; . . . . . } see vol. i. p. *vii*.
3. Psalter; see vol. i. p. *cclvii*.

It remains for the editor to acknowledge his obligations to the friends who in various ways have assisted him in his work.

Soon after he commenced his undertaking, he was fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of the Rev. Alexander Taylor, Michel Fellow of Queen's College, in Oxford, who laboured with him in verifying the author's references with so much diligence and success, that the publishers gladly committed to his hands the

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last two volumes of the Series, when Mr. Eden, on ceasing to reside in the University, was unable to proceed with them himself.

The distribution of the work then will be as follows:—For the first eight volumes Mr. Eden is responsible, though with valuable assistance received from Mr. Taylor, in verifying the references of volumes ii. to vii. The remaining two volumes, containing the *Ductor Dubitantium*, were entirely prepared by Mr. Taylor; Mr. Eden's share in them consisting only in reading over the sheets once in their passage through the press.

To enumerate all the other friends who have assisted the editor, would be impossible; he must, however, mention in particular the Librarians of the Bodleian Library, the Rev. Edward Marshall, late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, and John Kent, Esq., of Frome. And if in a work extending over several years, other names have escaped him which are scarcely less entitled to mention than the above, he hopes that this apology will be accepted for the omission.

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The editions of the several works contained in this volume which have been collated for the present publication, are, with the letters used to designate them in the notes, as follows:

Clerus Domini, { London, fol. 1651, A. / London, fol. 1678, B.

Dedication to Grammar, 12mo. 1647.

Prayers before and after Sermon, 12mo. 1651.

Discourse of Friendship, { London, fol. 1657, A. / London, fol. 1673, B. / London, 12mo. 1678, C.

Rules and Advices to Clergy, London, fol. 1678.

Sermon on Luke xiii. 23, 4. London, 12mo. 1675.

Life of bp. Taylor, London, 8vo. 1822 and 1828.

Funeral Sermon, by bp. Rust, London, fol. 1678.

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CLERUS DOMINI.

OR,

A DISCOURSE

OF THE

DIVINE INSTITUTION, NECESSITY, SACREDNESS, AND SEPARATION

OF THE

OFFICE MINISTERIAL.

TOGETHER WITH

THE NATURE AND MANNER OF ITS POWER AND OPERATION,

WRITTEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMAND OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

BY JEREMY TAYLOR[a],

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO KING CHARLES THE FIRST,

AND LATE LORD BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

[a] ['. . of our late King.
By Jer. Taylor, D.D.' A.]

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THE

DIVINE INSTITUTION AND NECESSITY

OF THE

OFFICE MINISTERIAL.

SECT. I.

1. When several nations and differing religions have without any famous mutual intercourse agreed upon some common rites and forms of religion; because one common effect cannot descend from chance, it is certain they come to them by Reason, or Tradition from their common parents, or by Imitation; something that hath a common influence. If reason be the principle, then it is more regular and lasting, and admits of no other variety than as some men grow unreasonable, or that the reason ceases. If tradition be the fountain, then it is not only universal, and increases as the world is peopled, but remains also so long as we retain reverence to our parents, or that we do not think ourselves wiser than our forefathers. But these two have produced customs and laws of the highest obligation: for whatsoever we commonly call the law of nature, it is either a custom of all the world, derived from Noah or Adam; or else it is therefore done, because natural reason teaches us to do it in the order to the preservation of ourselves and the public.

2. But imitation of the customs of a wise nation is something less, and yet it hath produced great consent in external rites and offices of religion. And since there is in ceremonies so great indifferency, there being no antecedent law to determine their practice, nothing in their nature to make them originally necessary, they grow into a custom or a law according as they are capable. For if a wise prince or governor[a], or a nation, or a famous family, hath chosen rites of common religion, such as were consonant to the analogy of his duty, expressive of his sense, decent in the expression, grave in the form, or full of ornament in their representment; such a thing is capable of no greater reason, and needs no greater authority, but hath been, and may reasonably enough be imitated upon the reputation of their wisdom, and disinterested choice, who being known wise persons, or nations, took them first into their religious offices.

[a] ['prince, or a governor,' A.]

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3. Thus the Jews and the gentiles[a] used white garments in their holy offices[b], and the Christians thought it reasonable enough from so united example to do so too; example was reason great enough for that. The gentile priests were forbid to touch a dead body[c], to eat leavened bread[d], to mingle with secular employments during their attendance in holy offices[d]; these they took up from the pattern of the Jews, and professed it reasonable to imitate a wise people in the rituals of their religion. The gentile priests used ring and staff and mitre, saith Philostratus[e]: the primitive bishops did so too[f]: and in the highest detestation of their follies thought they might wisely enough imitate their innocent customs and priestly ornaments, and hoped they might better reconcile their minds to the christian religion by compliance in ceremonials, than exasperate them by rejecting their ancient and innocent ceremonies: for so the apostles invited and enticed judaism into christianity[g].

And Tertullian[h] complains of the devil's craft, who by imitating the christian rites reconciled men's minds with that compliance to a more charitable opinion of the gentile superstition. "The devil, intending to draw the professors of truth to his own portion, or to preserve his own in the same fetters he first put upon them, imitates the rites of our religion, adopting them into his superstition. He baptizes some of his disciples, and when he initiates them to the worship of Mithra, promises them pardon of sins by that rite; he signs his soldiers in their foreheads, he represents the oblation of bread, and introduces representments of the resurrection, and laboriously gets martyrs to his cause. His priests marry but once; he hath his virgins, and his abstemious and continent followers: that what Christians love and the world commends in them, being adopted into the rituals of idolatry, may allure some with the beauty and fair imagery, and abuse others with colour and fantastic faces."

4. And thus also all wise men that intended to persuade others to their religion, did it by retaining as much as they innocently could of the other, that the change might not be too violent, and the persons be more endeared by common rites and the relation and charity

[a] [See note to vol. ix. p. 697.]

[b] Val. Max., lib. i. cap. i. [§ 15.]—Philostr. [vit. Apollon.] lib. ii. [al. iii. cap. 5.]

[c] Dion, hist. lib. liv. [cap. 28.]

[d] A. Gell., lib. x. [cap. 15.]

[e] [Vit. Apollon.] lib. iii. [cap. 5.]

[f] [Cf. vol. viii. p. 30.]

[g] [Compare vol. ix. p. 55.]

[h] De præscript. cap. xl. [p. 400, fol. Par. 1598.] Hujus sunt partes intervertendi veritatem, qui ipsas quoque res sacramentorum divinorum in idolorum mysteriis æmulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam, utique credentes et fideles suos: expiationem delictorum de lavacro repromittit, et sic adhuc initiat Mithræ: signat illic in frontibus milites suos; celebrat et panis oblationem, et imaginem resurrectionis inducit, et sub gladio redimit coronam. Quid quod et summum pontificem in unis nuptiis statuit? Habet et virgines, habet et continentes: . . Qui ergo ipsas res de quibus sacramenta Christi administrantur, tam æmulanter affectavit exprimere in negotiis idololatriæ, utique et idem et eodem ingenio gestiit, et potuit instrumenta quoque divinarum rerum et sanctorum christianorum sensum de sensibus, verba de verbis, parabolas de parabolis, profanæ et æmulæ fidei attemperare.

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of likeness and imitation. Thus did the church and the synagogue; thus did the gentiles both to the Jews and to the Christians; and all wise men did so.

5. The gentiles offered first-fruits to their gods, and their tithes to Hercules[i], kept vigils and anniversaries[k], forbad marriages without the consent of parents, and clandestine contracts: these were observed with some variety according as the people were civil or learned; and according to the degree of the tradition, or as the thing was reasonable, so these customs were more or less universal.

6. But when all wise people, nay when absolutely all the world have consented upon a rite, it cannot derive from a fountain lower than the current, but it must either be a command which God hath given to all the world, (and so Socrates in Xenophon[l], *Quod ab omnibus gentibus observatum est, id non nisi a Deo sancitum esse dicendum est;*) or a tradition, or a law descending from our common parents; or a reason derived from the nature of things. There cannot in the world be any thing great enough to take away such a rite, except an express divine commandment: and a man by the same reason may marry his nearest relative, as he may deny to worship God by the recitation of His praises and excellencies; because reason and a very common tradition have made almost all the world consent in these two things, that we must abstain from the mixtures of our nearest kindred, and that we must worship God by recounting and declaring excellent things concerning Him.

7. I have instanced in two things in which I am sure to find the fewest adversaries, (I said, the fewest; for there are some men which have lost all humanity:) but these two great instances are not attested with so universal a tradition and practice of the world, as this that is now in question. For in some nations they have married their sisters; so did the *magi* among the Persians: μίγνυνται οἱ μάγοι μητράσι, καὶ ἀδελφαῖς μίγνυσθαι θεμιτὸν, says Tatianus in Clemens Alexandrinus[m], and Bardisanes Syrus in Eusebius[n]. And the Greeks worshipped Hercules by railing[o], and Mercury by throwing stones at him[p]. But there was never any people but had their priests and presidents of religious rites, and kept holy things within a mure, that the people might not approach to handle the mysteries: and therefore besides that it is a recession from the customs of mankind, and charges us with the disrespect of all the world (which is an incuriousness next to infinite) it is also a doing against that which all the reason of all the wise men of the world hath chosen antecedently, or *ex post facto*, and he must have a strange understanding who is not persuaded by that which hath determined all the world.

[i] Censor. de die natal. [cap. i.]
[k] Sueton. in Vespas. [? Galba, c. 4. cf. vol. ix. p. 55.] Liv., decad. i. lib. x. [capp. 23 et 40.]
[l] Lib. iv. de factis et dict. Socr. [cap. 4. § 19.]
[m] Strom. iii. [cap. 2.]
[n] Lib. iv. præp. evang. [lege lib. vi. cap. 10.]
[o] [Philostr. de imagin., lib. ii. in Thiod.]
[p] [Suidas, in voc. ἑρμαῖον.]

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For religion cannot be at all in communities of men without some to guide, to minister, to preserve and to prescribe the offices and ministries: what can profane holy things but that which makes them common? and what can make them common more than when common persons handle them, when there is no distinction of persons in their ministration? For, although places are good accessories to religion, yet in all religions they were so accidental to it that a sacrifice might hallow the place, but the place (unless it were naturally impure) could not desecrate the sacrifice: and therefore Jacob worshipped upon a stone, offered upon a turf; and the ark rested in Obed-Edom's house, and was holy in Dagon's temple: and hills and groves, fields and orchards, according to the several customs of the nations, were the places of address: but a common person ministering, was so near a circumstance, and was so mingled with the action, that since the[q] material part and exterior actions of religion could be acted and personated by any man, there was scarce any thing left to make it religious, but the attrectation of the rites by a holy person. A holy place is something, a separate time is something, a prescript form of words is more, and separate and solemn actions are more yet; but all these are made common by a common person, and therefore without a distinction of persons have not a natural and reasonable distinction of solemnity and exterior religion.

8. And indeed it were a great disreputation to religion, that all great and public things, and every artifice or profitable science should in all the societies of men be distinguished by professors, artists, and proper ministers; and only religion should lie in common, apt to be bruised by the hard hand of mechanics, and sullied by the ruder touch of undiscerning and undistinguished persons: for although the light of it shines to all, and so far every man's interest is concerned in religion, yet it were not handsome that every man should take the taper in his hand; and religion is no more to be handled[r] by all men, than the laws are to be dispensed by all by whom they are to be obeyed; though both in religion and the laws all men have a common interest.

9. For since all means must have some equality or proportion towards their end, that they may of their own being or by institution be symbolical, it is but reasonable that by elevated and sublimed instruments we should be promoted towards an end supernatural and divine. Now besides that of all the instruments of distinction, the person is the most principal and apt for the honour of religion (and to make our religion honourable is part of the religion itself) it is also apt for the uses of it, such as are, preserving the rights, ordering, decent ministration, dispensing the laws of religion, judging causes, ceremonies and accidents; and he that appoints not offices[s] to minister his religion, cares not how it is performed; and he that

[q] ['that' B.]

[r] [Alluding to the common saying, Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari debet. See vol. v. p. 172.]

[s] [Sic ed.]

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cares so little, will find a great contempt pass upon it, and a cheapness meaner than of the meanest civil offices; and he that is content with that, cares not how little honour God receives, when he presents to Him a cheap, a common, and a dishonourable religion.

10. But the very natural design of religion forces us to a distinction of persons, in order to the ministration; for besides that every man is not fit to approach to God with all his *sordes*, and adherent indispositions; an assignment in reason must be made of certain persons, whose calling must be holy, and their persons taught to be holy, by such a solemn and religious assignment; that those persons being made higher than the people by their calling and religion, and yet our brethren in nature, may be intermedial betwcen God and the people, and present to God the people's needs, and be instrumental to the conveying[t] God's blessing upon those whose fiduciaries they are. This last depends upon God's own act and designation, and therefore must afterwards be proved by testimonies of His own, that He hath accepted such persons to such purposes; but the former part we ourselves are taught by natural reason, by the rules of proportion, by the honour we owe unto religion, by the hopes of our own advantages, and by the distance between God and us, towards which we should thrust up persons as high as they are capable. And that all the world hath done prudently in this, we are confirmed by God's own act, who knowing it was most agreeable, not only to the constitution of religion, and of our addresses to God, but to our mere necessities also, did in His glorious wisdom send His son, and made Him apt to become a mediator between Himself and us, by clothing Him with our nature, and decking Him with great participation of His own excellencies, that He might do our work, the work of His own human nature, and by His great sanctity and wisdom approach near to God's mercy-seat, whither our imperfections and sins could not have near access.

11. And this consideration is not only good reason but true divinity, and was a consideration in the Greek church, and affixed to the head of a prayer as the reason of their addresses[u] to God in designing ministers in religion. "O Lord God, who, because man's nature cannot of itself approach to Thy glorious deity, hast appointed masters and teachers of the same passions with ourselves, whom Thou hast placed in Thy throne," viz. in the ministry of the kingdom, "to bring sacrifices and oblations in behalf of Thy people[x]," &c. And indeed if the greatness of an employment separates persons from the *vulgus*, either we must think the immediate offices of religion and the entercourse with God to be the meanest of employ-

[t] ['reconveying' A.]

[u] ['address' A.]

[x] Εὐχολ. In ordinat. episc. [fol. πδ'. 4to. Venet. 1622, in liturgg. græc. tom. xvi.; also in Goar, p. 303.] Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν τὴν τῆς θεότητός σου [σου deest, edd.] ἐπενεγκεῖν οὐσίαν, τῇ σῇ οἰκονομίᾳ ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἡμῖν διδασκάλους καταστήσας τὸν σὸν ἐπέχοντας θρόνον εἰς τὸ ἀναφέρειν σοι θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν ὑπὲρ πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ σου, &c.

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ments, or the persons so officiating to receive their estimate according to the excellency of their offices.

12. And thus it was amongst the Jews and gentiles before Christ's time, amongst whom they not only separated persons for the service of their gods respectively, but chose the best of men and the princes of the people to officiate in their mysteries, and adorned them with the greatest honours and special immunities. Among the Jews, the priesthood was so honourable, that although the expectation which each tribe had of the Messias was reason enough to make them observe the law of distinct marriages, yet it was permittted to the tribe of Levi to marry with the kingly tribe of Judah, that they also might have the honour and portion of the Messias's most glorious generation; and for the priesthood of Aaron, it was *γέρας ἐξαίρετον, οὐκ ἐπίγειον, ὀλύμπιον κτῆμα*, saith Philo, 'a celestial honour not an earthly, a heavenly possession,' and it grew so high and was so naturalized into that nation to honour their priests and mystic persons, that they made it the pretence of their wars, and mutinies against their conquerors. *Honor sacerdotii firmamentum potentiæ assumebatur*, saith Tacitus[t], speaking of their wars against Antiochus; the honour of their priesthood was the strength of their cause, and the pretence of their arms; and all the greatest honour they could do to their priesthood they fairly derived from a divine precept, that 'the prince, and the people, and the elders, and the synagogue, should go in and out,' that is, should commence and finish their greatest and most solemn actions, 'at the voice and command of the priest;' and therefore king Agrippa did himself honour in his epistle to Caius Cæsar[u], 'I had kings that were my ancestors, and some of them were high-priests, which dignity they esteemed higher than their royal purple, believing that priesthood to be greater than the kingdom, as God is greater than men.'

13. And this great estimate of the ministers of their religion derived itself from the Jews unto their enemies the Philistines, that dwelt upon their skirts; insomuch that in the hill of God where there was a garrison of the Philistines[x], there was also a college of the prophets newly instituted by Samuel (from whom because he was their founder S. Peter[y] reckoned the ordinary descent from Samuel) unharmed and undisturbed, though they were enemies to the nation; and when David fled from Saul, he came to Naioth[z] where the prophets dwelt, and thought to take sanctuary there, knowing it was a privileged place; there it was where Saul's messengers, and Saul himself, turned prophets, that they might estimate the place and preserve its privilege, himself becoming one of their society.

[t] [Hist. v. 8.]

[u] *Πάππων καὶ προγόνων βασιλέων ἔλαχον, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἐλέγοντο ἀρχιερεῖς, τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τιθέμενοι, καὶ νομίζοντες ὅσῳ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων διαφέρει κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον, τοσούτῳ καὶ βασιλείας ἱερωσύνην.* [Philo, de virt. &c., tom. ii. p. 586, ed. Mangey.]

[x] [1 Sam. x. 5, 10.]

[y] [Acts iii. 24.]

[z] [1 Sam. xix. 18.]

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14. For this was observed amongst all nations, that besides the band of humanity forbidding soldiers to touch unarmed people, as by all religions and all nations priests ever were, the very sacredness of their persons should exempt them from violence, and the chances or insolencies of war. Thus the Cretians did to their priests, and to the *κατάκανται*, the persons who were appointed for burial of the dead, the same with *κοπιᾶται* or *fossarii* in the primitive church; no soldiers durst touch them; they had the privilege of religion, the immunity of priests,

Hos quæ necabant non erant puræ manus;

and therefore it grew up into a proverb, when they intended to express a most destructive and unnatural war, *οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐλείφθη*[a], 'not so much as the priests that carried fire before the army did escape;' the same with that in Homer[b] in the case of messengers,

Οὐκέτ' ἔπειτ' οἶω οὐδ' ἄγγελον ἀπονέεσθαι
Ἄψορρον πρὸτὶ ἄστυ—

'not so much as a messenger returned into the city:' these were sacred, and therefore exempt persons; and so were the *Elei* among the Grecians, as being sacred to Jupiter, safe from the hostility of a professed enemy; the same which was observed amongst the Romans,

—— Quis homo est tanta confidentia
Qui sacerdotem audeat violare?—
. . . . .
At magno cum malo suo fecit hercule[c].

But this is but one instance of advantage.

15. The gentiles having once separated their priests, and affixed them to the ministries of religion, thought nothing great enough either to express the dignity of their employment, or good enough to do honour to their persons; and it is largely discoursed of by Cicero[d], in the case of the Roman augurs, *Maximum autem et præstantissimum in republica jus est augurum, et cum auctoritate conjunctum; neque vero hoc quia sum ipse augur ita sentio, sed quia sic existimare nos est necesse; quid enim majus est, si de jure quærimus, quam posse a summis imperiis et summis potestatibus comitiatus et concilia vel instituta dimittere vel habita rescindere? quid magnificentius quam posse decernere ut magistratu se abdicent consules; quid religiosius quam cum populo, cum plebe agendi jus aut dare aut non dare?* It was a vast power these men had, to be in proportion to their greatest honour: they had power of bidding and dissolving public meetings, of indicting solemnities of religion; just as the christian bishops had in the beginning of christianity; they commanded public fasts, at their indiction only they were celebrated;

[a] [Herod. viii. 6.—Philo, de vit. Mos., lib. i. tom. ii. p. 109. Cf. Xenoph. de Lacedæm. republ. xiii. 2.]

[b] Iliad. μ'. [74.] Vide i. lib. Eustath. [scil. in Il. α'. p. 83.]

[c] Plautus, in Rudent. [act. iii. sc. 2. 31.]

[d] De legg., lib. ii. [cap. 12. tom. iii. p. 147.]

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Bene autem quod et episcopi universæ plebi mandari[e] *jejunia assolent; non dico de industria stipium conferendarum, ut vestræ capturæ est, sed interdum et ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa*[f]. The bishops also called public conventions ecclesiastical, *Aguntur præcepta per Græcias illas certis in locis concilia ex universis ecclesiis, per quæ et altiora quæque in commune tractantur, et ipsa repræsentatio totius nominis christiani magna veneratione celebratur*[g]. It was so in all religions; the *antistites*, the presidents of rites, and guides of consciences, had great immissions and influences into the republic and communities of men, and they verified the saying of Tacitus[h], *Deum munere summum pontificum etiam summum hominum esse, non æmulationi, non odio, aut privatis affectionibus obnoxium.* The chief priest was ever the chief man, and free from the envies, and scorns, and troubles of popular peevishness and contumacy; and that I may use the expression of Tacitus[i], *Utque glisceret dignatio sacerdotum* (for all the great traverses of the republic were in their disposing) *atque ipsis promptior animus foret ad capessendas cæremonias*, the very lower institutions of their religion were set up with the marks of special laws and privileges; insomuch that the seat of the empress in the theatre was among the vestal virgins.

16. But the highest had all that could be heaped upon them, till their honours were as sublimed as their functions. Amongst the Ethiopians[k] the priests gave laws to their princes, and they used their power sometimes to the ruin of their kings, till they were justly removed; among the Egyptians[l] the priests were their judges; so they were in Athens, for the Areopagites were priests[m]; and the Druids among the Gauls[n] were judges of murder, of titles of lands, of bounds and inheritances; *magno apud eos sunt honore, nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt;* and for the *magi* of Persia and India, Strabo reports, ἐκείνους συνεῖναι τοῖς αὐτόθι βασιλεῦσιν, ὑφηγουμένους τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, ὡς τοὺς μάγους τοῖς Πέρσαις, they 'conversed with kings,' meaning, they were their counsellors and guides of their consciences. And Herodotus in Eustathius[o] tells us of the τάγμα τι θεῖον ἐν Δελφοῖς, οἱ θεοπρόποι, 'the divine order of prophets or priests in Delphos,' ἐσιτοῦντο μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων [τὰ δημόσια,] 'they did eat of the public provisions together with kings.' By these honours they gave testimony of their religion, not only separating certain persons for the service of their temples, but also separating their condition from the impurities and the contempt of the world; as knowing that they who were to con-

[e] [sic ed.]
[f] Tertull. [de jejun.] adv. psychicos. [cap. xiii. fol. Par. 1598.]
[g] [ibid.]
[h] Lib. iii. annal. [cap. 58.]
[i] Lib. iv. annal. [cap. 16.]
[k] Strab. geogr. lib. xvii. [p. 1168 et passim.]
[l] Ælian. var. hist., lib. xiv. c. 34. [p. 977.]
[m] Joseph. antiq., lib. xiv. c. 16. [al. c. 8. tom. i. p. 623.]
[n] Cæsar, comm. de bello gall., lib. vi. [c. 13.]
[o] Eustath. in Hom. il. α'. [p. 42. lin. 7.]

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verse with their gods, were to be elevated from the common condition of men and vulgar miseries.

—— ἐξ οὗ
Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμην,
. . . . . .
πάλλευκα δ' ἔχων εἵματα φείγω
γένεσίν τε βροτῶν[p]—

'as soon as I was made a priest of Idæan Jupiter all my garments were white, and I declined to converse with mortals.' *Novæ sortis oportet illum esse qui jubente deo canat,* said Seneca, 'he had need be of a distinct and separate condition that sings to the honour, and at the command of God.' Thus it was among the Jews and heathens.

SECT. II.

1. Now if christian religion should do otherwise than all the world hath done, either it must be because the rites of christianity are of no mystery and secret dispensation, but common actions of an ordinary address, and cheap devotion; or else because we undervalue all religion, that is, because indeed we have nothing of it: the first is dishonourable to christianity, and false as its greatest enemy; the second is shame to us; and both so unreasonable and unnatural, that if we separate not certain persons for the ministries of christianity, we must confess we have the worst religion, or that we are the worst of men.

2. But let us consider it upon its proper grounds. When Christ had chosen to Himself twelve apostles, and was drawing now to the last scene of His life, He furnished them with commissions and abilities to constitute and erect a church, and to transmit such powers as were apt for its continuation and perpetuity. And therefore to the apostles in the capacity of church officers He made a promise, 'that He would be with them to[q] the end of the world[r];' they might personally be with Him until the end of the world, but He could not be here with them, who after a short course run, was to go hence 'and be no more seen:' and therefore for the verification of the promise, it is necessary that since the promise was made for the benefit of the church, and to them as the ministers of the benefit, so long as the benefit was to be dispensed, so long they were to be succeeded to, and therefore assisted by the holy Jesus according to the[s] glorious promise: Οὐ *μόνοις δὲ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοῦτο ὑπέσχετο, τὸ συνεῖναι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς· οὐ γὰρ δήπου οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας ἔμελλον ζῆν· καὶ ἡμῖν οὖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπισχνεῖται τοῦτο·* 'not only to

[p] Porphyr. citat ex Eurip. [Cretens. in lib.] iv. περὶ ἀποχῆς. [cap. 19.]
[q] ['until' A.]
[r] [Matt. xxviii. 20.]
[s] ['that' A.]

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the apostles, but absolutely and indefinitely to all Christ's disciples, their successors, He promised to abide for ever, even to the consummation of the world, to the whole succession of the clergy;' so Theophylact[s] upon this place.

3. And if we consider what were the power and graces Jesus committed to the dispensation of the apostles, such as were not temporary, but lasting, successive, and perpetual, we must also conclude the ministry to be perpetual.

I. I instance first in the power of BINDING and LOOSING, REMITTING and RETAINING SINS, which Christ gave them together with His breathing on them the holy Spirit, and a legation, and a special commission, as appears in S. John[t]; which power, what sense soever it admits of, could not expire with the persons of the apostles, unless the succeeding ages of the church had no discipline or government, no scandals to be removed, no weak persons offended, no corrupt members to be cut off, no heretics rejected, no sins, or no pardon; and that were more a[u] heresy than that of the Novatians; for they only denied this ministry in some cases, not in all; saying, priestly absolution was not fit to be dispensed to them who in time of persecution had sacrificed to idols. *Θεοῦ γὰρ εἶναι τῆς ἐξουσίας μόνου ἔλεγε, καὶ οὐκ ἱερέων, πρυτανεύειν τούτοις τὴν ἄφεσιν*[v]. *Τούτοις*, 'to these' only, pardon is to be dispensed without the ministry of the priest, 'to these' who were *μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐπιθύσαντες*, 'sacrificers,' and mingled 'the table of the Lord with the table of devils.' Against other sinners they were not so severe. But however, so long as that distinction remains, of 'sins unto death' and 'sins not unto death,' there are a certain sort of sins which are remediable, and cognoscible, and judicable, and a power was dispensed to a distinct sort of persons to remit or retain those sins; which therefore must remain with the apostles for ever, that is, with their persons first, and then with the *οἱ ἐκ διαδοχῆς*, with 'their successors;' because the church needs it for ever; and there was nothing in the power, that by relating to the present and temporary occasion did insinuate its short life and speedy expiration.

4. In execution of this power and pursuance of this commission for which the power was given, the apostles went forth, and all they upon whom this signature passed, *οἷς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο εἰς διακονίαν ταύτην*, executed this power in appropriation and distinct ministry: it was the sword of their proper ministry; and S. Paul[x] does almost exhibit his commission and reads the words when he puts it in execution, and does highly verify the parts and the consequence of this argument; "God hath reconciled us to Himself by Christ Jesus, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation;"

[s] [p. 185 B.]
[t] [John xx. 21.]
[u] ['a more' A.]
[v] Vide Socrat., lib. i. cap. 7. [? cap. 10.]—Sozom., lib. i. cap. 10. [? cap. 22.]
[x] [2 Cor. v. 18 sq.]

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and it follows, "now then we are embassadors for Christ." The ministry of reconciliation is an appropriate ministry; it is 'committed to us;' 'we are embassadors,' it is appropriate by virtue of Christ's mission and legation. He 'hath given to us,' He hath made and deputed certain embassadors whom He hath sent upon the message and ministry of reconcilement; which is a plain exposition of the words of His commission before recorded, John xx. 21.

5. And that this also descended lower we have the testimony of S. James[y], who advises the sick person 'to send for the elders of the church, that they may pray over him;' that they may anoint him, that in that society there may be confession of sins by the clinic or sick person, and that after these preparatives, and in this ministry, his sins may be forgiven him. Now that this power fell into succession, this instance proves: for the elders were such who had not the commission immediately from Christ, but were μεταγενέστεροι, they were fathers of the people, but sons of the apostles; and therefore it is certain the power was not personal, and merely apostolical, but derived upon others by such a communication as gives evidence the power was to be succeeded in. And when went it out? when the anointing and miraculous healing ceased? There is no reason for that. For forgiveness of sins was not a thing visible, and therefore could not be of the nature of miracles, to confirm the faith and christianity first, and after its work was done return to God that gave it; neither could it be only of present use to the church, but as eternal and lasting as sin is: and therefore there could be nothing in the nature of the thing to make it so much as suspicious, it was presently to expire.

To which also I add this consideration, that the holy Ghost which was to enable the apostles in the precise office apostolical, as it was an office extraordinary, circumstantionate, definite, and to expire, all that was promised should descend upon them after Christ's ascension, and was verified in Pentecost; for to that purpose to bring all things to their mind, all of Christ's doctrine and all that was necessary of His life and miracles, and a power from above to enable them to speak boldly and learnedly, and with tongues, all that besides the other parts of ordinary power was given them ten days after the Ascension. And therefore the breathing the holy Ghost upon the apostles in the octaves of the Resurrection, and this mission with such a power, was their ordinary mission, a sending them as ordinary pastors and curates of souls, with a power to govern, (binding and loosing can mean no less; and they were the words of the promise;) with a power to minister reconciliation, (for so S. Paul expounds remitting and retaining;) which two were the great hinges of the gospel, the one to invite and collect a church, the other to govern it; the one to dispense the greatest blessing in the world, the other to keep them in capacities of enjoying it. For since the holy Ghost

[y] [chap. v. 14.]

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was now actually given to these purposes here expressed, and yet in order to all their extraordinaries and temporary needs was promised to descend after this, there is no collection from hence more reasonable than to conclude all this to be part of their commission of ordinary apostleship, to which the ministers of religion were in all ages to succeed. In attestation of all which, who please may see the united testimony of S. Cyril[x], S. Chrysostom[y], S. Ambrose[z], S. Gregory[a], and the author of the questions of the Old and New testament[b], who unless by their calling shall rather be called persons interessed[c], than by reason of their famous piety and integrity shall be accepted as competent, are a very credible and fair representment of this truth, and that it was a doctrine of christianity that Christ gave this power to the apostles for themselves and their successors for ever; and that therefore as Christ in the first donation, so also some churches in the tradition of that power used the same form of words, intending the collation of the same power, and separating persons for the[d] work of that ministry.—I end this with the counsel S. Augustine[e] gives to all public penitents, *Veniat ad antistites, per quos illis*[f] *in ecclesia claves ministrantur, et . . a præpositis sacrorum accipiant*[f] *satisfactionis suæ modum,* 'let them come to the presidents of religion by whom the keys are ministered, and from the governors of holy things let them receive those injunctions which shall exercise and signify their repentance.'

SECT. III.

1. II. THE second power I instance in is PREACHING the GOSPEL: for which work He not only at first designed apostles, but others also were appointed for the same work for ever, to all generations of the church. This commission was signed immediately before Christ's ascension; "All power is given to Me in heaven and in earth; go ye therefore and teach all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." First, Christ declared His own commission, 'all power' is given Him into His hand; He was now made king of all the creatures[g], and prince of the catholic church; and therefore as it concerned His care and providence to look to His cure and flock, so He had power to make deputations accordingly.

[x] [S. Cyrill. Alex.] in Joan. xx. [lib. xii. tom. iv. p. 1101.]

[y] Ibid. [sc. in Joan. xx. hom. lxxxvi. al. lxxxv. § 3 sq.—tom. viii. p. 516, 7.]

[z] [Pseudo-Ambros.] in 1 Tim. iv. [ver. 14.—tom. ii. append. col. 298 B, C.]

[a] In evang [lib. ii.] hom. xxvi. [§ 4 sq.]

[b] Quæst. xxxix. [leg. xciii.—tom. iii. append. col. 84 B.]

[c] ['interest' A.]

[d] ['that' B.]

[e] [Serm. eccli. de pœnit. § 9.—tom. v. col. 1359 C.]

[f] [lege, 'illi,' 'sacramentorum accipiat.']

[g] [Matt. xxviii. 18 sqq.]

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"Go ye therefore;" implying that the sending them to this purpose was an issue of His power, either because the authorizing certain persons was an act of power, or else because the making them doctors of the church and teachers of the nations was a placing them in an eminency above their scholars and converts, and so also was an emanation of that power which derived upon Christ from His Father, from Him descended upon the apostles. And the wiser persons of the world have always understood, that a power of teaching was a presidency and authority; for since all dominion is naturally founded in the understanding; although civil government accidentally, and by inevitable public necessity, relies upon other titles, yet where the greatest understanding and power of teaching is, there is a natural pre-eminence and superiority, *eatenus*, that is according to the proportion of the excellency; and therefore in the instance of S. Paul we are taught the style of the court, and disciples 'sit at the feet' of their masters, as he did at the feet of his tutor Gamaliel, which implies duty, submission, and subordination; and indeed it is the highest of any kind, not only because it is founded upon nature, but because it is a submission of the most imperious faculty we have, even of that faculty which, when we are removed from our tutors, is submitted to none but God; for no man hath power over the understanding faculty; and therefore so long as we are under tutors and instructors, we give to them that duty in the succession of which claim none can succeed but God himself, because none else can satisfy the understanding but He.

2. Now then because the apostles were created doctors of all the world, *hoc ipso* they had power given them over the understandings of their disciples, and they were therefore fitted with an infallible spirit, and grew to be so authentic that their determination was the last address of all enquiries in questions of christianity: and although they were not absolute lords of their faith and understandings, as their Lord was, yet they had, under God, a supreme care and presidency, to order, to guide, to instruct, and to satisfy their understandings; and those whom they sent out upon the same errand, according to the proportion and excellency of their spirit, had also a degree of superiority and eminency; and therefore they who were κοπιῶντες ἐν διδασκαλίᾳ, 'labourers in the word and doctrine,' were also προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, 'presbyters that were presidents and rulers' of the church; and this eminency is for ever to be retained according as the unskilfulness of the disciple retains him in the form of catechumens; or as the excellency of the instructor still keeps the distance; or else, as the office of teaching being orderly and regularly assigned makes a legal, political, and positive authority, to which all those persons are for order's sake to submit, who possibly in respect of their personal abilities might be exempt from that authority.

3. Upon this ground it is that learning amongst wise persons is

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esteemed a title of nobility and secular eminency: *Ego quid aliud munificentiæ adhibere potui, quam studia, ut sic dixerim, in umbra educata, e quibus claritudo venit,* said Seneca to Nero[h]. And Aristotle[i] and A. Gellius[k] affirm, that not only excellency of extraction, or great fortunes, but learning also makes noble; *Circum undique sedentibus multis doctrina, aut genere, aut fortuna nobilibus viris:* and therefore the lawyers[l] say, that if a legacy be given *pauperi nobili,* the executors, if they please, may give it to a 'doctor.' I only make this use of it, that they who are by public designation appointed to teach, are also appointed in some sense to govern them: and if learning itself be a fair title to secular opinion, and advantages of honour, then they who are professors of learning, and appointed to be public teachers, are also set above their disciples as far as the chair is above the area or floor, that is, in that very relation of teachers and scholars: and therefore among the heathen the priests who were to answer *de mysteriis,* sometimes bore a sceptre.

Χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, καὶ ἐλίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιούς[m].

Upon which verse of Homer Eustathius[n] observes, σημεῖον δὲ βασιλείας καὶ λόγων καὶ δίκης τὸ σκῆπτρον ἦν, 'the sceptre was not only an ensign of a king, but of a judge and of a prophet; it signified a power of answering in judgment, and wise sentences.' This discourse was occasioned by our blessed Saviour's illative, "All power is given Me, go ye therefore and teach;" and it concludes, that the 'authority' of preaching is more than the 'faculty,' that it includes power and presidency, that therefore a separation of persons is *ex abundanti* inferred, unless order and authority be also casual, and that all men also may be governors as well as preachers.

4. Now that here was a plain separation of some persons for this ministry, I shall not need to prove by any other argument besides the words of the commission; save only that this may be added, that here was more necessary than a commission; great abilities, special assistances, extraordinary and divine knowledge, and understanding the mysteries of the kingdom; so that these abilities were separations enough of the persons, and designation of the officers. But this may possibly become the difficulty of the question: for when the apostles had filled the world with the sermons of the gospel, and that the holy Ghost descended in a plentiful manner, then was the prophecy of Joel[o] fulfilled, 'old men dreamed dreams, and young men saw visions, and sons and daughters did prophesy.' Now the case was altered; and the disciples themselves start up doctors, and women prayed and prophesied, and Priscilla sat in the

[h] Apud Tacitum, [annal.] lib. viii. [leg. xiv. 53.]
[i] Lib. iv. polit. [c. 4.]
[k] Lib. xix. c. 10. [p. 851.]
[l] Barthol. in l. 'Judices.' Cod., lib. xii. [tit. i.] de dignit. [p. 946, fol. Basil. 1562.]—Baldus in l. 'Nemini,' Cod. [lib. ii. tit. 7.] de advoc. divers. judic. [tom. i. fo. 115 g; fol. Lugd. 1545.]
[m] [Hom. il. α'. 15.]
[n] [p. 19.]
[o] [chap. ii. 28.]

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chair with her husband Aquila, and Apollos sat at their feet; and now all was common again: and therefore although the commission went out first to the apostles; yet, when by miracle God dispensed great gifts to the laity, and to women, He gave probation that He intended that all should prophesy and preach, lest those gifts should be to no purpose. This must be considered.

5. *α*) These gifts were miraculous verifications of the great promise of the Father, of sending the holy Ghost; and that all persons were capable of that blessing in their several proportions, and that christianity did descend from God, were *ex abundanti* proved by those extra-regular dispensations: so that here is purpose enough signified, although they be not used to infer an indistinction of officers in this ministry.

6. *β*) These gifts were given extra-regularly, but yet with some difference of persons: for all did not prophesy, nor all interpret, nor all speak with tongues: they were but a few that did all this: we find but the daughters of one man only, and Priscilla, among all the nations of the Jews, that ever did prophesy, of the women: and of lay-men I remember not one, but Aquila and Agabus: and these will be but too strait an argument to blend a whole order of men in a popular and vulgar indiscrimination.

7. *γ*) These extraordinary gifts were no authority to those who had them, and no other commission, to speak in public. And therefore S. Paul forbids the women to speak in the church, and yet it was not denied but some of them might have the spirit of prophecy. Speaking in the church was part of an ordinary power, to which not only ability but authority also and commission are required. That was clearly one separation; women were not capable of a clerical employment, no not so much as of this ministry of preaching. And by this we may take speedier account concerning deaconesses in the primitive church; *De diaconissa ego Bartholomæus dispono; o episcope, impones ei manus præsentibus presbyteris, diaconis et diaconissis, et dices, Respice super hanc famulam tuam;* so it is in the Constitutions apostolical under the name of S. Clement[p]: by which it should seem they were ordained for some ecclesiastical ministry; which is also more credible by those words of Tertullian[q], *Quantæ igitur et quæ in ecclesiis ordinari solent*[r], *quæ Deo nubere maluerunt?* And Sozomen[s] tells of Olympias, *Hanc enim, cum genere esset nobilissimo, quamvis juvenculam ex quo vidua facta erat, quia ex præscripto ecclesiæ egregie philosophatur, in ministram Nectarius ordinat:* and such a one it was whom S. Basil[t] called *impollutam sacerdotem.* Whatsoever these deaconesses could be, they could not speak in public, unless they did prevaricate the apostolical rule given to the Corin-

[p] Lib. viii. c. 26. [al. 19 sq.]

[q] In exhort. ad castitatem. [ad fin. p. 1128; fol. Par. 1698.]

[r] ['in ecclesiis ordinari in ecclesia solent,' ed.]

[s] Lib. iv. [leg. viii.] cap. 9.

[t] Lib. de virg. [§ 41. τῆς ἀχράντου ἱερείας.]

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thian and Ephesian churches. And therefore though Olympias was an excellent person, yet she was no preacher; she was a philosopher, not in her discourse, but in her manner of living and believing: *philosophata ex ecclesiæ præscripto*, and that could not be by preaching: but these deaconesses after the apostolical age, were the same with the κοπιῶσαι ἐν Κυρίῳ, the good women that did domestic offices and minister to the temporal necessity of the churches in the days of the apostles; such a one was Phœbe of Cenchrea: but they were not admitted to any holy or spiritual office: so we have certain testimony from antiquity, whence the objection comes. For so the Nicene[a] council expressly, 'Εμήσθημεν τῶν διακονισσῶν, .. ἐπεὶ μηδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινὰ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἐξάπαντος ἐν τοῖς λαϊκοῖς αὐτὰς ἐξετάζεσθαι· 'deaconesses are to be reckoned in the laity, because they have no imposition of hands;' viz. for any spiritual office; for they had imposition of hands in some places to temporal administrations about the church, and a solemn benediction, but nothing of the ἱερατικὴ δύναμις: the same were the πρεσβύτιδες, προκαθήμεναι, the 'presbyteresses,' who were the σωφρονιστρίαι, or the governesses of women, in order to manners and religion; but these, though (as Tertullian affirms, and Zonaras and Balsamo confess[x]) they were solemnly ordained and set over the women in such offices, yet pretended to nothing of the clerical power or the right of speaking in public. So Epiphanius[y], "There is an order of deaconesses in the church, but not to meddle," or to attempt any of the holy offices. And in this sense it was that S. Ambrose[z] reckons it amongst the heresies of the Cataphrygians, that they ordained their deaconesses, viz. to spiritual ministries; but those women that desire to be medling are not moved with such discourses; they care for none of all these things; therefore I remit them to the precept of the apostle[a], "But I suffer not a woman to teach, but to be in silence."

8. And as for the men who had gifts extraordinary of the Spirit, although they were permitted at first in the Corinthian church (before there was a bishop, or a fixed college of clergy) to utter the inspired dictates of the Spirit, yet whether they were lay or clergy is not there expressed; and it is more agreeable to the usual dispensation that the prophets of ordinary ministry, though now extraordinarily assisted, should prophesy in public; but however, when these extraordinaries did cease, if they were common persons, they had no pretence to invade the chair (nor, that we find, ever did:) for an ordinary ability to speak was never any warrant to disturb an order; unless they can say the words of S. Paul[b], "Whereunto I am ordained a preacher," they might not invade the office. To be able

[a] C. xix. [tom. i. col. 331 D.]

[x] [In concil. Laod. can. xi.—Bevereg. synod. tom. i. p. 458.]

[y] Hær. lxxix. [§ 3.] Διακονισσῶν τάγμα ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερατεύειν, οὐδέ τι ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν.

[z] [Pseudo-Ambros.] in 1 Tim. iii. [ver. 11.—tom. ii. append. col. 295 B.]

[a] [1 Tim. ii. 12.]

[b] [1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11.]

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to perform an office, though it may be a fair disposition to make the person capable to receive it orderly, yet it does not actually invest him; every wise man is not a counsellor of state, nor every good lawyer a judge. And I doubt not but in the jewish religion there were many persons as able to pray as their priests, who yet were wiser than to refuse the priest's advocation *apud Deum*, and reciting offices in behalf of the people; *Orabit pro eo sacerdos*[c], was the order of God's appointing, though himself were a devout person and of an excellent spirit. And it had need be something extraordinary that must warrant an ordinary person to rise higher than his own evenness; and ability or skill is but a possibility; and must be reduced to act by something that transmits authority, or does establish order, or distinguish persons, and separate professions. And it is very remarkable, that when Judas had miscarried and lost his apostolate, it was said[d], that it was necessary for somebody to be chosen to be a witness of Christ's resurrection. Two were named, of ability sufficient, but that was not at all: they must choose one, to make up the number of the twelve, a distinct separate person; which shews that it was not only a work (for that, any of them might have done) but an office of ordinary ministry. The ability of doing which work although all they that lived with Jesus might either have had, or received at Pentecost, yet the authority and grace was more: the first they had upon experience, but this only by divine election: which is a demonstration that every person that can do offices clerical is not permitted to do them; and that besides the knowledge and natural or artificial abilities, a divine qualification is necessary.

9. And therefore God complains by the prophet[e], "I have not sent them, and yet they run;" and the apostle[f] leaves it as an established rule, "How shall they preach except they be sent?" Which two places I shall grant to be meant concerning a distinct and a new message; prophets must not offer any doctrine to the people, or pretend a doctrine for which they had not a commission from God. But which way soever they be expounded, they will conclude right in this particular. For if they signify an ordinary mission, then there is an ordinary mission of preachers, which no man must usurp unless he can prove his title certainly and clearly, derivative from God; which when any man of the laity can do, we must 'give him the right hand of fellowship,' and 'wish him good speed.' But if these words signify an extraordinary case, and that no message must be pretended by prophets but what they have commission for, then must not ordinary persons pretend an extraordinary mission to an ordinary purpose; for, besides that God does never do things unreasonable[g], nor will endure that order be interrupted to no purpose, He will never give an extraordinary commission unless it be to a proportionable end;

[c] [Levit. v. 6, ed. vulg. 'Shall make an atonement,' auth. vers.]
[d] [Acts i. 22.]
[e] [Jer. xxiii. 21.]
[f] [Rom. x. 15.]
[g] ['unreasonably' A.]

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whosoever pretends to a license of preaching by reason of an extraordinary calling, must look that he be furnished with an extraordinary message, lest his commission be ridiculous; and when he comes, he must be sure to shew his authority by an argument proportionable; that is, by such a probation without which no wise man can reasonably believe him; which cannot be less than miraculous and divine. In all other cases he comes under the curse of the *non missi*, those whom God sent not; they go on their own errand, and must pay themselves their wages.

10. But, besides that the apostles were therefore to have an immediate mission, because they were to receive new instructions: these instructions were such as were by an ordinary, and yet by a distinct ministry to be conveyed, for ever after; and therefore did design an ordinary, successive, and lasting power and authority. Nay our blessed Lord went one step further in this provision, even to remark the very first successors and partakers of this power, to be taken 'into the lot of this ministry,' and they were the seventy-two[g] whom Christ had sent, as probationers of their future preaching, upon a short errand into the cities of Judah: but by this assignation of more persons than those to whom He gave immediate commission, He did declare that the office of preaching was to be dispensed by a separate and peculiar sort of men, distinct from the people, and yet by others than those who had the commission extraordinary; that is, by such who were to be called to it by an ordinary vocation.

11. As Christ constituted the office and named the persons, both extraordinary and ordinary, present and successive; so He provided gifts for them too, that the whole dispensation might be His, and might be apparent. And therefore Christ 'when He ascended up on high gave gifts to men,' to this very purpose; and these gifts coming from the same Spirit made separation of distinct ministries under the same Lord. So S. Paul[h] testifies expressly, "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσί, there are different administrations;" differences of ministries; it is the proper word for church-offices; the ministry distinguished by the gift; it is not a 'gift of the ministry,' but the ministry itself is the gift, and distinguished accordingly. An extraordinary ministry needs an extraordinary and a miraculous gift; that is, a miraculous calling and vocation and designation by the holy Ghost; but an ordinary gift cannot sublime an ordinary person to a supernatural employment; and from this discourse of the differing gifts of the Spirit, S. Paul without any further artifice concludes that the Spirit intended a distinction of church-officers for the work of the ministry; for the conclusion of the discourse is[i], that "God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers;" and lest all God's people should usurp these offices, which God by His spirit hath made separate and distinguished, he adds, "Are all apostles?

[g] [See vol. v. p. 25.] [h] [1 Cor. xii. 4.] [i] [verse 28.]

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are all prophets? are all teachers?" If so, then were all the body one member, quite contrary to nature, and to God's economy.

12. And that this designation of distinct church-officers is for ever, S. Paul[k] also affirms as expressly as this question shall need; "He gave some apostles, some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, *εἰς ἔργον διακονίας*, for the work of the ministry, till we all arrive at the unity of faith," which as soon as it shall happen, then cometh the end. Till the end be, the *ἔργον διακονίας*, the 'work of the ministry,' must go forwards, and is incumbent upon the pastors and teachers; this is their work, and they are the ministers whom the holy Ghost designed.

13. (1) For, I consider that either to preach requires but an ordinary or an extraordinary ability; if it requires an extraordinary, they who are illiterate and unlearned persons are the unfittest men in the world for it: if an ordinary sufficiency will discharge it, why cannot they suppose the clergy of a competency and strength sufficient to do that which an ordinary understanding and faculties can perform? what need they intermeddle with that to which no extraordinary assistance is required? or else why do they set their shoulder to such a work, with which no strength but extraordinary is commensurate? In the first case it is needless; in the second it is useless; in both vain and impertinent. For either no man needs their help; or, if they did, they are very unable to help. I am sure they are, if they be unlearned persons; and if they be learned, they well enough know that to teach the people is not a power of speaking, but is also an act of jurisdiction and authority, and in which order is, at least, concerned in an eminent degree. Learned men are not so forward; and those are most confident who have least reason.

14. (2) Although as homilies to the people are now used according to the smallest rate, many men more preach than should, yet besides that to preach prudently, gravely, piously, and with truth, requires more abilities than are discernible by the people, such as make even a plain work reasonable to wise men, and useful to their hearers, and acceptable to God; besides this, I say, the office of teaching is of larger extent than making homilies, or speaking prettily enough to please the common and undiscerning auditors. They that are appointed to teach the people must *respondere de jure*, 'give account of their faith' in defiance of the numerous armies of heretics; they must watch for their flock, and use excellent arts to arm them against all their weaknesses from within, and hostilities from without; they must strengthen the weak, confirm the strong, compose the scrupulous, satisfy the doubtful, and be ready to answer cases of conscience; and I believe there are not so little as five thousand cases already started up among the casuists; and for aught I know, there may be five thousand times five thousand. And there are some cases of conscience that concern kings and kingdoms in the highest mysterious-

[k] [Ephes. iv. 11.]

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ness both of state and religion, and they also belong to pastors for the interests of religion, and teachers to determine or advise in. Κήρυκας Διὸς ἀγγέλους . . λέγει καὶ ἀνδρῶν, διὰ τὸ ἔν τε πάσαις θυσίαις αὐτοὺς διακονοῦντας μεσιτεύειν, ναὶ μὴν καὶ ἐν ἀνδρῶν βουλαῖς τε καὶ ἀγοραῖς[k]. The preachers were always messengers between God and men, being mediators by their sacrifices, and they were interested in their counsels[l] and greater causes; and if religion can have influences into counsels[l] of princes, and public interest of kingdoms, and that there can be any difficulty, latent senses, intricacy of question, or mysteriousness in divinity, it will be found that there are other parts of the preacher's office, besides making homilies: and that when so great skill is required, it will not be easy to make pretences to invade it; unless a man cannot be an excellent lawyer without twenty years' skill and practice, besides excellency of natural endowments, and yet can be an excellent teacher and guide in all cases of conscience, merely with opening his mouth, and rubbing his forehead hard. But God hath taken order that those whom He hath appointed teachers of the people should make it the work and business of their lives, that they should diligently attend to reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine, that they may 'watch over their flock, over whom the holy Ghost hath made them overseers[m].' The inconvenience that this discourse is like to meet withal is, that it concerns those men who are sure not to understand it: for they that have not the wisdom of prophets and wise men, cannot easily be brought to know the degrees of distance between the others' wisdom and their own ignorance. To know that there is great learning beyond us, is a great part of learning: but they that have the confidence in the midst of their deepest ignorance to teach others, want both modesty and understanding too, either to perceive or to confess their own wants: they never kissed the lips[n] of the wise, and therefore think all the world breathes a breath as fenny and moorish as themselves.

15. (3) Besides the consideration of the ability, that a separate number of men should be the teachers, and it be not permitted promiscuously to every person of a confident language and bold fancy, is highly necessary in the point of prudence and duty too. Of prudence, because there can be no security against all the evil doctrines of the world in a promiscuous unchosen company of preachers. For if he be allowed the pretence of an extraordinary, he shall belie the holy Spirit, to cozen you, when he hath a mind to it: if you allow him nothing but an ordinary spirit, that is, abilities of art and nature, there cannot in such discourses be any compensation for the disorder, or the danger, or the schisms, and innumerable churches, when one head and two members shall make a distinct body, and all shall pretend to Christ, without any other common term of union. And this which is disorder in the thing is also dishonourable to this part of religion; and the divine messages shall be conveyed to the people by

[k] Eustath. in Iliad. α'. [p. 84.]
[l] ['councells' A.]
[m] [Acts xx. 28.]
[n] [See Prov. xxiv. 26.]

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common couriers or rather messengers by chance, and as they go by; whereas God sent at first embassadors extraordinary, and then left his leigers in His church for ever. But there is also a duty, too, to be secured; for they that have the guiding of souls must remember that they must be λόγον ἀποδώσοντες, 'must render an account[o];' and that cannot 'be done with joy,' when it shall be indifferent to any man to superseminate what he please; and (by the way) I suppose, they who are apt to enter into the chair of doctors and teachers, would be unwilling to be charged with a cure of souls. If they knew what that means, they would article more strictly before they would stand charged with it; and yet it is harder to say that there is no such thing as the cure of souls; that Christ left His flock to wander and to guide themselves, or to find shepherds at the charges of accident and chance. Christ hath made a better provision, and after He had with the greatest earnestness committed to S. Peter the care of feeding His lambs and sheep, S. Peter did it carefully, and thought it part of the same duty to provide other shepherds, who should also 'feed the flocks[p]' by a continual provision and attendance; 'The presbyters which are among you, I who also am a presbyter exhort, feed the flock of God which is among you, ἐπισκοποῦντες ἑκουσίως, προθύμως, doing the office of bishops over them, taking supravision or oversight of them, willingly and of a ready mind.' The presbyters and bishops, they are to 'feed the flock;' there was ποίμνιον, 'a flock,' to be distinguished from the ποιμένες, the 'shepherds;' the elders ἐν ὑμῖν, and the 'flock among you,' distinguished by a regular office of teaching, and a relation of shepherds and sheep.

16. But this discourse would be unnecessary long, unless I should omit many arguments, and contract the rest. I only shall desire it be considered, concerning the purpose of that part of divine providence, in giving the christian church commandments concerning provisions to be made for the preachers, "Let the elders that rule well have a double honour[q]," an elder brother's portion at least, both of honour and maintenance, "especially if they labour in the word and doctrine;" and the reason is taken out of Moses' law[r], but derived from the natural, *Bovi trituranti non ligabis os*[s]. "For God hath ordained that those that labour in the gospel should live of the gospel[t]." This argument will force us to distinguish persons, or else our purses will; and if all will have a right to preach the gospel that think themselves able, then also they have a right to be maintained too.

I shall add no more; α) God hath designed persons to teach the people, β) charged them with the cure of souls, γ) given them commission to go into all the world, δ) given them gifts accordingly, ε) charged the people to attend and to obey, ζ) hath provided them maintenance and support, and η) separated them to "reading, to

[o] [Heb. xiii. 17.] [q] [1 Tim. v. 17.] [s] [vid. S. Ambros. ep. lxxiv. § 9.]
[p] [1 Pet. v. 1, 2.] [r] [Deut. xxv. 4.] [t] [1 Cor. ix. 14.]

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exhortation, and to doctrine," from the affairs of this world, that they may attend to these, by the care of the whole man. If any man in charity or duty will do any ghostly offices to his erring or weak brother, he may have a reward of charity: for in this sense it is that Tertullian[u] says, that in remote and barbarous countries the laity do *sacerdotio aliquatenus fungi*. But if he invades the public chair, he may meet with the curse of Corah, if he intends maliciously; or if he have fairer, but mistaken purposes, the gentler sentence passed upon Uzzah may be the worst of his evil portion.

SECT. IV.

1. III. I INSTANCE next in the case of BAPTISM, which indeed hath some difficulty and prejudice passed upon it; and although it be put in the same commission, intrusted to the same persons, be a sacred ministry, a sacrament and a mysterious rite, whose very sacramental and separate nature requires the solemnity of a distinct order of persons for its ministration; yet if the laity may be admitted to the dispensation of so sacred and solemn rites, there is nothing in the calling of the clergy that can distinguish them from the rest of God's people, but they shall be holy enough to dispense holy offices without the charges of paying honour and maintenance to others to do what they can do themselves.

2. In opposition to which,

(1) I first consider, that the ordinary minister of baptism is a person consecrated; the apostles and their successors in the office apostolical, and all those that partake of that power; and it needs no other proof, but the plain production of the commission; they who are teachers by ordinary power and authority, they also had command to baptize all nations: and baptism being the solemn rite of initiating disciples, and making the first public profession of the institution, it is in reason and analogy of the mystery to be ministered by those who were appointed to collect the church, and make disciples. It is as plain and decretory a commission as any other mysteriousness of christianity; and hath been accepted so for ever as the doctrine of christianity, as may appear in Ignatius[x], Tertullian[y], S. Gelasius[z], S. Epiphanius[a], and S. Hierome[b]; who affirm in variety of senses, that bishops, priests, and deacons only are to baptize; some by ordinary right, some by deputation; of which I shall afterwards give account; but all the *jus ordinarium* they intend to fix upon the clergy according to divine institution and commandment. So that in case lay persons might baptize κατὰ περίστασιν, and δι'

[u] [vid. de exhort. castit., cap. vii.]
[x] Epist. ad Heron. [§ 3.]
[y] Lib. de bapt. [cap. xvii.]
[z] Epist. i. c. 9. [sic in concill. fol. Col. Agr. 1551, tom. i. p. 966; epist. ix. in concill. ed. reg., tom. x. p. 130.]
[a] Hæres. lxxix. [§ 3.]
[b] Dial. adv. Lucifer. [tom. iv. part. 2. col. 295.]

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ἀνάγκην, 'upon urgent necessity,' yet this cannot upon just pretence invade the ordinary ministry, because God hath dispensed the affairs of His church so that cases of necessity do not often occur to the prejudice and dissolution of public order and ministries; and if permissions, being made to supply necessities, be brought further than the case of exception gives leave, the permission is turned into a crime, and does greater violence to the rule, by how much it was fortified by that very exception, as to other cases not excepted. And although in case of extreme necessity every man may preach the gospel, as to dying heathens or unbelieving persons, yet if they do this without such or the like necessity, what at first was charity, in the other case is schism and pride, the two greatest enemies to charity in the world.

3. (2) But now for the thing itself, whether indeed any case of necessity can transmit to lay persons a right of baptizing, it must be distinctly considered. Some say it does. For Ananias baptized Paul[y], who yet (as it is said) was not in holy orders; and that the three thousand converts at the first sermon of S. Peter[y] were all baptized by the apostles is not easily credible, it being too numerous a body for so few persons to baptize; and when Peter had preached to Cornelius and his family[y], he caused the brethren that came along with him to baptize them; and whether hands had been imposed on them or no is not certain. And in pursuance of the instance of Ananias, and the other probabilities, the doctors of the church have declared their opinions θετικῶς, 'In cases of necessity a lay person may baptize.' So Tertullian in his book of baptism[z], *Alioqui et laicis jus est baptizandi; quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest.* The reason is also urged by S. Hierome[a] to the same purpose, only requiring that the baptizer be a Christian, supposing whatsoever they have received they may also give; but because the reason concludes not, because (as themselves believe) a presbyter cannot collate his presbyterate, it must therefore rest only upon their bare authority; if it shall be thought strong enough to bear the weight of the contrary reasons. And the fathers in the council of Eliberis[b] determined, *Peregre navigantes, aut si ecclesia in proximo non fuerit, posse fidelem, qui lavacrum suum integrum habet, nec sit bigamus, baptizare in necessitate infirmitatis positum catechumenum; ita ut si supervixerit, ad episcopum eum perducat, ut per manus impositionem proficere possit.* The synod held at Alexandria[c] under Alexander their bishop, approved the baptism of the children by Athanasius, being but a boy; and the Nicene fathers ratifying the baptism made by heretics (amongst whom they could not but know in some cases there was no true priesthood or legitimate ordination) must by necessary consequence suppose baptism to be dispensed effectually by lay

[y] [Acts ix. 18; ii. 41; x. 48.]
[z] [cap. xvii.]
[a] Dial. adv. Lucifer. [ubi supra.]
[b] Can. xxx. [al. xxxviii. tom. i. col. 254 C.]
[c] Ruffin., lib. x. c. 14. [p. 250.]

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persons. And S. Hierome[c] is plain, *Baptizare, si necessitas cogat, scimus etiam licere laicis;* the same almost with the canon of the fourth council of Carthage[d], *Mulier baptizare non præsumat nisi necessitate cogente:* though, by the way, these words of *cogente necessitate* are not in the canon, but thrust in by Gratian[e] and Peter Lombard[f]. And of the same opinion is S. Ambrose, or he who under his name wrote the commentaries upon the fourth to the Ephesians[g], P. Gelasius[h], S. Augustine[i], and Isidore[k], and generally all the scholars after their master.

4. But against this doctrine were all the African bishops for about a hundred and fifty years; who therefore re-baptized persons returning from heretical conventicles; because those heretical bishops being deposed and reduced into lay communion, could not therefore collate baptism for their want of holy orders: as appears in S. Basil's canonical epistle to Amphilochius[l], where he relates their reason, and refutes it not. And however Firmilian and S. Cyprian might be deceived in the thinking heretics quite lost their orders: yet in this they were untouched, that although their supposition was questionable, yet their superstructure was not[m] meddled with, viz., that if they had been lay persons, their baptizations were null and invalid.

5. I confess, the opinion hath been very generally taken up in these last ages of the church, and almost with a *nemine contradicente;* the first ages had more variety of opinion: and I think it may yet be considered anew upon the old stock. For since absolutely all the church affixes the ordinary ministry of baptism to the clergy; if others do baptize, do they sin, or do they not sin? That it is no sin is expressly affirmed in the sixteenth canon of Nicephorus of C. P., "If the own father baptizes the child, or any other christian man, it is no sin[n]." S. Augustine[o] is almost of another mind, *Etsi laicus necessitate compulsus baptismum dederit, nescio an pie quisquam dixerit baptismum esse repetendum*[p]*: nulla enim cogente necessitate si fiat, alieni muneris usurpatio est; si autem necessitas urgeat, aut nullum aut veniale delictum est.* And of this mind are all they who by frequent using of that saying have made it almost proverbial, *Factum valet, fieri non debet.* If they do not sin, then women and lay-men have as much right from Christ to baptize as deacons or presbyters; then

[c] [Adv. Lucifer. ubi supra.]
[d] Can. c.—tom. i. col. 984 E.]
[e] Can. 'Mulier,' De consecr., dist. [iv. c. 20. col. 2159.]
[f] Lib. iv. sent., dist. 6. [p. 717.—Cf. Voss. disp. xi. de bapt. n. 15.]
[g] [ver. 11.—tom. ii. append. col. 241.]
[h] Epist. i. [ubi supra.]
[i] Lib. ii. contr. epist. Parmen. c. 13. [tom. ix. col. 44, E, F.]
[k] Lib. ii. de divin. offic. 4. [al. cap. 25. § 9.—tom. vi. p. 468.]
[l] [S. Basil. ep. clxxxviii. ad Amphiloch. de canon.—tom. iii. p. 268 C sqq.]
[m] ['not' deest A.]
[n] Χρὴ τὰ ἀβάπτιστα νήπια ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ τις εἰς τόπον μὴ ὄντος ἱερέως βαπτισθῆναι· εἰ βαπτίσει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἴδιος πατὴρ ἢ ὅλως δή ποτε ἄνθρωπος, μόνον ἵνα ἐστὶ χριστιανὸς, οὐκ ἔστιν ἁμαρτία. [Concill. ed. Harduin., tom. iv. col. 1054 B.]
[o] Lib. ii. contr. epist. Parmen. c. 13. [tom. ix. col. 44 D.]
[p] ['Etsi laicus aliquis pereunti dederit necessitate compulsus, . . nescio an pie quisquam dixerit esse repetendum.']

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they may upon the same stock and right do it as deacons do, for if a bishop was present it was not lawful for deacons, as is expressly affirmed by S. Ignatius in his epistle to Heron the deacon[q]; and S. Epiphanius[r] with the same words denies a *jus baptizandi* to women and to deacons; and both of them affirm it to be proper to bishops. Further yet, Tertullian[s] and S. Hierome[t] deny a power to presbyters to do it without episcopal dispensation. Now if presbyters and deacons have this power only by leave and in certain cases, then it is more than the women have: only that they are fitter persons to be intrusted with the deputation; a less necessity will devolve it upon presbyters than upon deacons, and upon deacons than lay-men; and a less yet will cast it upon lay-men than women: and this difference is in respect of human order and positive constitution, but in the nature of the thing according to this doctrine all persons are equally receptive of it. And therefore to baptize is no part of the grace of orders, no fruit of the holy Ghost, but a work which may be done by all, and at some times must: and if baptism may, then it will be hard to keep all the other rites from the common inroads, and then the whole office will perish.

6. But if lay persons baptizing, though in case of necessity, do sin, as S. Augustine seems to say they do, then it is certain Christ never gave them leave so much as by insinuation; and then neither can the church give leave; for she can give leave for no man to sin. And besides, such a deputation were to no purpose; because no person shall dare to do it, for evil is not to be done, though for the obtaining the greatest good: and it will be hard to state the question, so that either the child shall perish, or some other must perish for it; for he that positively ventures upon a sin for a good end, worships God with a sin, and therefore shall be thanked with a damnation, if he dies before repentance; but if the child shall not perish in such case of not being baptized, then why should any man break the rule of institution? and if he shall perish without being baptized then God hath affixed the salvation of the child upon the condition of another man's sin.

7. (3) And indeed the pretence of cases of necessity may do much towards the excusing an irregularity in an exterior rite, though of divine institution;

τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης οὐ λέγειν ὅσον ζυγόν[u]·

but it will not easily be proved that God hath made any such necessities[v]: it is certain that for persons having the use of reason God hath provided a remedy that no lay person should have need to bap-

[q] [ubi supra, p. 24.]
[r] Hær. xix. [leg. lxxix. § 3.]
[s] [ubi supra.]
[t] De bapt. adv. Lucifer. [ubi supra.]
[u] Eurip. [Licymn.—Stob. ecl. i. 5.]
[v] [.. "the plausible plea of necessity .. very seldom hath any great strength in it; because when positive institutions cannot be had whole and entire as God hath ordained them, with submission I speak it, I think they cease to be necessary." Nelson, life of Bull, cap. vi.]

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tize a catechumen; for his *votum* or desire of baptism shall serve his turn. And it will be unimaginable that God hath made no provision for infants, and yet put it upon them in many cases with equal necessity, which without breach of a divine institution cannot be supplied.

8. (4) If a lay person shall baptize, whether or no shall the person baptized receive benefit, or will any more but the outward act be done? For that the lay person shall convey *rem sacramenti* or be the minister of sacramental grace, is no where revealed in scripture, and is against the analogy of the gospel; for the *verbum reconciliationis*, all the whole 'ministry of reconciliation,' is intrusted to the priest, *nobis* (saith S. Paul) 'to us who are embassadors.' And what difference is there, if cases of necessity be pretended in the defect of other ministries[x], but that they also may be invaded? and cases of necessity may by other men also be numbered in the other sacrament: and they have done so; and I know who said that no man must consecrate the sacrament of the Lord's supper but he that is lawfully called, "except there be a case of necessity;" and that there may be a case of necessity for the blessed sacrament there needs no other testimony than the Nicene council[y]; which calls the sacrament in the article of death, *ἀναγκαιότατον ἐφόδιον, viaticum*, 'the most necessary provision for our journey:' and if a lay person absolves, there is as much promise of the validity of the one as the other, unless it be said that there may be absolute necessity of baptism, but not so of absolution; which the maintainers of the other opinion are not apt to profess. And therefore S. Augustine did not know whether baptism administered by a lay person be to be repeated or no, *Nescio an pie quisquam dixerit*, he 'knew not;' neither do I. But Simeon of Thessalonica[z] is confident, *οὐδεὶς βαπτίζει εἰ μὴ χειροτονίαν ἔχει*, 'no man baptizes but he that is in holy orders.' The baptism is null: I cannot say so; nor can I say, *ἔστω δεκτὸν*[a], 'let it be received.' Only I offer this to consideration; if a deacon can do no ministerial act with effect, but a lay person may do the same with effect upon the person suscipient, what is that supernatural grace and inherent and indelible character which a deacon hath received in his ordination? If a deacon can do no supernatural act which were void and null if done by him that is not a deacon, he hath no character, no spiritual inherent power: and that he is made the ordinary minister of it is for order[b] sake: but he that can do the same thing hath the same power and ability. By this ground a lay person and a deacon are not distinguished by any inherent character, and therefore they who understand the spiritual powers and effects of ordination in the sense and expression of an inherent and

[x] [vid. Luther.] De captiv. Babyl, c. 'de ordine;' et in l. de instituendis ministris ad senatum Pragensem; in l. de missa abroganda; in l. de notis ecclesiæ. [tom. iv. foll. 281 sqq. et 356, et 441 sqq. et 545 sqq.—fol. Jen. 1566.]

[y] [cap. xiii. tom. i. col. 329 B.]

[z] [See vol. x. p. 359.]

[a] [S. Basil. ep. clxxviii. ad Amphiloch.—tom. iii. p. 270 B.]

[b] [sic ed.]

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indelible character, will find some difficulty in allowing the effect of a lay baptism.

9. But I consider that the instances of scripture brought for the lawfulness of lay administration, if they had no particular exception, yet are impertinent to this question; for it is not with us pretended in any case to be lawful, but in extreme necessity: and therefore S. Peter's deputing the brethren who came with him to Cornelius to baptize his family, is nothing to our purpose, and best answers itself: for either they were of the clergy, who came with them; or else lay persons may baptize by the right of an ordinary deputation, without a case of necessity; for here was[c] none: S. Peter might have done it himself.

10. And as for Ananias, he was one of the seventy-two[d]: and if that be nothing, yet he was called to that ministration about Paul, as Paul himself was to the apostleship, even by an immediate vocation and mission from Christ himself. And if this answer were not sufficient (as it is most certainly) the argument would press further than is intended: for Ananias tells him he was sent to him 'that he might lay his hands on him that he might receive the holy Ghost:' and to do that was more than Philip could do: though he was a deacon, and in as great a necessity as this was: and yet besides all this, this was not a case of necessity, unless there was never a presbyter or deacon in all Damascus, or that God durst not trust any of them with Paul, but only Ananias, or that Paul could not stay longer without baptism, as many thousand converts did in descending ages.

11. And for the other conjecture it is not considerable at all: for the apostles might take three or four days' time to baptize the three thousand: there was no hurt done if they had stayed a week: the text insinuates nothing to the contrary; "The same day about three thousand were added to the church;" then they were 'added to the church' (that is, by virtue and efficacy of that sermon) who, it may be, considered somewhile of S. Peter's discourse, and gave up their names upon mature deliberation and positive conviction. But it is not said they were baptized the same day; and yet it was not impossible for the twelve apostles to do it in one day, if they had thought it reasonable.

12. For my own particular, I wish we would make no more necessities than God made, but that we leave the administration of the sacraments to the manner of the first institution, and the clerical offices be kept within[e] their cancels, that no lay hand may pretend a reason to usurp the sacred ministry: and since there can be no necessity for unbaptized persons of years of discretion, because their desire may supply them, it were well also if our charity would find some other way also to understand God's mercy towards infants; for certainly He is most merciful and full of pity to them also: and if there be no neglect of any of His own appointed ministries, so as

[c] ['was' deest B.] [d] [See p. 20, above.] [e] ['with' A.]

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He hath appointed them, methinks it were but reasonable to trust His goodness with the infants in other cases: for it cannot but be a jealousy and a suspicion of God, a not daring to trust Him, and an unreasonable proceeding beside, that we will rather venture to dispense with divine institution, than think that God will; or that we should pretend more care of children than God hath: when we will break an institution, and the rule of an ordinary ministry of God's appointing, rather than cast them upon God; as if God loved this ceremony better than He loved the child; for so it must be, if the child perished[c] for want of it: and yet still methinks according to such doctrine, there was little or no care taken for infants; for when God had appointed a ministry, and fixed it with certain rules and a proper deputation, in reason (knowing in all things else how merciful God is, and full of goodness) we should have expected that God should have given express leave to have gone besides the first circumstances of the sacrament, if He had intended we might or should: and that He should have told us so too, rather than by leaving them fast tied without any express cases of exception, or marks of difference, permit men to dispute and stand unresolved between a case of duty and a point of charity: for although God will have mercy rather than sacrifice, yet when both are commanded, God takes order they shall never cross each other, and sacrifice is to be preferred before mercy, when the sacrifice is in the commandment, and the mercy is not: as it is in the present question. And if it were otherwise in this case, yet because God loves mercy so well, why should we not think that God himself will shew this mercy to this infant, when He hath not expressed His pleasure that we should do it? We cannot be more merciful than He is.

13. The church of England hath determined nothing in this particular, that I know of; only when in the first liturgy of king Edward the sixth, a rubric was inserted permitting midwives to baptize in cases of extreme danger, it was left out in the second liturgies, which is at least an argument she intended to leave the question undetermined; if at least that omission of the clause was not also a rejection of the article. Only this Epiphanius[d] objects against the Marcionites, and Tertullian[e] against the Gnostics, that they did permit women to baptize: I cannot say but they made it an ordinary employment, and a thing besides the case of necessity: I know not whether they did or no. But if they be permitted, it is considerable whither the example may drive: *Petulans mulier quæ usurpavit docere, an non utique et tinguendi jus sibi pariet?* that I may turn Tertullian's[f] thesis into an interrogative, 'The women usurp the office of teaching; if also they may be permitted to baptize,' they may in time arrogate and invade other ministries; or if they do not,

[c] [perishes' A.]
[d] Hæres. xlii. [§ 4.]
[e] De præscript. hæret. [cap. xli.]
[f] Tertullian. de baptismo. [cap. xvii. 'Petulantia autem mulierum . . . utique non etiam tinguendi,' &c. edd.]

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by reason of the natural and political incapacity of their persons, yet others may upon the same stock: for necessity consists not in a mathematical point, but hath latitude which may be expounded to inconvenience; and that I say truth and fear reasonably, I need no other testimony than the Greek church, for amongst them a μὴ παρόντος ἱερέως, 'the absence of the priest' is necessity enough for a woman to baptize; for so says Gabriel Philadelphiensis[g], 'In the absence of a priest, a christian laic may baptize, whether it be man or woman,' either may do it; and whether that be not only of danger in the sequel, but in itself a very dissolution of all discipline, I leave it to the church of England to determine as for her own particular, that at least the sacrament be left entirely to clerical dispensation according to divine commandment.

14. One thing I offer to consideration; that since the keys of the kingdom of heaven be most notoriously and signally used in baptism, in which the kingdom of heaven, the gospel and all its promises, is opened to all believers, and though as certainly yet less principally in reconciling penitents, and admitting them to the communion of the faithful; it may be of ill consequence to let them be usurped by hands to whom they were not consigned. Certain it is, S. Peter used his keys, and opened the kingdom of heaven first, when he said[h], "Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the holy Ghost." However, as to the main question, we have not only the universal doctrine of christendom, but also express authority and commission in scripture, sending out apostles and apostolical men, persons of choice and special designation to 'baptize all nations,' and to entertain them into the services and institution of the holy Jesus.

SECT. V.

1. IV. I SHALL instance but once more, but it is in the most solemn, sacred, and divinest mystery in[i] our religion; that in which the clergy in their appointed ministry do διακονοῦντες μεσιτεύειν, 'stand between God and the people,' and do fulfil a special and incomprehensible ministry, which 'the angels themselves do look into[j]' with admiration, to which the people if they come without fear, cannot come without sin; and this of so sacred and reserved mysteriousness, that but few have dared to offer at with unconsecrated hands: some have. But the EUCHARIST is the fulness of all the mysteriousness of our religion; and the clergy, when they officiate here, are

[g] Tractat. de sacramento, cap. de baptismo, [fo. κβ'. 4to. Venet. 1600, in liturgg. græc. tom. xii.] μὴ παρόντος ἱερέως δύναται βαπτίζειν καὶ λαϊκὸς χριστιανὸς, ἄν τε γυνὴ ἤ ἄν τε ἄρρην.

[h] [Acts ii. 38.]

[i] ['of' A.]

[j] [vid. 1 Pet. i. 12.]

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most truly in the phrase of S. Paul[1], *dispensatores mysteriorum Dei*, 'dispensers of the great mysteries of the kingdom.' For, to use the words of S. Cyprian[j], "Jesus Christ is our high-priest, and Himself become[k] our sacrifice, which He finished upon the cross in a real performance, and now in His office of mediatorship makes intercession for us by a perpetual exhibition of Himself, of His own person in heaven, which is a continual actually represented argument to move God to mercy to all that believe in and obey the holy Jesus."

2. Now Christ did also establish a number of select persons, to be ministers of this great sacrifice, finished upon the cross; that they also should exhibit and represent to God, in the manner which their Lord appointed them, this sacrifice, commemorating the action and suffering of the great Priest; and by way of prayers and impetration, offering up that action in behalf of the people, ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω θυσιαστήριον ἀναπέμψας τὰς θυσίας, (as Gregory Nazianzen[l] expresses it) sending up sacrifices to be laid upon the altar in heaven, that the church might be truly united unto Christ their head, and, in the way of their ministry, may do what He does in heaven; for He exhibits the sacrifice, that is, Himself, actually and presentially in heaven: the priest on earth commemorates the same, and by his prayers represents it to God in behalf of the whole catholic church; presentially too, by another and more mysterious way of presence; but both Christ in heaven, and His ministers on earth do actuate that sacrifice, and apply it to its purposed design by praying to God in the[m] virtue and merit of that sacrifice; Christ himself, in a high and glorious manner; the ministers of His priesthood (as it becomes ministers) humbly, sacramentally, and according to the energy of human advocation and intercession. This is the sum and great mysteriousness of christianity, and is now to be proved.

3. This is expressly described in scripture; that part concerning Christ is the doctrine of S. Paul, who disputes largely concerning Christ's priesthood; affirming[n] that 'Christ is a priest for ever;' He hath therefore 'an unchangeable priesthood,' because 'He continueth for ever,' and 'He lives for ever to make intercession for us;' this He does as priest, and therefore it must be by offering a sacrifice, "for every high-priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices," and therefore "it is necessary He also have something to offer," as long as He is a priest, that is, 'for ever,' till the consummation of all things; since therefore He hath nothing new to offer, and something He must continually offer, it is evident He offers himself as the

[1] [1 Cor. iv. 1.]

[j] Ad Cæcil. epist. lxiii. [p. 155.] Si Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster ipse est summus sacerdos Dei patris, et sacrificium Patri seipsum primus obtulit, et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit; utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id quod Christus fecit, imitatur: et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Deo patri, si sic incipiat offerre secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse.

[k] ['became' A.]

[l] Orat. xi. [lege i. al. ii. § 73.—tom. i. p. 48 C.]

[m] ['the' eest A.]

[n] [Heb. vii. 23 sqq.; and viii. 2 sqq.]

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medium of advocation, and the instance and argument of a prevailing intercession; and this He calls 'a more excellent ministry,' and by it Jesus is 'a minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle;' that is, He as our high-priest officiates in heaven in the great office of a mediator, in the merit and power of His death and resurrection. Now what Christ does always in a proper and most glorious manner, the ministers of the gospel also do in theirs: commemorating the sacrifice upon the cross, 'giving thanks,' and celebrating a perpetual eucharist for it, and by 'declaring the death of Christ,' and praying to God in the virtue of it, for all the members of the church, and all persons capable; it is *in genere orationis* a sacrifice, and an instrument of propitiation, as all holy prayers are in their several proportions[f].

4. And this was by a precept of Christ; *Hoc facite*, 'do this in remembrance of Me.' Now this precept is but twice reported of in the New testament, though the institution of the sacrament be four times. And it is done with admirable mystery; to distinguish the several interests and operations which concern several sorts of Christians in their distinct capacities: S. Paul thus represents it, "Take, eat," "This do in remembrance of Me;" plainly referring this precept to all that are to eat and drink the symbols: for they also do in their manner enunciate, declare, or represent the Lord's death till He come. And S. Paul prosecutes it with instructions particular to the κοινωνοῦντες, to 'them that do communicate,' as appears in the succeeding cautions against unworthy manducation, and for due preparation to its reception. But S. Luke reports it plainly to another purpose, "And He took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it unto them, saying, This is My body which is given for you; *Hoc facite*, this do in remembrance of Me." 'This' cannot but relate to *accepit, gratias egit, fregit, distribuit. Hoc facite;* here was no manducation expressed, and therefore *Hoc facite* concerns the apostles in the capacity of ministers; not as receivers, but as consecrators and givers; and if the institution had been represented in one scheme without this mysterious distinction, and provident separation of employment, we had been eternally in a cloud, and have needed a new light to guide us; but now the Spirit of God hath done it in the very first fountains of scripture.

5. And this being the great mystery of christianity, and the only remanent express of Christ's sacrifice on earth, it is most consonant to the analogy of the mystery, that this commemorative sacrifice be presented by persons as separate and distinct in their ministry, as the sacrifice itself is from and above the other parts of our religion.

6. Thus also the church of God hath for ever understood it without any variety of sense or doubtfulness of distinguishing opinions. It was the great excellency and secret mystery[g] of the religion, to consecrate and offer the holy symbols and sacraments: I shall transcribe a

[f] ['Now . . proportions.' The punctuation seems questionable: but the editor has not ventured to alter it.]

[g] ['ministery' A.]

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passage out of Justin Martyr[g], giving the account of it to Antoninus Pius in his oration to him; and it will serve instead of many; for it tells the religion of the Christians in this mystery, and gives a full account of all the ceremony. *Παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν· ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος*, &c., 'when the prayers are done, then is brought to the president of the brethren' (the priest) 'the bread, and the chalice of wine mingled with water; which being received, he gives praise and glory to the Father of all things, and presents them in the name of the Son and the holy Spirit, and largely gives thanks that He hath been pleased to give us these gifts: and when he hath finished the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people that is present with a joyful acclamation say, Amen. Which when it is done by the presidents and people, those which amongst us are called deacons and ministers, distribute to every one that is present, that they may partake of Him in whom the thanks were presented, the eucharist, bread, wine, and water; and may bear it to the absent. Moreover this nourishment is by us called the eucharist, which it is lawful for none to partake, but to him who believes our doctrine true, and is washed in the laver for the remission of sins and regeneration, and that lives so as Christ delivered. For we do not take it as common bread and common drink; but as by the word of God Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world was made flesh, and for our salvation[h] sake had flesh and blood: after the same manner also we are taught that this nourishment, in which by the prayers of His word, which is from Him the food in which thanks are given, or the consecrated food[i], by which our flesh and blood by mutation or change are nourished, is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus. For the apostles in their commentaries which they wrote, which are called the gospels, so delivered that[k] Jesus commanded. For when He had given thanks and taken bread, He said, Do this in remembrance of Me; this is My body; and likewise taking the chalice, and having given thanks, He said, This is My blood; and that He gave it to them alone.' This one testimony I reckon as sufficient: who please to see more, may observe the tradition full, testified and entire, in Ignatius[l], Clemens Romanus, or whoever wrote the apostolical constitutions in his name[m], Tertullian[n], S. Cyprian[o], S. Athanasius[p], Epiphanius[q], S. Basil[r], S. Chrysostom almost every where[s], S. Hierome[t], S. Augustine[u]; and

[g] Apol. ii. [al. i. § 65 sq.]

[h] [So edd.]

[i] ['that . . food,' *τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν.*]

[k] ['as' B; wrongly.]

[l] Epist. [interp.] ad Trallian. [§ vii.]

[m] Lib. i. c. 31. [?] et lib. viii. c. ult. [p. 426 sqq. ed. Coteler.]

[n] De præscript. [cap. xx. et xxii. fin. —Cf. De cor. mil., cap. iii.]

[o] Lib. i. ep. 2 et 9, et lib. iii. ep. 15. [al. epp. lvii. i. et xv. pp. 117, et 1 et 34.]

[p] Apol. ii. cum de Ischyra rationem reddit eum calice sacro uti non potuisse. [tom. i. p. 133 sq.]

[q] Hæres. lxxix. [§ 3 sq.]

[r] De bapt., lib. ii. cap. 8. [sive respons. ad quæst. viii.—tom. ii. append. p. 662 B.]

[s] De sacerd., lib. iii. [§ 5.] et vi. [§ 4.]—Hom. [1. al.] li. [§ 3.] et [lxxxii. al.] lxxxiii. [§ 4 sqq.] in Matth. et hom. vi. ad pop. Antioch. [?—tom. i. p. 384 A, 424 B; vii. 517 A sqq. 787 sqq.]

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indeed we cannot look in vain into any of the old writers: the sum of whose doctrine in this particular I shall represent in the words of the most ancient of them, S. Ignatius[t], saying that "he is worse than an infidel that offers to officiate about the holy altar, unless he be a bishop or a priest."

7. And certainly, he could upon no pretence have challenged the appellative of christian, who had dared either himself to invade the holy rites within the chancels[x], or had denied the power of celebrating this dreadful mystery to belong only to sacerdotal ministration. For either it is said to be but common bread and wine, and then, if that were true, indeed any body may minister it; but then they that say so are 'blasphemous,' they 'count the blood of the Lord,' τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης (as S. Paul[y] calls it, in imitation of the words of institution), 'the blood of the covenant' or 'new testament,' 'a profane or common thing;' they 'discern not the Lord's body;' they know not that 'the bread that is broken is the communication of Christ's body:' but if it be a holy, separate, or divine and mysterious thing, who can make it (ministerially, I mean) and consecrate or sublime it from common and ordinary bread, but a consecrate, separate, and sublimed person? It is to be done either by a natural power, or by a supernatural. A natural cannot hallow a thing in order to God; and they only have a supernatural, who have derived it from God, in order to this ministration; who can shew that they are taken up into the lot of that deaconship, which is the type and representment of that excellent ministry of 'the true tabernacle,' where Jesus himself does the same thing, in a higher and more[z] excellent manner.

8. This is the great secret of the kingdom, to which in the primitive church many who yet had given up their names to Christ by designation, or solemnity, were not admitted so much as to the participation; as the *catechumeni*, the *audientes*, the *pœnitentes*, neophytes, and children: and the ministry of it was not only reserved for sacred persons, but also performed with so much mysterious secresy, that many were not permitted so much as to see. This is that rite in which the priest intercedes for, and blesses the people; offering in their behalf, not only their prayers, but applying the sacrifice of Christ to their prayers, and representing them with glorious advantages, and titles of acceptation, which because it was so excellent, celestial, sacred, mystical, and supernatural, it raised up the persons too; that the ministerial priesthood in the church might, according to the nature of all great employments, pass an excellency and a value upon the ministers.

[t] Contr. Lucifer. et ep. i. [al. v.] ad Heliod. et lxxxv. ad Evagrium [al. ci. ad Evangelum] et ad Hedib. cl. [al. vii.] § 2. [tom. iv. part. 2. coll. 290 sqq. et 10, et 802; et part. i. col. 171.]

[u] De civ. Dei, lib. xx. [cap. 10.]

[x] [ubi supra.]

[y] ['cancels' A.]

[z] [Heb. x. 29.]

[a] ['and a more' A.]

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9. And therefore according to the natural reason of religion, and the devotion of all the world, the Christians, because they had the greatest reason so to do, did honour their clergy with the greatest veneration and esteem. It is without a metaphor *regale sacerdotium*, 'a royal priesthood,' so S. Peter[a]; which although it be spoken in general of the christian church, and in an improper large sense is verified of the people; yet it is so to be expounded as that parallel place of the books of Moses[b] from whence the expression is borrowed, "ye shall be a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation;" which plainly by the sense and analogy of the mosaic law signifies a nation blessed by God with rites and ceremonies of a separate religion; a 'kingdom,' in which priests are appointed by God, a 'kingdom,' in which nothing is more honourable than the 'priesthood;' for it is certain, the nation was famous in all the world for an honourable priesthood; and yet the people were not priests in any sense but of a violent metaphor. And therefore the christian ministry having greater privileges, and being honoured with attrectation of the body and blood of Christ, and offices serving to 'a better covenant,' may with greater argument be accounted excellent, honourable, and royal; and all the churches be called 'a royal priesthood,' the denomination being given to the whole, from the most excellent part; because they all together make one body under Christ the head, the medium of the union being the priests, the collectors of the church, and instrument of adunation; and *reddendo singula singulis*, dividing to each his portion of the expression, the people is 'a peculiar people,' the clergy 'a holy priesthood:' and all in conjunction, and for several excellencies 'a chosen nation:' so that *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα* is the same with *βασιλείας ἱεράτευμα*, 'the priesthood of the kingdom,' that is, 'the ministry of the gospel:' for in the New testament 'the kingdom' signifies 'the gospel:' and *βασίλειος* is the same with *εὐαγγελικὸς*, 'kingly' is 'of or belonging to the gospel:' for therefore it is observable, it is not *βασιλικὸν* but *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα*, not well rendered by the vulgar latin *regale sacerdotium*, as if 'kingly' were the appellative or epithet of this priesthood; it is *regium*, a priesthood appertaining to the 'kingdom' of the gospel; and the priest being enumerated distinctly from the people, 'the priests of the kingdom,' and the 'people of the kingdom,' are all 'holy' and 'chosen;' but in their several manner: the priests of the kingdom, those; the people of the kingdom, these; these[c] to bring or design a spiritual sacrifice, the priest to offer it; or all together to sacrifice; the priest by his proper ministry, the people by their assent, conjunction, and assistance, chosen to serve God, not only in their own forms, but under the ministration of an honourable priesthood.

10. And in all the descent of christian religion it was indeed honourable; *ἡ μὲν ἱερωσύνη τελεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τάξιν δὲ ἐπου-*

[a] [1 Pet. ii. 9.] [b] [Exod. xix. 6.] [c] ['these' om. B.]

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ρανίων ἔχει ταγμάτων, saith S. Chrysostom[d], 'the christian priesthood does its ministry and is perfected on earth, but hath the beauty, order, and excellency of the heavenly hosts:' so that I shall not need to take notice of the *lamina aurea* which Polycrates[e] reports S. John to have worn in token of his 'royal priesthood,' 'a wreath of gold,' (so also did S. James bishop of Jerusalem, as S. Hierome[f] and Epiphanius[g] report,) nor the exemption of the clergy from tribute, their authority with the people, their great donatives and titles of secular advantage; these were accidental to the ministry, and relied upon the favour of princes, and devotion of the people; and if they had been more, yet are less than the honours God had bestowed upon it; for certainly there is not a greater degree of power in the world than to 'remit and retain sins,' and to 'consecrate the sacramental symbols' into the mysteriousness of 'Christ's body and blood;' nor a greater honour than that God in heaven should ratify what the priest does on earth; and should admit him to handle the sacrifice of the world, and to present the same which in heaven is presented by the eternal Jesus.

Ὦ θυσίας πέμποντες ἀναιμάκτους ἱερῆες,
Ὦ ψυχῶν ταμίαι μεγακύδεες, ἅ μεγάλοιο
Πλάσμα θεοῦ χείρεσσιν ἐν ὑμετέρῃσι φέροντες.

So Gregory Nazianzen[h] describes the honour and mysteriousness of the priests' power; they 'minister the spiritual and unbloody sacrifice,' they are 'honourable guardians of souls,' they 'bear the work of God in their hands.' And S. Hierome[i] speaking of these words of S. Paul[j], "I am ordained a preacher and an apostle," *Quod ait apostolus Jesu Christi, tale mihi videtur quale si dixisset, Præfectus prætorio Augusti Cæsaris, magister exercitus Tiberii imperatoris.* And a little after, *Grandem inter christianos sibi vendicans dignitatem, apostolum se Christi titulo prænotavit, ut ex ipsa lecturos nominis auctoritate terreret, indicans omnes qui in Christo crederent, debere sibi esse subjectos.* And therefore S. Chrysostom[k] says it is the trick of heretics not to give to bishops titles of their eminency and honour, which God hath vouchsafed them: *Ut diabolus, ita etiam quilibet facit hæreticus vehementissimus in tempore persecutionis, loquens cum pontifice, nec eum vocat pontificem, nec archiepiscopum, nec religiosissimum, nec sanctum, sed quid? Reverentia tua &c. Nomina illi adducit communia, ejus negans auctoritatem; diabolus hoc tunc fecit erga Deum.* It is καθαρτικὴ τάξις and διακριτικὴ, 'a separating and purifying order of men,' so Diony-

[d] De sacerd., lib. iii. [cap. 4.]
[e] Apud Euseb. hist., lib. v. c. 25. [al. 24. Cf. iii. 31.]
[f] De script. in Jacob. [S. Hierome speaks of S. James as bishop of Jerusalem, but does not mention the 'lamina.']
[g] Hæres. lxxviii. [§ 14.]
[h] [Carm. ad episcopos, init.—tom. ii. p. 824.]
[i] [tom. iv. part. 1. col. 409.]
[j] 1 Tim. i. 3. [lege, Tit. i. 1.]
[k] [Pseudo-Chrysost. hom. in ps. xiii. § 3.—tom. v. col. 560 D.]

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sius[1] calls it: but Nazianzen[m] speaks greater and more glorious words yet, and yet what is no more than a sober truth; for he calls the priest, *τὸν μετ' ἀγγέλων στησόμενον καὶ μετ' ἀρχαγγέλων δοξάσοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω θυσιαστήριον ἀναπέμψοντα τὰς θυσίας καὶ Χριστῷ συνιερεύσοντα, . . καὶ τὸ μεῖζον εἰπεῖν, θεὸν ἐσόμενον, καὶ θεοποιήσοντα·* he 'stands with angels,' and 'is magnified with archangels[n];' he 'sends sacrifices to a celestial altar,' and 'is consecrated in the priesthood of Christ[n],' 'a divine person,' and 'an instrument of making others so too.'—I shall add no more as to this particular. The express precepts of God in scripture[o] are written in great characters; there is a 'double honour' to be given to the ecclesiastical rulers, 'rulers' that also 'labour in the word and doctrine:' there is 'obedience' due to them, 'obedience in all things,' and 'estimation' and 'love,' *ὑπὲρ ἐκ περισσοῦ*, 'very abundantly;' 'esteem such very highly for their work's sake;' a 'communicating to them in all good things;' and their offices are described to be great, separate, busy, eminent and profitable; they are 'rulers[p],' 'presidents,' 'set over us in the Lord,' 'taking care for us,' 'labouring in doctrine,' 'spiritual persons,' 'restorers of them that were overtaken in a fault,' 'curates of souls,' such as 'must give an account' for them, the 'salt,' the 'light of the world,' 'shepherds;' and much more, signifying work, and rule, and care, and honour. But next to the words of scripture, there can no more be said concerning the honour of the sacred order of the clergy, than is said by S. Chrysostom in his books *De sacerdotio*, and S. Ambrose *De dignitate sacerdotali;* and no greater thing can be supposed communicated to men than to be the 'ministers of God' in the great conveyances of grace, and 'instruments of God' in the pardon of sins, in the consecration of Christ's body and blood, in the guidance and conduct of souls. And this was the style of the church, calling bishops[q] and priests according to their respective capacity, 'stewards of the grace of God,' 'leaders of the blind,' 'a light of them that sit in darkness,' 'instructors of the ignorant,' 'teachers of babes,' 'stars in the world,' 'amongst whom ye shine as lights in the world,' and that is scripture too; 'stars in Christ's right hand,' lights set upon the candlesticks. And now supposing these premisses[r], if christendom had not paid proportionable esteem to them, they had neither known how to value religion, or the mysteries of christianity. But that all christendom ever did pay the greatest reverence to the clergy and religious vene-

[1] [Eccles. hierarch., cap. v. p. 123.]

[m] Orat. i. [al. ii. § 73.—tom. i. p. 48. Vid. supra p. 32 et infra p. 51.]

[n] ['cum archangelis glorificabit,' 'cum Christo sacerdotio fungetur,' interpr. ed. Ben.]

[o] [1 Tim. v. 17; Heb. xiii. 17; 2 Cor. ii. 9; 1 Thess. v. 12; Gal. vi. 1.]

[p] *Προεστῶτες, ἡγούμενοι, νουθετοῦντες, προϊστάμενοι ἡμῶν, ἄνδρες πνευματικοί, καταρτίζοντες προληφθέντας ἐν παραπτώματι, λόγον ἀποδώσοντες.*

[q] *Οἰκονόμους ἀρχιερατικῆς χάριτος, ὁδηγοὺς τυφλῶν, φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, παιδεύτας ἀφρόνων, διδασκάλους νηπίων, φωστῆρας ἐν κόσμῳ.*

[r] ['premises' A.]

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ration, is a certain argument that in christian religion the distinction of the clergy from the laity is supposed as a *præcognitum*, a principle of the institution.

I end this with the words of the seventh general council[s], "It is manifest to all the world that in the priesthood there is order and distinction, and to observe the ordinations and elections of the priesthood with strictness and severity is well-pleasing to God."

SECT. VI.

1. As soon as God began to constitute a church, and fix the priesthood, which before was very ambulatory, and dispensed into all families, but ever officiated by the *major domo*, God gives the power, and designs the person. And therefore Moses consecrated Aaron, *agitatus a Deo consecrationis principe*, saith Dionysius[t]; Moses performed the external rites of designation, but God was the consecrator; *τὴν ἱερατικὴν τελείωσιν ἱεραρχικῶς ἐτελεσιούργησε ὑπὸ τελετάρχῃ θεῷ*· Moses appointed Aaron to the priesthood, and gave him the order, but it was only as the minister and deputy of God, under God the chief consecrator. "And no man taketh upon him this honour, but he that was called of God, as was Aaron," saith S. Paul[u]. For in every priesthood, God designed and appointed the ministry, and collates a power, or makes the person gracious: either gives him a spiritual ability of doing something which others have not; or if he be only employed in praying and presenting sacrifices of beasts for the people, yet that such a person should be admitted to a nearer address, and in behalf of the people, must depend upon God's acceptation, and therefore upon divine constitution: for there can be no reason given in the nature of the thing, why God will accept the intermediation of one man for many, or why this man more than another, who possibly hath no natural or acquired excellency beyond many of the people, except what God himself makes, after the constitution of the person. If a spiritual power be necessary to the ministration, it is certain none can give it but the fountain and the principle of the Spirit's emanation. Or if the graciousness and aptness of the person be required, that also being arbitrary, preternatural and chosen, must derive from the divine election: for God cannot be prescribed unto by us, whom He shall hear, and whom He shall entertain in a more immediate address, and freer intercourse.

[s] Can. xiv. [tom. iv. col. 496.] *Ὅτι τάξις ἐμπολιτεύεται ἐν ἱερωσύνῃ πᾶσιν ἐρίδηλον, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ διατηρεῖν τὰς τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐγχειρήσεις* [ἐγχειρίσεις edd.] *θεῷ ἐστιν εὐάρεστον.*

[t] Eccles. hierarch. [cap. v. contempl., p. 128 C.—*Εἰς τοῦτο κινηθεὶς ὑπὸ τελετάρχῃ θεῷ, τὴν ἱερατικὴν τ. l. d.* 'ad id agitatus, Deo consecrationis principe,' &c. interpr. Lanssel.]

[u] [Heb. v. 4.]

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2. And this is divinely taught us by the example of the High-priest himself; who, because He derived all power from His father, and all His graciousness and favour in the office of priest and mediator, was also personally chosen and sent, and took not the honour but as it descended on Him from God, that the honour and the power, the ability and the ministry, might derive from the same fountain. "Christ did not glorify Himself to become high-priest[x]." Honour may be deserved by ourselves, but always comes from others: and because no greater honour than to be "ordained for men in things pertaining to God," every man must say as our blessed High-priest said[y] of Himself, "If I honour Myself, My honour is nothing: it is God that honoureth Me:" for Christ being the fountain of evangelical ministry, is the measure of our dispensations, and the rule of ecclesiastical economy: and therefore we must not arrogate any power from ourselves, or from a less authority than our Lord and Master did: and this is true and necessary in the gospel, rather than in any ministry or priesthood that ever was, because of the collation of so many excellent and supernatural abilities which derive from Christ upon His ministers, in order to the work of the gospel.

3. And the apostles understood their duty in this particular, as in all things else; for when they had received all this power from above, they were careful to consign the truth, that although it be ἀνθρωπίνη τάξις, it is θεία χάρις[z], 'a divine grace in a human ministry,' and that although ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται[a], yet οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τις λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν, that is, he that 'is ordained by men,' yet 'receives his power from God;' not at all by himself; and from no man as from the fountain of his power. And this, I say, the apostles were careful to consign in the first instance of ordination in the case of Matthias[b], "Thou Lord, shew which of these two Thou hast chosen;" God was the elector, and they the ministers; and this being at the first beginning of christianity, in the very first designation of an ecclesiastical person, was of sufficient influence into the religion for ever after, and taught us to derive all clerical power from God, and therefore by such means and ministries which Himself hath appointed, but in no hand to be invaded or surprised in the entrance, or polluted in the execution.

4. This descended in the succession of the churches' doctrine for ever. "Receive the holy Ghost," said Christ[c] to His apostles, when He enabled them with priestly power; and S. Paul to the bishops of Asia said, "The holy Ghost hath made you bishops or overseers;" "because no mortal man, no angel, or archangel, nor any other created power, but the holy Ghost alone hath constituted this order,"

[x] [Heb. v. 5.]
[y] [John viii. 54.]
[z] Εὐχολ. [in ord. episc. presb. et diac.]
[a] [ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβανόμενος, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται, 'taken from among men, is ordained for men,' Heb. v. 1.]
[b] [Acts i. 24.]
[c] [John xx. 22.]

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saith S. Chrysostom[d]. And this very thing, besides the matter of fact, and the plain donation of the power by our blessed Saviour, is intimated by the words of Christ otherwhere, "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the vineyard[e], that He will send labourers into His harvest." Now His mission is not only a designing of the persons, but enabling them with power; because He never commands a work, but He gives abilities to its performance: and therefore still in every designation of the person, by whatsoever[f] ministry it be done, either that ministry is by God constituted to be the ordinary means of conveying the abilities, or else God himself ministers the grace immediately. It must of necessity come from Him some way or other.

Πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστι[g].

S. James hath adopted it into the family of evangelical truths; πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον, and therefore πᾶν δώρημα τελειωτικὸν, 'every perfect gift,' and therefore 'every perfecting gift,' which in the style of the church is the gift of ordination, is from above, the gifts of perfecting the persons of the hierarchy, and ministry evangelical. Which thing is further intimated by S. Paul[h], "Now He which stablisheth us with you εἰς Χριστὸν, in order to Christ (and christian religion) is God;" and that his meaning be understood concerning the βεβαίωσις ἀποστολικὴ, of establishing him in the ministry, he adds[i], καὶ χρίσας ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεὸς, 'and He which anointeth us is God, and hath sealed us with an earnest of His spirit;' unction, and consignation, and establishing by the holy Spirit; the very style of the church for ordination, τοῦτον ὁ πατὴρ ἐσφράγισεν ὁ θεὸς, it was said[j] of Christ, 'Him hath the Father sealed,' that is, 'ordained Him,' the priest and prophet of the world; and this he plainly spoke as their apostle and president in religion, "not as lords over your faith, but fellow-workers;" he spake[k] of himself and Timothy, concerning whose ministry in order to them he now gives account: χρίσας ὁ θεὸς and σφραγισάμενος ὁ θεὸς, 'God anoints' the priest, and 'God consigns' him with the holy Ghost; that is the *principale quæsitum*, that is the 'main question.'

5. And therefore the author of the books of ecclesiastical hierarchy[l], giving the *rationale* of the rites of ordination, says that the priest is made so δι' ἀνάρρησιν, 'by way of proclaiming and publication of the person, signifying 'that the holy man that consecrates is but the

[d] De sacerd., lib. iii. [§ 4. tom. i. p. 382 B] Quippe non mortalis quispiam, non angelus, non archangelus, non alia quævis creata potentia, sed ipse Paracletus ordinem ejusmodi disposuit.

[e] ['of the harvest.' Matt. ix. 3; Luke x. 2.]

[f] ['what ever' A.]

[g] [So ed.—See James i. 17.]

[h] [2 Cor. i. 21.]

[i] [ver. 22.]

[j] [John vi. 27.]

[k] Οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλὰ συνεργοί ἐσμεν, &c. [2 Cor. i. 24.]

[l] [Dionys. Areop. Eccles. hierarch., cap. v. contempl. p. 128.] Ὡς ὁ φιλόθεος ἱεροτελεστὴς ἐκφαντορικός ἐστι τῆς θεαρχικῆς ἐκλογῆς, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ χάριτι τοὺς τελουμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν ἄγων τελείωσιν.

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proclaimer of the divine election, but not by any human power or proper grace does he give the perfect gift and consecrate the person.' And Nazianzen[m] speaking of the rites of ordination hath this expression, 'with which the divine grace is proclaimed,' (and Billius renders it ill by *superinvocatur*.) He makes the power of consecration to be declarative; which indeed is a lesser expression of a fuller power, but it signifies as much as the whole comes to; for it must mean, God does transmit the grace 'at' or 'by' or 'in' the exterior ministry, and the minister is ἐκφαντορικὸς, 'a declarer,' not by the word of his mouth, distinct from the work of his hand; but by the ministry he declares the work of God then wrought in the person suscipient. And thus in absolution the priest declares the act of God pardoning, not that he is a preacher only of the pardon upon certain conditions, but that he is not the principal agent, but by his ministry declares and ministers the effect and work of God. And this interpretation is clear in the instance of the blessed sacrament, where not only the priest but the people do καταγγέλλειν, 'declare the Lord's death,' not by a homily, but by virtue of the mystery which they participate. And in the instance of this present question, the consecrator does declare power to descend from God upon the person to be ordained.

6. But thus the whole action being but a ministry, is a declaration of the effect and grace of God's vouchsafing; and because God does it not immediately, and also because such effects are invisible and secret operations, God appointing an external rite and ministry, does it that the private working of the Spirit may become as perceived as it can be, that is, that it may by such rites be declared to all the world what God is doing, and that man cannot do it himself. And besides the reasonableness of the thing, the very words in the present allegation do to this very sense expound themselves; for ἐκφαντορικός ἐστι and οὐκ ἰδίᾳ χάριτι are the same thing, and expressive of each other; the consecrator 'declares,' that is, he doth not do it by collation of his own grace or power, but the grace of God and power from above.

And this doctrine we read also in S. Cyprian[n] towards the end of his epistle to Cornelius, *ut Dominus, qui sacerdotes sibi in ecclesia sua eligere et constituere dignatur, electos quoque et constitutos sua voluntate atque opitulatione tueatur:* it is a good prayer of ordination, 'that the Lord who vouchsafes to choose and consecrate priests in His church, would also be pleased by His aid and grace to defend them whom He hath so chosen and appointed.' *Homo manum imponit, et Deus largitur gratiam; sacerdos imponit supplicem dextram, et Deus benedicit potenti dextra,* saith S. Ambrose[o], 'man imposes

[m] In orat. in laudem sui patris. [§ 35. tom. i. p. 356 B.] Νῦν δὲ κινδυνεύω τὰς δημοσίας ἀρχὰς εὐτακτοτέρας ὑπολαμβάνειν τῶν ἡμετέρων αἷς ἡ θεία χάρις ἐπιφημίζεται.

[n] Epist. xlv. [al. xlviii. p. 91.]

[o] [Pseudo-Ambros.] de dign. sacerd cap. 5. et in comment. in 1 Tim. cap. ii.

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his hand, but God gives the grace; the bishop lays on his hand of prayer, and God blesses with His hand of power.'—The effect of this discourse is plain; the grace and power that enables men to minister in the mysteries of the gospel is so wholly from God, that whosoever assumes it without God's warrant, and besides His way, ministers with a vain, sacrilegious, and 'ineffective hand[p],' save only that he disturbs the appointed order, and does himself a mischief.

SECT. VII.

1. By this ordination the persons ordained are made 'ministers of the gospel,' 'stewards of all its mysteries,' the 'light,' the 'salt of the earth,' the 'shepherd of the flock,' 'curates of souls;' these are their offices, or their appellatives, (which you please:) for the clerical ordination is no other but a sanctification of the person in both senses; that is, 1) A separation of him to do certain mysterious actions of religion; which is that sanctification by which Jeremy and S. John the baptist were sanctified from their mothers' wombs. 2) It is also a sanctification of the person, by the increasing or giving respectively to the capacity of the suscipient, such graces as make the person meet to speak to God, to pray for the people, to handle the mysteries, and to have influence upon the cure.

2. I. The first sanctification, of a designation of the person; which must of necessity be some way or other by God: because it is a nearer approach to Him, a ministry of His graces, which without His appointment a man must not, cannot any more do, than a messenger can carry pardon to a condemned person which his prince never sent. But this separation of the person is not only a naming of the man, (for so far the separation of the person may be previous to the ordination: for so it was in the ordinations of Matthias and the seven deacons; the apostles ἔστησαν δύο, 'they appointed two' before God chose by lot; and the whole church chose the seven deacons before the apostles imposed hands;) but the separation, or this first sanctification of the person, is a giving him a power to do such offices which God hath appointed to be done to Him and for the people; which we may clearly see and understand in the instance of Job[q] and his friends; for when God would be entreated in behalf of Eliphaz and his companions, He gave order that Job should make the address, "Go to My servant, he shall pray for you, and him will I accept." This separation of a person for the offices of advocation is the same thing which I mean by this 'first sanctification;' God

[ver. 1 sqq.] et in 1 Cor. xii. in illud [ver. 4.] 'Divisiones gratiarum.' [tom. ii. append. col. 363 E, et col. 292, et col. 151 A.]

[p] [χεὶρ ἄκυρος. See vol. v. pp. 62, 113.]

[q] [Job xlii. 8.]

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did it, and gave him a power and authority to go to Him, and put him into a place of trust and favour about Him, and made him a minister of the sacrifice, which is a power and eminency above the persons for whom he was to sacrifice, and a power or grace from God to be in nearness to Him. This I suppose to be the great argument for the necessity of separating a certain order of men for ecclesiastical ministries: and it relies upon these propositions. 1) All power of ordination descends from God, and He it is who sanctifies and separates the person. 2) The priest by God is separate to be the gracious person to stand between Him and the people. 3) He speaks the word of God, and returns the prayers and duty of the people, and conveys[q] the blessings of God, by his prayer, and by his ministry. So that although every Christian must pray and may be heard, yet there is a solemn person appointed to pray in public: and though God's spirit is given to all that ask it, and the promises of the gospel are verified to all that obey the gospel of Jesus, yet God hath appointed sacraments and solemnities, by which the promises and blessings are ministered more solemnly and to greater effects. All the ordinary devotions the people may do alone; the solemn, ritual, and public, the appointed minister only must do. And if any man shall say, 'Because the priest's ministry is by prayer, every man can do it, and so no need of him;' by the same reason he may say also that the sacraments are unnecessary, because the same effect which they produce is also in some degree the reward of a private piety and devotion. But the particulars are to be further proved and explicated as they need.

3. Now what for illustration of this article I have brought from the instance of Job, is true in the ministers of the gospel, with the superaddition of many degrees of eminency. But still in the same kind, for the power God hath given is indeed mystical; but it is not like a power operating by way of natural or proper operation; it is not *vis* but *facultas*, not an inherent quality that issues out actions by way of direct emanation, like natural or acquired habits, but it is a grace or favour done to the person, and a qualification of him *in genere politico*, he receives a politic, public, and solemn capacity, to intervene between God and the people; and although it were granted that the people could do the external work, or the action of church ministries, yet they are actions to no purpose; they want the life and all the excellency, unless they be done by such persons whom God hath called to it, and by some means of His own hath expressed His purpose to accept them in such ministrations.

4. And this explication will easily be verified in all the particulars of the priest's power, because all the ministries of the gospel are *in genere orationis*, (unless we except 'preaching,' in which God speaks by His servants to the people;) the minister by his office is an intercessor with God, and the word used in scripture for the priest's

[q] ['reconveys' A.]

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officiating signifies his praying; λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν[r], 'as they were ministering' or 'doing their liturgy,' the work of their supplications and intercession; and therefore the apostles positively included all their whole ministry in these two, "but we will give ourselves to the word of God and to prayer[s];" the prayer of consecration, the prayer of absolution, the prayer of imposition of hands: they had nothing else to do but 'pray' and 'preach.' And for this reason it was that the apostles in a sense nearest to the letter did verify the precept of our blessed Saviour[t], 'pray continually,' that is, in all the offices, acts, parts and ministries of a daily liturgy.

5. This is not to lessen the power, but to understand it: for the priest's ministry is certainly the instrument of conveying all the blessings of the people, which are annexed to the ordinary administration of the Spirit. But when all the office of Christ's priesthood in heaven is called 'intercession for us,' and Himself makes the sacrifice of the cross effectual to the salvation and graces of His church by His prayer, since we are ministers of the same priesthood, can there be a greater glory than to have our ministry like to that of Jesus? not operating by virtue of a certain number of syllables, but by a holy, solemn, determined, and religious prayer, in the several manners and instances of intercession: according to the analogy of all the religions in the world, whose most solemn mystery was their most solemn prayer: I mean it in the matter of sacrificing; which also is true in the most mysterious solemnity of christianity, in the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, which is hallowed and lifted up from the common bread and wine by mystical prayers and solemn invocations of God. And therefore S. Dionysius[u] calls the forms of consecration τελεστικὰς ἐπικλήσεις, 'prayers of consecration;' and S. Cyril[x] in his third mystagogic catechism says the same, 'the eucharistical bread, after the invocation of the holy Ghost, is not any longer common bread, but the body of Christ.'

6. For although it be necessary that the words which in the Latin church have been for a long time called 'the words of consecration' (which indeed are more properly the words of institution) should be repeated in every consecration, because the whole action is not completed according to Christ's pattern, nor the death of Christ so solemnly enunciated without them, yet even those words also are part of a mystical prayer; and therefore as they are not only intended there ἐν εἴδει διηγήσεως, 'by way of history or narration,' (as Cabasilas[y] mistakes;) so also in the most ancient liturgies, they were not only read διηγηματικῶς, or as a mere narrative, but also with the form of an address or invocation, *Fiat hic panis corpus Christi, et*

[r] [Acts xiii. 2.]
[s] [See Acts vi. 4.]
[t] [Luke xxi. 36.]
[u] Cap. ult. de eccles. hier. [contempl. p. 151.] ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος οὐκέτι ἄρτος λιτὸς ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ.
[x] [cap. iii. p. 316 D.]
[y] In exposit. liturg. [cap. xxix. fin.—Biblioth. vett. patr. græco-lat.—fol. Par. 1624. tom. ii. p. 238 B.]

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fiat hoc vinum sanguis Christi, 'let this bread be made the body of Christ,' &c. So it is in S. James his liturgy, S. Clement's, S. Mark's, and the Greek doctors: and in the very recitation of the words of institution, the people ever used to answer, 'Amen;' which intimates it to have been a consecration *in genere orationis,* called by S. Paul 'benediction,' or the bread of blessing, and therefore S. Austin[z] expounding those words of S. Paul, "Let prayers and supplications and intercessions and giving of thanks be made," saith, *Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pæne omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut 'precationes' accipiamus dictas quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici, 'orationes' cum benedicitur . . et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia dominica oratione concludit.* The words and form of consecration he calls by the name of *orationes,* 'supplications;' the prayers before the consecration *preces,* and all the whole action *oratio:* and this is according to the style and practice and sense of the whole church, or very near the whole. And S. Basil[a] saith that there is more necessary to consecration than the words recited by the apostles and by the evangelists; "The words of invocation in the shewing the bread of the eucharist, and the cup of blessing, who of all the saints have left to us? For we are not content with those which the apostle and the evangelists mention: but before and after, we say other words having great power towards the mystery, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες, which we have received by tradition." These words set down in scripture they retained as a part of the mystery co-operating to the solemnity, manifesting the signification of the rite, the glory of the change, the operation of the Spirit, the death of Christ, and the memory of the sacrifice: but this great work which all Christians knew to be done by the holy Ghost, the priest did obtain by prayer and solemn invocation: according to the saying of Proclus[b] of C.P., speaking of the tradition of certain prayers used in the mysteries, and indited by the apostles as it was said, but especially in S. James his liturgy, "By these prayers," saith he, "they expected the coming of the holy Ghost, that His divine presence might make[c] the bread and the wine mixed with water to become the body and blood of our blessed Saviour."

7. And S. Justin Martyr very often calls the eucharist, "food made sacramental and eucharistical by prayer[d]:" and Origen[e], "we

[z] Epist. lix. q. 5. [al. cxlix. cap. 2.—tom. ii. col. 509 C.]

[a] Cap. xxvii. de Spir. sanct. [tom. iii. p. 54 E.] Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας τίς τῶν ἁγίων [ἐγγράφως] ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτοις ἀρκούμεθα ὧν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμνήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχύν.

[b] [De tradit. div. liturg., in liturgg. ss. patr.—fol. Par. 1560. p. 1.]

[c] [ὅπως τῇ αὐτοῦ θείᾳ παρουσίᾳ . . ἀποφήνῃ τε καὶ ἀναδείξῃ. Taylor took it from the latin.]

[d] Τὴν δι' εὐχῆς εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν. —Apol. ii. pro christianis. [See vol. vi. p. 44, and p. 34 above.]

[e] Lib. viii. contra Cels. [§ 33.] Προσ-

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eat the bread, holy, and made the body of Christ by prayer;" *verbo Dei et per obsecrationem sanctificatus*, 'bread sanctified by the word of God and by prayer,' viz., the prayer of consecration. *Prece mystica* is S. Austin's[f] expression of it, *Corpus Christi et sanguinem dicimus . . illud tantum quod ex fructibus terræ acceptum et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus*, 'that only we call the body and blood of Christ which we receive of the fruits of the earth, and being consecrated by the mystical prayer we take according to the rite.' And S. Hierome[g] chides the insolency of some deacons towards priests upon this ground, "Who can suffer that the ministers of widows and tables should advance themselves above those at whose prayers the body and blood of Christ are exhibited or made presential?" I add only the words of Damascene[h], "The bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ supernaturally by invocation, and coming of the holy Ghost."

8. Now whether this consecration by prayer did mean to reduce the words of institution to the sense and signification of a prayer, or that they mean the consecration was made by the other prayers annexed to the narrative of the institution, according to the several senses of the Greek and Latin church[i], yet still the ministry of the priest, whether in the words of consecration or in the annexed prayers, is still by way of prayer. Nay further yet, 'the whole mystery itself is operative in the way of prayer,' saith Cassander[k], in behalf of the school and of all the Roman church; and indeed S. Ambrose[l], and others of the fathers, in behalf of the church catholic; *Nunc Christus offertur, sed offertur quasi homo, quasi recipiens passionem; et offert se ipse quasi sacerdos ut peccata nostra dimittat, hic in imagine, ibi in veritate, ubi apud Patrem* [*pro nobis*] *quasi advocatus intervenit.* So that what the priest does here, being an imitation of what Christ does in heaven, is by the sacrifice of a solemn prayer, and by the representing the action and passion of Christ, which is effectual in the way of prayer, and by the exhibiting it to God by a solemn prayer and advocation, in imitation of, and union with Christ. All the whole office is an office of intercession, as it passes from the priest to God, and from the people to God; and then for that great mysteriousness, which is the sacramental change,

ἁγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἁγίου τι. [Compare] Matth. xv. [36.]

[f] De Trin., lib. iii. cap. 4. [tom. viii. col. 798 B.]

[g] [Epist. ci. ad Evang.—tom. iv. part. 2. col. 802.] Quis patiatur mensarum et viduarum minister ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur?

[h] Lib. iv. de fide, cap. 14. [leg. 13. See vol. vi. p. 44.] Ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος οἶνός τε καὶ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιοῦνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ αἷμα.—Vide Optat. Milevit. lib. vi. contra Parmenian. [cap. 1—3; p. 90 sq.]

[i] S. Cyprian., lib. v. c. ult. [?] Eusebius Emissen. serm. v. de pasch. [See vol. viii. p. 33.]

[k] De iteratione, in consultat. [p. 1000.]

[l] [De off. minist. i. 48.]

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which is that which passes from God unto the people by the priest, that also is obtained and effected by way of prayer.

9. For since the holy Ghost is the consecrator, either He is called down by the force of a certain number of syllables, which that He will verify Himself hath no where described; and that He means not to do it He hath fairly intimated, in setting down the institution in words of great vicinity to express the sense of the mystery, but yet of so much difference and variety as will shew this great change is not wrought by such certain and determined words; 'the blood of the new testament,' so it is in S. Matthew and S. Mark; 'the new testament in My blood,' so S. Paul and S. Luke; 'My body which is broken,' 'My body which is given,' &c.; and to think otherwise is so near the gentile rites and the mysteries of Zoroastres, and the secret operations of the *enthei*, and heathen priests, that unless God had declared expressly such a power to be affixed to the recitation of such certain words, it is not with too much forwardness to be supposed true in the spirituality of the gospel.

10. But if the Spirit descends not by the force of syllables, it follows He is called down by the prayers of the church, presented by the priests, which indeed is much to the honour of God and of religion, an endearment of our duty, is according to the analogy of the gospel, and a proper action or part of spiritual sacrifice, that great excellency of evangelical religion.

11. For what can be more apt and reasonable to bring any great blessing from God than prayer, which acknowledges Him the fountain of blessing, and yet puts us into a capacity of receiving it by way of moral pre-disposition, that holy graces may descend into holy vessels, by holy ministries and conveyances; and none are more fit for the employment than prayers, whereby we bless God, and bless the symbols, and ask that God may bless us, and by which every thing is sanctified, viz., 'by the word of God and prayer[m],' that is, by God's benediction and our impetration; according to the use of the word in the saying of our blessed Saviour[n], 'Man lives by EVERY WORD that proceeds out of the mouth of God:' that is, by God's blessing; to which, prayer is to be joined, that we may co-operate with God in a way most likely to prevail with Him; and they are excellent words which Cassander[o] hath said to the purpose, "Some apostolical churches from the beginning used such solemn prayers to the celebration of the mysteries; and Christ himself, beside that He recited the words (of institution) He blessed the symbols before, and after sung an ecclesiastical hymn." And therefore the Greek

[m] [1 Tim. iv. 5.]

[n] [Matt. iv. 4.]

[o] De iteratione. [p. 1002.] Atqu. hinc adeo credo apostolicas ipsas jam inde ab initio ecclesias aliquas hujusmodi preces ad mysteriorum celebrationem adhibuisse; imo Christum ipsum non sola verborum recitatione, sed etiam eulogia ante ipsam mysteriorum confectionem, et postea hymno usum fuisse manifestum est.

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churches, which have with more severity kept the first and most ancient forms of consecration than the Latin church, affirm that the consecration is made by solemn invocation alone, and the very recitation of the words spoken in the body of a prayer are used for argument to move God to hallow the gifts, and as an expression and determination of the desire. And this Gabriel of Philadelphia[p] observes out of an apostolical liturgy, "The words of our Lord, προηγουμένως, antecedently, and by way of institution and incentive, are the form, together with the words which the priest afterwards recites according as it is set down in the divine liturgy." It is supposed he means the liturgy reported to be made by S. James, which is of the most ancient use in the Greek church; and all liturgies in the world in their several canons of communion, do now, and did for ever, mingle solemn prayers together with recitation of Christ's words. The church of England does most religiously observe it according to the custom and sense of the primitive liturgies; who always did believe the consecration not to be a natural effect, and change, finished in any one instant, but a divine alteration consequent to the whole ministry: that is, the solemn prayer and invocation.

12. Now if this great ministry be by way of solemn prayer, it will easier be granted that so the other are. For absolution and reconciliation of penitents I need say no more but the question of S. Austin[q], *Quid est aliud manus impositio, quam oratio super hominem?* And the priestly absolution is called by S. Leo[r] *sacerdotum supplicationes*, 'the prayers of priests;' and in the old *Ordo Romanus*, and in the pontifical, the forms of reconciliation were *Deus te absolvat*, 'the Lord pardon thee,' &c. But whatsoever the forms were (for they may be optative, or indicative, or declarative,) the case is not altered as to this question: for whatever the act of the priest be, whether it be the act of a judge, or of an embassador, or a counsellor, or a physician, or all this; the blessing which he ministers is by way of a solemn prayer, according to the exigence of the present rite: and the form of words doth not alter the case; for *Ego benedico* and *Deus benedicat* is the same[s], and was no more when God commanded the priest in express terms to 'bless the people;' only the church of late chooses the indicative form, to signify that such a person is by authority and proper designation appointed the ordinary minister of benediction. For in the sense of the church and scripture, none can give blessing but a superior, and yet every person may say in charity, 'God bless you;' he may not be properly said to 'bless,' for 'the greater is not blessed of the lesser,' by S. Paul's [t]

[p] [fo. λγ'. 4to. Venet. 1600, in liturgg. græc. tom. xii.] Τὸ εἶδος προηγουμένως μὲν τὰ κυριακὰ λόγια . . συνεπόμενα ἔχον, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐφεξῆς λεγόμενα ῥήματα, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ φέρεται λειτουργίᾳ.

[q] Lib. iii. de bapt. contr. Donat. cap. 16. [tom. ix. col. 117 B.]

[r] Epist. xcii. [al. xci. cap. 2. p. 161.]

[s] [See Acts ix., comparing therein verse 34 with verse 40.]

[t] [Heb. vii. 7.]

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rule; the priest may bless, or the father may, and yet their benediction (save that it signifies the authority, and solemn deputation of the person to such an ordinary ministry) signifies but the same thing; that is, it operates by way of prayer; but is therefore prevalent and more effectual, because it is by persons appointed by God. And so it is in absolution; for he that ministers the pardon being the person that passes the act of God to the penitent, and the act of the penitent to God; all that manner that the priest interposes for the penitent to God is by way of prayer, and by the mediation of intercession; for there is none else in this imaginable; and the other of passing God's act upon the penitent is by way of interpretation and enunciation, as an embassador, and by the word of his ministry. *In persona Christi condonavi*, 'I pardon in the person of Christ,' saith S. Paul[u]: in the first, he is ἱερεὺς ἐπικαλέων, εὐχόμενος, μεσιτεύων, εὐχαριστήσας: in the second he is ὑποφήτης ἐκφαντορικὸς: in both, a minister of divine benediction to the people; the 'anointing from above' descends upon 'Aaron's beard,' and so by degrees to the skirts of the people; and yet in those things which the priest or the prophet does but signify by divine appointment, he is said to do the thing which he only signifies and makes public as a minister of God: thus God sent Jeremy[v], He 'set him over the nations to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, to throw down, and to build, and to plant;' and yet in all this his ministry was nothing but prophetical: and he that converts a sinner is said[x] to 'save' him, and to 'hide a multitude of sins;' that is, he is instrumental to it and ministers in the employment; so that here also, *Verbum est oratio*, the word of God and prayer do transact both the parts of this office. And I understand, though not the degree and excellency, yet the truth of this manner of operation in the instance of Isaac blessing Jacob, which in the several parts was expressed in all forms, indicative, optative, enunciative; and yet there is no question but it was intended to do Jacob benefit by way of impetration; so that although the church may express the acts of her ministry in what form she please, and with design to make signification of another article, yet the manner of procuring blessings and graces for the people is by a ministry of interpellation and prayer, we having no other way of address or return to God but by petition and eucharist.

13. I shall not need to instance any more. S. Austin[y] sums up all the ecclesiastical ministries in an expression fully to this purpose; *Si ergo ad hoc valet quod dictum est in evangelio, Deus peccatorem non audit, ut per peccatorem sacramenta non celebrentur, Quomodo exaudit . . deprecantem vel super aquam baptismi, vel super oleum, vel super eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum super*[z] *quibus manus imponitur?* With S. Austin, praying over the symbols of

[u] [2 Cor. ii. 10.
[v] [Jer. i. 10.]
[x] [James v. 20.]
[y] Lib. xxxi. [leg. v.] de bapt. contr. Donat., cap. 20. [tom. ix. col. 154 G.]
[z] ['super' om. Ben.]

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every sacrament and sacramental, is all one with celebrating the mystery. And therefore in the office of consecration in the Greek church, this power passes upon the person ordained, "that he may be worthy to ask things of Thee for the salvation of the people[a]," that is, to celebrate the sacraments and rites, "and that Thou wilt hear him:" which fully expresses the sense of the present discourse, that the first part of that grace of the holy Spirit which consecrates the priest, the first part of his sanctification, is a separation of the person to the power of intercession for the people, and a ministerial mediation, by the ministration of such rites and solemn invocations which God hath appointed or designed.

14. And now this sanctification which is so evident in scripture, tradition, and reason, taken from proportion and analogy to religion, is so far from making the power of the holy man less than is supposed, that it shews the greatness of it by a true representment; and preserves the sacredness of it so within its own cancels, that it will be the greatest sacrilege in the world to invade it; for, whoever will boldly enter within this veil, *nisi qui vocatur sicut Aaron*, 'unless he be sanctified as is the priest,' who is *συνιερεύσας τῷ Χριστῷ*, as Nazianzen[b] calls him, 'a minister co-operating with Christ,' he does without leave call himself 'a man of God,' 'a mediator between God and the people under Christ,' he boldly thrusts himself into the participation of that glorious mediation which Christ officiates in heaven; all which things as they are great honours to the person rightly called to such vicinity and endearments with God, so they depend wholly upon divine dignation of the grace and vocation of the person.

15. II. Now for the other part of spiritual emanation or descent of graces in sanctification of the clergy, that is in order to the performance of the other, *ὅπως ὁ φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς ἡμῶν ἄσπιλον καὶ ἀμώμητον αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην χαρίσηται*[c], that's the sense of it, 'that God who is the lover of souls may grant a pure and unblamable priesthood;' and certainly they who are honoured with so great a grace as to be called to officiate in holy and useful ministries have need also of other graces to make them persons holy in habit and disposition, as well as holy in calling, and therefore God hath sent His spirit to furnish His emissaries with excellencies proportionable to their need and the usefulness of the church. At the beginning of christianity God gave gifts extraordinary, as boldness of spirit, fearless courage, freedom of discourse, excellent understanding, discerning of spirits, deep judgment, innocence and prudence of deportment, the gift of tongues; these were so necessary at the institution of the christian church, that if we had not had testimony of the matter of

[a] Εὐχολ. in consecr. episc. [ubi supra (p. 7) sign. νγ'. et Goar, p. 303.] *Εἰς τὸ ἄξιον γενέσθαι τοῦ αἰτεῖν αὐτὸν τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ὑπακούειν σε αὐτοῦ.*

[b] [See p. 38 above.]

[c] [Euchol. in ordinat. presbyt. Ubi supra, sign. νβ'.—Goar, p. 293.]

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fact, the reasonableness of the thing would prove the actual dispensation of the Spirit; because God never fails in necessaries: but afterward, when all the extraordinary needs were served, the extraordinary stock was spent, and God retracted those issues into their fountains, and then the graces that were necessary for the well discharging the ἐπίκλησις μεσιτείας, 'the priestly function,' were such as make the person of more benefit to the people, not only by being exemplary to them, but gracious and loved by God: and those are spiritual graces of sanctification.

16. And therefore ordination is a collation of holy graces of sanctification; of a more excellent faith, of fervent charity, of providence and paternal care: gifts which now descend not by way of miracle, as upon the apostles, are to be acquired by human industry, by study and good letters, and therefore are pre-supposed in the person to be ordained: to which purpose the church now examines the abilities of the man before she lays on hands: and therefore the church does not suppose that the Spirit in ordination descends in gifts, and in the infusion of habits, and perfect abilities, though then also it is reasonable to believe that God will assist the pious and careful endeavours of holy priests, and bless them with special aids and co-operation, because a more extraordinary ability is needful for persons so designed: but the proper and great aid which the Spirit of ordination gives, is such instances of assistance which make the person more holy.

17. And this is so certainly true, that even when the apostle had ordained Timothy to be bishop of Ephesus, he calls upon him[d] to 'stir up the gift of God which was in him by the putting on of his hands,' and that gift is a 'rosary of graces;' what graces they are he enumerates in the following words, "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, of love, καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ, and of a modest and sober mind," (and these words are made part of the form of collating the episcopal order in the church of England.) Here is all that descends from the Spirit in ordination: δύναμις, 'power,' that is, to officiate and intercede with God in the parts of ministry; and the rest are such as imply duty, such as make him fit to be a ruler in paternal and sweet government, 'modesty,' 'sobriety,' 'love;' and therefore in the forms of ordination of the Greek church (which are therefore highly to be valued, because they are most ancient, have suffered the least change, and been polluted with fewer interests) the mystical prayer of ordination names graces in order to holiness. "We pray Thee that the grace of the ever-holy Spirit may descend upon him; fill him[e] full of all faith and love and power and sanctification

[d] [2 Tim. i. 6 sq.]

[e] Πλήρωσον πάσης πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ τῷ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σου πνεύματος. [Euchol. in ordinat. diac., ibid. fo. vers. νά.—Goar, p. 251.] Ἵνα γένηται ἄξιος παρεστάναι ἀμέμπτως τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ σου, κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας σου, ἱερουργεῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας σου, προσφέρειν σοι δῶρα καὶ θυσίας πνευματικὰς, ἀνακαινίζειν τὸν λαόν σου διὰ τῆς τοῦ λούτρου παλιγγενεσίας. [In ordinat. presbyt., fo. vers. νβ'.—Goar, p. 293.]

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by the illumination of Thy holy and life-giving Spirit:" and the reason why these things are desired and given, is in order to the right performing his holy offices, "that he may be worthy to stand without blame at Thy altar, to preach the gospel of Thy kingdom, to minister the words of Thy truth, to bring to Thee gifts and spiritual sacrifices, to renew the people with the laver of regeneration."

18. And therefore S. Cyril[f] says that Christ's saying, 'Receive ye the holy Ghost,' signifies grace given by Christ to the apostles, whereby they were sanctified: that by the holy Ghost they might be absolved from their sins, saith Haymo[g]; and S. Austin[h] says that many persons that were snatched violently to be made priests or bishops, who had in their former purposes determined to marry and live a secular life, have in their ordination received the gift of continency. And therefore there was reason for the greatness of the solemnities used in all ages in separation of priests from the world, insomuch that whatsoever was used in any sort of sanctification or solemn benediction by Moses's law, all that was used in consecration of the priest, who was to receive the greatest measure of sanctification. *Eadem item vis etiam sacerdotem augustum et honorandum facit, novitate benedictionis a communitate vulgi segregatum; cum enim heri unus e plebe esset, repente redditur præceptor, præses, doctor pietatis, mysteriorum latentium præsul, &c.; invisibili quadam vi ac gratia invisibilem animam in melius transformatam gerens,* that is, 'improved in all spiritual graces;' which is highly expressed by Martyrius[i] who said to Nectarius, *Tu, o beate, recens baptizatus et purificatus, et mox insuper sacerdotio auctus es; utraque autem hæc peccatorum expiatoria esse Deus constituit:* which are not to be expounded as if ordination did confer the first grace, which in the schools is understood only to be expiatorious; but the increment of grace and sanctification; and that also is remissive of sins, which are taken off by parts as the habit decreases; and we grow in God's favour as our graces multiply or grow.

19. Now that these graces being given in ordination, are immediate emanations of the holy Spirit, and therefore not to be usurped or pretended to by any man upon whom the holy Ghost in ordination hath not descended, I shall less need to prove, because it is certain upon the former grounds, and will be finished in the following discourses; and it is in the Greek ordination[j] given as a reason of the former prayer, *οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐπιθέσει τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ τῶν πλουσίων σου οἰκτιρμῶν δίδοται χάρις τοῖς ἀξίοις σου,* 'for not in the imposition of my hands, but in the overseeing pro-

[f] Gratiam apostolis a Christo collatam, qua sanctificarentur: ut per Spiritum sanctum a propriis peccatis absolverentur.—[Vid. S. Cyrill.] lib. xii. in Joh. cap. 56. [p. 699 C. ed. lat. fol. Par. 1605.]

[g] Homil. in 8va Paschæ. [vid. p. 92 sq. 8vo. Par. 1545.]

[h] Lib. ii. cap. ult. de adulter. conjug. [tom. vi. col. 418 C.]

[i] Sozom., lib. vii. cap. 10. [p. 290.]

[j] [In ordinat. diac., ubi supra, fo. vers. να'.—Goar, p. 251.]

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vidence of Thy rich mercies, grace is given to them that are worthy.' So that we see more goes to the fitting of a person for ecclesiastical ministries than is usually supposed; together with the power, a grace is specially collated, and that is not to be taken up and laid down, and pretended to by every bolder person. The thing is sacred, separate, solemn, deliberate, derivative from God, and not of human provision, or authority, or pretence, or disposition.

SECT. VIII.

1. THE holy Ghost was the first consecrator, that is made evident; and the persons first consecrated were the apostles, who received the several parts of the priestly order at several times; the power of consecration of the eucharist, at the institution of it; the power of remitting and retaining sins in the octaves of Easter; the power of baptizing and preaching, together with universal jurisdiction, immediately before the Ascension, when they were commanded to 'go into all the world, preaching and baptizing.' This is the whole office of the priesthood; and nothing of this was given in Pentecost when the holy Spirit descended and rested upon all of them; the apostles, the brethren, the women: for then they received those great assistances which enabled them who had been designed for embassadors to the world, to do their great work: and others of a lower capacity had their proportion, as the effect of the promise of the Father, and a mighty verification of the truth of christianity.

2. Now all these powers which Christ hath given to His apostles were by some means or other to be transmitted to succeeding persons, because the several ministries were to abide for ever. All nations were to be converted, a church to be gathered and continued, the new converts to be made confessors, and consigned with baptism, sins to be remitted, flocks to be fed and guided, and the Lord's death declared, represented, exhibited, and commemorated until His second coming. And since the powers of doing these offices are acts of free and gracious concession, emanations of the holy Spirit, and admissions to a vicinity with God, it is not only impudence and sacrilege in the person, falsely to pretend (that is, to belie) the holy Ghost, and thrust into these offices, but there is an impossibility in the thing, it is null in the very deed doing, to handle these mysteries without some appointment by God; unless He calls and points out the person, either by an extraordinary or by an ordinary vocation. Of these I must give a particular account.

3. The extraordinary calling was first, that is, the immediate; for the first beginning of a lasting necessity, is extraordinary, and made ordinary in succession, and by continuation of a fixed and deter-

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mined ministry. The first of every order hath another manner of constitution than all the whole succession. The rising of the spring is of greater wonder, and of more extraordinary and latent reason, than the descent of the current; and the derivation of the powers of the holy Ghost that make the priestly order, are just like the creation: the first man was made with God's own hands, and all the rest by God co-operating with a human act; and there is never the same necessity as at first for 'God to create man.' The species or kind shall never fail, but be preserved in an ordinary way: and so it is in the designation of the ministers of evangelical priesthood; God breathed into the apostles τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν πνεῦμα, 'the breath of the life-giving Spirit;' and that breath was to be continued in a perpetual, univocal production; they who had received, they were also to give: and they only could.

4. Grace cannot be conveyed to any man, but either by the fountain or by the channel: by the author or by the minister. God only is the fountain and author: and he that makes himself the minister whom God appointed not, does in effect make himself the author: for he undertakes to dispose of grace which he hath not received, to give God's goods upon his own authority: which he that offers at without God's warrant, does it only upon his own. And so either he is the author or an usurper; either the fountain or a dry cloud; which in effect calls him either blasphemous or sacrilegious.

5. But the first and immediate derivation from the fountain, that only I affirm to be miraculous and extraordinary: as all beginnings of essences and graces of necessity must: those persons who receive the first issues, they only are extraordinarily called: all that succeed are called or designed by an ordinary vocation, because whatsoever is in the succession is but an ordinary necessity, to which God hath proportioned an ordinary ministry; and when it may be supplied by the common provisions, to look for an extraordinary calling is as if a man should expect some new man to be created, as Adam was; it is to suppose God will multiply beings and operations without necessity. God called at first, and if He had not called, man could not have come to Him in this[k] nearness of a holy ministry; He sent persons abroad, and if He had not sent, they could not have gone; but after that He had appointed by His own designation persons who should be fathers in Christ, He called no more, but left them to call others: He first immediately gives the χάρισμα, the 'grace,' and leaves this as a *depositum* to the church, faithfully to be kept till Christ's second coming; and this *depositum* is the doctrine and discipline of Jesus: He opens the door, and then left it open, commanding all to come in that way, into the ministry and tuition of the flock, calling all that came in by windows, and posterns, and oblique ways, 'thieves and robbers.' And it is observable that the word 'vocation' or 'calling' in scripture[l], when it is referred to a

[k] ['his' A.]

[l] [Acts xiii. 2; xvi. 10.]

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designation of persons to the ministry, it always signifies that which we term 'calling extraordinary;' it always signifies an immediate act of God; which also ceased when the great necessity expired, that is, when the fountain had streamed forth abundantly, and made a current to descend without interruption. The purpose of this discourse is, that now no man[m] should in these days of ordinary ministry look for an extraordinary calling, nor pretend in order to vainer purposes any new necessities.

6. They are fancies of a too confident opinion, and over-valuing of ourselves, when we think the very being of a church is concerned in our mistakes; and if all the world be against us, we are not ashamed of our folly, but think truth is failed from among the children of men, and the church is at a loss, and the current derived from the first emanations is dried up, and then he that is boldest to publish his follies, is also as apt to mistake his own boldness for 'a call from God,' as he did at first his own vain opinion for a necessary truth; and then he is called extraordinarily, and so ventures into the secrets of the sanctuary. First, he made a necessity more than ever God made, and then himself finds a remedy that God never appointed. He that thinks every shaking of the ark is absolute ruin to it, when peradventure it was but the weakness of his own eyes that made him fancy what was not, may also think he hears a call from above to support it, which indeed was nothing but a noise in his own head: and there is no cure for this, but to cure the man, and set his head right. For he that will pretend any thing that is beyond ordinary, as he that will say he hath two reasonable souls within him, or three wills, is not to be confuted but by physic, or by the tying him to abjure his folly till he were able to prove it.

7. But God by promising that His church should abide for ever, and that 'the gates of hell should not prevail against it,' but that Himself would be 'with her to the end of the world,' hath sufficiently confuted the vanity of those men, who that they might thrust themselves into an office, pretend the dissolution of the very being of the church. For,

α) If the church remains in her being, let her corruptions be what they will, the ordinary prophets have power to reform them; and if they do not, every man hath power to complain, so he does it with peace,—and modesty,—and truth,—and necessity.

8. β) And there is no need of an extraordinary calling to amend such things which are certain, foreseen events; and such were heresies and corruption in doctrine and manners, for which God appointed an ordinary ministry to take cognizance and make a remedy; for which Himself, when He had told us 'heresies must needs be,' yet made no provisions extraordinary, but left the church sufficiently instructed by her rule, and guided by her pastors.

9. γ) When Christ means to give us a new law, then He will give

[m] [Heb. v. 4, 5, 10.]

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us a new priesthood, a new ministry, one will not be changed without the other; God now no more comes in a mighty rushing wind, but in a still voice, in the gentle homilies of ordinary prophets; and now that the law, by which we are to frame our understandings and our actions, is established, we must not expect an apostle to correct every abuse; for if they will not hear Moses and the prophets, if one should come from the dead, or an angel come from heaven, it is certain they will not be entertained, but till the wonder be over, and the curiosity of news be satisfied.

10. Against this it is pretended[n], that 'Christ promised 'to be with His church for ever,' upon condition the church would do their duty; but they being but a company of men, have power to choose, and they may choose amiss; and if all should do so, Christ's promises may fail us, though not fail of their intentions; and then in this case the church failing, either there must be an extraordinary calling of single persons, or else any man may enter into the ordinary way, which is all one with an extraordinary: for it is extraordinary that common persons should by necessity be drawn into an employment which by ordinary vocation they are not to meddle with.'

11. Against this we can (thanks be to God for it) pretend the experience of sixteen ages; for hitherto it hath ever been in the christian churches[o], that God hath preserved a holy clergy in the same proportion as He hath preserved a holy people; never yet were the clergy all anti-christian, in the midst of christian churches; and we have no reason to fear it will be so now, after so long an experience to expound the promises of our Lord to the sense of a perpetual ministry, and a perpetual church, by the means of ordinary ministrations.

12. And how shall the church be supposed to fail[p], since God hath made no provisions for its restitution? For by what means should the church be renewed, and christianity restored? Not by scripture; for we have no certainty that the scriptures which we have this day are the same which the apostles delivered, and shall remain so for ever; but only 1) the reputation and testimony of all christian churches, (which also must transmit the same by a continual successive testimony to the following, or else they will be of an uncertain faith) and 2) the confidence of the Divine providence and goodness, who will not let us want what is fit for us, that without which we cannot attain the end to which in mercy He hath designed us. Now the same arguments which we have for the continuation of scripture, we have for the perpetuity of a christian clergy, that is, besides the so long actual succession and continuance, we have the goodness and unalterable sweetness of the Divine mercies, who will continue such ministries which Himself hath made the ordinary means

[n] Volkel. [de vera religione] lib. vi. cap. 18. [col. 706.]

[o] ['church' A.]

[p] Ibid. cap. 19. [col. 707 sqq.]

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of salvation; He would not have made them the way to heaven and of ordinary necessity, if He did not mean to preserve them. Indeed, if the ordinary way should fail, God will supply another way to them that do their duty; but then scripture may as well fail as the ordinary succession of the clergy: they both were intended but as the ordinary ministries of salvation, and if scripture be kept for the use of the church, it is more likely the church will be preserved in its necessary constituent parts than the scripture; because scripture is preserved for the church, it is kept that the church might not fail. For as for the fancy that 'all men being free agents may choose amiss:' suppose that; but then may they not all consent to the corruption or destroying of scripture? Yea, but God will preserve them from that, or will overrule the event: yea, but how do they know that? what revelation have they? Yet grant that too, but why then will He not also overrule the event of the matter of universal apostasy? for both of them are matter of choice.

13. But then that all the clergy should consent to corrupt scripture, or to lose their faith, is a most unreasonable supposition; for supposing there is a natural possibility, yet it is morally impossible; and we may as well fear that all the men of the world will be vicious upon the same reason; for if all the clergy may, then all the people may, and you may as well poison the sea as poison all the springs; and it is more likely all the idiots and the ordinary persons in the world should be cozened[q] out of their religion, than that all the wise men and *antistites*, the teachers, doctors, and public ministers of religion should. And when all men turn mariners, or apothecaries, or that all men will live single lives, and turn monks, and so endanger the species of mankind to perish, (for there is a great fear of that too;) that is, when all the world choose one thing (for if two men do, two thousand may do it if they will, and so may all upon this ground:) then also we may fear that all the governors of the church may fail, because some do, and more have, and all may; till then, there will be no need of an extraordinary commission; but the church shall go on upon the stock of the first calling and designation, which was extraordinary. The Spirit issued out at first miraculously, and hath continued running still in the first channels by ordinary conduct, and in the same conveyances it must run still, or it cannot without a miracle derive upon us, who stand at infinite distance from the fountain. Since then there is now no more expectation of an extraordinary calling, and to do so were an extraordinary vanity; it remains that the derivation of the ministerial power be by an ordinary conveyance.

14. The Spirit of God in scripture hath drawn a line, and chalked out the path that Himself meant to tread, in giving the graces of evangelical ministrations. At first, after that Christ had named twelve (one whereof was lost) they, not having an express command for the

[q] [See vol. vii. p. 3.]

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manner of ordination, took such course as reason and religion taught them. They named two persons, and prayed God to choose one, and to manifest it by lot; which was a way less than the first designation of the other eleven, and yet had more of the extraordinary in it than could be reasonably continued in an ordinary succession. The apostles themselves had not as yet received skill enough how to officiate in their ordinary ministry, because the holy Ghost was not as yet[r] descended.

15. But when the holy Ghost descended, then the work was to begin; the apostles wanted no power necessary for the main work of the gospel; but now also they received commissions to dispense the Spirit to all such purposes to which He was intended. They before had the office in themselves, but it was not communicable to others, till the Spirit, the 'anointing from above,' ran over the[s] fringes of the priest's garments; they had it but in imperfection and unactive faculties; so saith Theophylact[t]; "He breathed, not now giving to them the perfect gift of the holy Ghost, for that He intended to give at Pentecost; but He prepared them for the fuller reception of it." They had the gift before, but not the perfect consummation of it, that was reserved for the great day; and because the power of consecration is the τελείωσις, or 'perfection' of priestly order, it was the proper emanation of this day's glory; then was the ἱερατικὴ τελείωσις, the perfection of what power Christ had formerly consigned. For of all faculties, that is not perfect which produces perfect and excellent actions in a direct line, actions of a particular sort; but that which produces the actions, and enables others to do so too; for then the perfection is inherent, not only formally, but virtually and eminently[u]; and that's the crown of habits and natural faculties. Now besides the reasonableness of the thing, this is also verified by a certainty that will not easily fail us; by experience, and *ex post facto*. For as we do not find the apostles had, before Pentecost, a productive power, which made them call for a miracle, or a special providence by lots; so we are sure that immediately after Pentecost they had it: for they speedily began to put it in execution; and it is remarkable, that the apostles did not lay hands upon Matthias: he being made apostle before the descent of the holy Ghost, they had no power to do it, they were not yet made ministers of the Spirit; which because afterwards presently they did, concludes fairly that at Pentecost they were among other graces made the ordinary ministers of ordination.

16. This I say is certain, that the holy Ghost descending at Pen-

[r] ['not yet' A.]

[s] ['over to the' A.]

[t] Theophylact. in xx. Joan. [p. 837 A.] Ἐμφυσᾷ, . . οὐ τὴν τελείαν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν αὐτοῖς νέμων, ταύτην γὰρ ἐν τῇ πεντεκοστῇ ἔμελλεν δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιτηδείους αὐτοὺς ποιῶν.

[u] ['Again, if there were more Gods than one, then were not all perfections in one, neither *formally*, by reason of their distinction, nor *eminently and virtually*,' &c.—Pearson, Exp. of Creed, art. i.]

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tecost, they instantly did officiate in their ministerial offices, they preached, they baptized, they confirmed and gave the holy Spirit of obsignation, and took persons into the lot of their ministry, doing of it by an external rite and solemn invocation: and now the extraordinary way did cease; God was the fountain of the power, but man conveyed it by an external rite: and of this S. Paul, who was the only exception from the common way, takes notice; calling himself[x] an apostle, 'not of man, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ;' implying that he had a special honour done, to be chosen an apostle in an extraordinary way; therefore others might be apostles, and yet not so as he was; for else his expression had been all one as if one should say, 'Titius[y] the son of a man, not begotten of an angel or spirit, nor produced by the sun or stars, but begotten by a man of a woman:' the discourse had been ridiculous, for no man is born otherwise; and yet he also[z] had something of the ordinary too, for in an extraordinary manner he was sent to be ordained in an ordinary ministry. And yet because the ordinary ministry was settled, S. Paul was called to an account for so much of it as was extraordinary; and was tied to do that which every man now is bound to do that shall pretend a calling extraordinary, viz. to give an extraordinary proof of his extraordinary calling: which when he had done in the college of Jerusalem, the apostles 'gave him the right hand of fellowship[a],' and approved his vocation; which also shews, that now the way of ordination was fixed and declared to be by human ministry; of which I need no other proof but the instances of ordinations recorded in scripture, and the no instances to the contrary, but of S. Paul, whose designation was as immediate as that of the eleven apostles, though his ordination was not.—I end this with the saying of Job the monk[b], "Concerning the order of priesthood, it is supernatural and unspeakable; he that yesterday and the day before was in the form of idiots and private persons, to-day by the power of the holy Ghost, and the voice of the chief priest, and laying on of hands, receives so great an improvement and alteration, that he handles and can consecrate the divine mysteries of the holy church, and becomes (under Christ) a mediator (ministerial) between God and man, and exalted to hallow himself and sanctify others:" the same almost with the words of Gregory Nyssen, in his book *De sancto baptismate*[c].

[x] [Gal. i. 1.]
[y] ['Titus' B.]
[z] ['also he' B.]
[a] [Gal. ii. 9.]

[b] Tract. de sacrament. [ap. P. Arcud. de concord. eccles. occid. et orient. lib. vi. cap. 3. p. 429 D. (cf. i. 2. p. 5 C) fol. Par. 1626.—Vid. Fabric. bibl. græc. lib. v. cap. 45. tom. x. p. 524.—4to. Hamb. 1721.] Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὑπερφυὲς καὶ ἄρρητον. χθὲς καὶ πρώην ὄντα τινὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἕνα τῶν τυγχανόντων ἰδιωτῶν ἄρτι καὶ σήμερον πνεύματος ἁγίου δυνάμει καὶ ἀρχιερέως φωνῇ καὶ δεξιᾶς ἐπιθέσει τοσαύτην ἀλλοίωσιν κρείττονα δέξασθαι, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀποκαθίστασθαι, ὥστε τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκκλησίας τελεῖν δύνασθαι, καὶ μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων γίνεσθαι, ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἁγιάζειν.

[c] [In bapt. Christi.—tom. iii. p. 370.]

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17. This is the sum of the preceding discourses:—God is the consecrator, man is the minister; the separation is mysterious and wonderful; the power great and secret; the office, to stand between God and the people in the ministry of the evangelical rites; the calling to it ordinary, and by a settled ministry, which began after the descent of the holy Ghost in Pentecost.

18. This great change was in nothing expressed greater than that Saul upon his ordination changed his name, which S. Chrysostom[d] observing, affirms the same of S. Peter. I conclude; *Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiæ auctoritas et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus a Deo,* saith Tertullian[e], 'the authority of the whole church of God hath made distinction between the person ordained and the people, but the honour and power of it is derived from the sanctification of God.' It is derived from Him, but conveyed by an ordinary ministry of His appointing: whosoever therefore with unsanctified, that is, with unconsecrated hands, shall dare to officiate in the ministerial office, separate by God, by gifts, by graces, by public order, by an established rite, by the institution of Jesus, by the descent of the holy Ghost, by the word of God, by the practice of the apostles, by the practice of sixteen ages of the catholic church, by the necessity of the thing, by reason, by analogy to the discourse of all the wise men that ever were in the world; that man, like his predecessor Corah, brings an unhallowed censer, which shall never send up a right cloud of incense to God, but yet that unpermitted and disallowed smoke shall kindle a fire, even the wrath of God which shall at least destroy the sacrifice; 'his work shall be consumed[f],' and when upon his repentance himself escapes, yet it shall be 'so as by fire,' that is, with danger, and loss, and shame, and trouble; "for our God is a consuming fire[g]."

REMEMBER CORAH AND ALL HIS COMPANY.

ΆΓΙΟΣ ΙΣΧΥΡΌΣ[h].

[d] Homil. xxviii. in Acta xviii. [leg. xiii.—§ i. tom. ix. p. 221 B.]
[e] Exhort. ad castitat. [cap. vii. p. 1126. —fol. Par. 1598.]
[f] [1 Cor. iii. 15.]
[g] [Heb. xii. 29.]
[h] [See vol. v. p. 605, note.]

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THE

SECOND EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO

A NEW AND EASY INSTITUTION OF GRAMMAR,

1647[1].

TO THE MOST HOPEFUL CHRISTOPHER HATTON, ESQUIRE, SON AND HEIR TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD HATTON, OF KIRBY.

SIR,—All that know the infinite desires and the many cares my lord your most honoured father hath of your education in learning and exemplar piety, will expound this address to you as a compliance with those thoughts and designs of his, by which he intends hereafter to represent you to the world to be a person like himself; that is, an able instrument of serving God, and promoting the just and religious interests of God's vicegerent and God's church. It is yet but early day with you,

Adhuc tua messis in herba[k]:

but if we may conjecture by the most hopeful prognostics of a clear morning, we who are servants and relatives of my lord your father, promise to ourselves the best concerning you; and those are, that you will become such as your honourable father intends you, who had rather secure to you a stock of wisdom than of wealth, or of the most pompous honours. These sadnesses which cloud many good men at this present, have taught us all that nothing can secure a happiness or create one, but those inward excellencies, which like diamonds in the night, sparkle in despite of darkness. And give me leave to tell you this truth, that however nature and the laws of the kingdom may secure you a great fortune, and mark you with the exterior character of honour, yet your fortune will be but a load of baggage, and your honour an empty gaiety, unless you build and

[1] [See Heber's life of Taylor.]—A copy of the grammar is preserved in Caius college, Cambridge, D. h. 5. [Another, not quite perfect, is in the Bodleian library; and a third is in the possession (A.D. 1854) of the rev. Philip Bliss, D.C.L. principal of S. Mary Hall.]

[k] [vid. Ovid. epist. xvii. 263.]

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adorn your house as your father does, with the advantages and ornaments of learning, upon the foundation of piety. In order to which give me leave to help you in laying this first stone, which is cut small, and yet according to the strictest rules of art, but with a design justly complying with your end; for it is contrived with so much brevity, that since you are intended for a long journey, to a great progress of wisdom and knowledge, you may not be stopped at your setting out, but proceed like the sun, whose swiftness is just proportionable to the length of his course. For, sir, you will neither satisfy your honourable father's care, nor the expectation of your friends, nor the humblest desires of your servants, if you hereafter shall be wise and pious but in the even rank of other men. We expect you to shew to the world an argument, and make demonstration whose son you are, that you may be learned even to an example, pious up to a proverb: and unless you excel those bounds which custom and indevotion hath made to be the term and utmost aim of many of your rank, we shall only say you are not vicious, not unlearned; and what a poor character that will be of you, yourself will be the best judge, when you remember who and what your father is. Sir, this freedom of expression I hope you will pardon, when you shall know that it is the sense and desires of one of the heartiest and devoutest of your most honoured father's servants; who hath had the honour to have so much of his privacies communicated to him, as to be witness of his cares, his sighs, his hopes and fears concerning you, and for the advantage and promotion of your best interests. I hope, sir, that neither this monition, nor the present institution of the first, but the most necessary art and instrument of knowledge, will become displeasing to you, especially if you shall accept this testimony from me, that it is done with much care and choice: and though the scene lies in Wales, yet the representment and design is one of the instances for Kirby, and that it is the first and the least testimony of the greatest service and affection which can proceed from the greatest affections and obligations; such as are those of,

honoured sir,

your most obliged and affectionate servant,

J. T.

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TWO PRAYERS,

BEFORE AND AFTER SERMON[1].

PRAYER BEFORE SERMON.

O ETERNAL God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Lord and Sovereign of all the creatures, we, though most unworthy by reason of our great and innumerable transgressions, yet invited by Thy essential goodness and commandment, do with all reverence and humble confidence approach to the throne of grace, begging of Thee, for the passion of our dearest Lord, to remove our sins as far as the east from the west, and to remember them no more, lest Thou smite us in Thy jealousy, and consume us in Thy wrath and indignation, which we, by heaps and conjugations of sin, most sadly have deserved to feel, and sink under to eternal ages.

For we confess, O God, to Thy glory, who so long hast spared us, and to our own shame, who so long have resisted and despised so glorious a mercy, that we are the vilest of sinners, and the worst of men, lovers of the world, and neglecters of religion, and undervalue its interests, being passionate for trifles, and indifferent for eternal treasures; weak to serve Thee in our natural powers, and not careful to employ and to improve the aids of the Spirit. We are proud and envious, lustful and intemperate, prodigal of our time, and covetous of money, greedy of sin, but loathing manna, the bread that came down from heaven. Willing we are to suffer any thing, or to do any thing to please our senses, and to satisfy ambition, or to purchase the world, but are neither willing to do or suffer any contradiction for the cause of God. In prosperity, we are impudent and proud; in adversity, pusillanimous and cowardly: ready to promise any thing in the day of our calamity, but when Thou bringest us to comfort, we forget our duty, and do just nothing. We are full of inconsideration and carelessness, desirous to be accounted holy by men, but careless of being approved so to Thee our God. In all our conversation we are uneven, soon disturbed, quickly angry, not quickly appeased; petulant, and peevish, and disordered by a whole body of sin, and evil is our portion; we are heirs of wrath, infirmity, and folly; shame and death are our inheritance.

[1] [These prayers, generally used by bishop Taylor, are extracted from a scarce and curious little volume entitled "Choice Forms of Prayer, by severall Reverend and Godly Divines, used by them both before and after Sermon." There is a copy in the British Museum, bearing date 1651.]

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But, O God, Thou art our Father, gracious and merciful; Thou knowest whereof we are made, and rememberest that we are but dust. Be not wroth very sore, O Lord, neither remember our iniquities for ever; for we are ashamed of the sins we have desired, and are confounded for the pleasures we have chosen. O make us penitent and obedient, careful as the watches of the night, that we may never return to the folly whereof we are now ashamed; but that in holiness and righteousness we may serve and please Thee all our days, working out our salvation with fear and trembling.

O Lord, Father and governor of our whole life, leave us not to the sinful counsels of our own heart, and let us not any more fall by them. Set scourges over our thoughts, and the discipline of wisdom over our hearts, lest our ignorances increase, and our sins abound to our destruction. Let our repentance be speedy and perfect, bringing forth the fruits of holy conversation. Give unto us a faith that shall never be reproved, a hope that shall never make us ashamed, a charity that shall never cease, a confidence in Thee that shall never be discomposed, a patience that shall never faint, a noble christian courage that shall enable us, in despite of all opposition, to confess Thy faith, to publish Thy laws, and to submit to Thy dispensations, to glorify Thy name by holy living and dying, that in all changes and accidents we may be Thy servants, and Thou mayest take delight to pardon us, to sanctify us, and to save us, that we may rejoice in the mercies of God, in the day of recompences, at the glorious appearance of our Lord Jesus.

Bless, O Lord, Thy holy catholic church, with all blessings and assistances of Thy Spirit and providence. Let the daily sacrifice of prayer and eucharist never cease, but for ever be presented unto Thee, united to the intercession of our Lord, and for ever prevail for the obtaining to all her sons and daughters grace and blessing, pardon and holiness, perseverance and glory.

In particular, we humbly recommend to Thy care and providence Thy afflicted handmaid the church of England. Thou hast humbled us for our pride, and chastised us for our want of discipline. O forgive us all our sins, which have provoked Thee to arm Thyself against us. Blessed God, smite us not with a final and exterminating judgment. Call not the watchmen off from their guards, nor the angels from their charges; let us not die by a famine of Thy word and sacraments; if Thou smitest us with the rod of a man, Thou canst sanctify every stroke, and bring good out of that evil: but nothing can make recompence to us if Thou hatest us, and sufferest our souls to perish. Unite our hearts and tongues: take the spirit of error and division from us, and so order all the accidents of Thy providence, that religion may increase, and our devotion may be great and popular, that truth may be encouraged and promoted, and Thy name glorified, and Thy servants instructed and comforted, that the

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Spirit may rule, and all interests may stoop and obey, publish and advance the interests of the Lord Jesus.

In order to which end, we pray Thee to look down in mercy upon Thy servants, and where Thou hast placed the right and supreme authority over this nation, give the supreme and choicest of Thy blessings, health and peace, strength and victory, a long and a prosperous government, a portion in the kingdom of grace here and glory hereafter, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Give a double portion of Thy spirit to the ministers of the church, the dispensers and stewards of the holy things of God; grant that by a holy life, and a true belief, by well doing and patient suffering, by diligent and sincere preaching, and assiduous prayers and ministries, they may glorify Thee, the great lover of souls, and after a plentiful conversion of sinners from the errors of their way, they may shine like the stars in glory.

Give unto the ministers of justice the spirit of government and zeal, courage and prudence: to the nobility, wisdom, valour, and religious magnanimity: to old men, piety, prudence, and liberality: to young men, obedience, temperance, health, and diligence: to merchants, justice and faithfulness: to mechanics and artizans, truth and honesty: to all married pairs, faith and holiness, charity and sweet compliances: to all christian women, the ornament of a meek and a quiet spirit, chastity and charity, patience and obedience, a zeal of duty and religion: to all that are sick and afflicted, distressed in conscience or persecuted for it, give patience and comfort, a perfect repentance, and a perfect resignation, a love of God, and a perseverance in duty, proportionable comfort in this life, and an eternal weight of glory in the great day of our Lord Jesus. Give to all schools of learning and nurseries of religion, peace and quietness, powerful and bountiful patrons, the blessings of God and of religion; to the whole land fair seasons of the year, good government, health, and plenty, an excellent religion, undivided, undisturbed, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Give unto us Thy servants the assistance of Thy holy spirit; grant to me to speak Thy word piously, prudently, and with holy intention; to these Thy servants, to hear it reverently, obediently, and without prejudice, with hearts ready to conform to Thy holy will and pleasure, that we, living in Thy love and fear, may die in Thy favour, and rest in hope, and rise in glory to the participation of the blessings of a blissful immortality, through the mercies of God in our Lord Jesus Christ, our dearest Saviour and ever glorious and most mighty Redeemer, in whose name let us pray in the words which Himself commanded:—

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

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PRAYER AFTER SERMON.

ALMIGHTY GOD, our glory and our hope, our Lord and master, the Father of mercy and God of all comfort, we present to Thee the sacrifice of a thankful spirit, in humble and joyful acknowledgment of those infinite favours by which Thou hast supported our state, enriched our spirit, comforted our sorrows, relieved our necessities, blessed and defended our persons, instructed our ignorances, and promoted our eternal interests.

We praise Thy name for that portion of Thy holy word of which Thou hast made us partakers this day. Grant that it may bring forth fruit unto Thee, and unto holiness in our whole life, to the glory of Thy holy name, to the edification of our brethren, and the eternal comfort of our souls in the day of our Lord Jesus.

Have mercy on all that desire, and all that need, our prayers. Visit them with Thy mercy and salvation. Ease the pains of the sick, support the spirits of the disconsolate, restore to their rights all that are oppressed. Remember them that are appointed to die. Give them comfort, perfect and accept their repentance, give them pardon for Jesus Christ's sake, that in the glories of eternity they may magnify Thy mercy for ever and ever.

Hear the cries of the orphans and widows in their calamity; let all their sorrow be sanctified and end in peace and holiness, in the glorification of Thy name, and the salvation of their souls.

Lord, pity and pardon, direct and bless, sanctify and save us all. Give repentance to all that live in sin, and perseverance to all Thy sons and servants, for His sake who is Thy beloved, and the foundation of all our hopes, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus, to whom, with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, praise and adoration, now and for evermore[m].

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God almighty, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always!

[m] [See vol. iv. p. 6.]

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A

DISCOURSE

OF THE NATURE AND OFFICES[a] OF

FRIENDSHIP.

IN A LETTER TO

THE MOST INGENIOUS AND EXCELLENT M. K. P.[b]

'Οπόσους ἄν τις ᾖ κεκτημένος ἑταίρους τοσούτοις μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἃ δεῖ βλέπει [lege, ἃ βούλεται ὁρᾷ.]—Dion. [Chrysost.] orat. i. de regno. [tom. i. p. 54[c].]

[a] ['nature, offices, and measures' B.]
[b] ['Mrs. Katharine Philips' B; 'Mrs. Katherine Phillips' C.]
[c] [This motto only in first ed. 12mo. Lond. 1657.]

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A DISCOURSE,

&c.

MADAM,

THE wise Bensirach[c] advised that we should not consult with a woman concerning her of whom she is jealous, neither with a coward in matters of war, nor with a merchant concerning exchange; and some other instances he gives of interested persons, to whom he would not have us hearken in any matter of counsel. For wherever the interest is secular or vicious, there the bias is not on the side of truth or reason, because these are seldom served by profit and low regards. But to consult with a friend in the matters of friendship is like consulting with a spiritual person in religion; they who understand the secrets of religion, or the interior beauties of friendship, are the fittest to give answers in all enquiries concerning the respective subjects; because reason and experience are on the side of interest; and that which in friendship is most pleasing and most useful, is also most reasonable and most true; and a friend's fairest interest is the best measure of the conducting friendships: and therefore you, who are so eminent in friendships, could also have given the best answer to your own enquiries, and you could have trusted your own reason, because it is not only greatly instructed by the direct notices of things, but also by great experience in the matter of which you now enquire.

But because I will not use any thing that shall look like an excuse, I will rather give you such an account which you can easily reprove, than by declining your commands, seem more safe in my prudence, than open and communicative in my friendship to you.

You first enquire—How far a dear and a perfect friendship is authorized by the principles of CHRISTIANITY?

To this I answer; that the word 'friendship' in the sense we commonly mean by it, is not so much as named in the New testament; and our religion takes no notice of it. You think it strange; but read on before you spend so much as the beginning of a passion or a wonder upon it. There is mention of 'friendship with the world, and it is said to be 'enmity with God;' but the word is no where else named, or to any other purpose in all the New testament. It speaks of friends often; but by 'friends' are meant our acquaintance, or our

[c] [Ecclus. xxxvii. 11.]

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kindred, the relatives of our family or our fortune, or our sect; something of society, or something of kindness there is in it; a tenderness of appellation and civility, a relation made by gifts, or by duty, by services and subjection; and I think I have reason to be confident, that the word 'friend' (speaking of humane[c] entercourse) is no otherways used in the gospels or epistles, or acts of the apostles: and the reason of it is, the word 'friend' is of a large signification; and means all relations and societies, and whatsoever is not enemy; but by 'friendships' I suppose you mean, the greatest love and the greatest usefulness, and the most open communication, and the noblest sufferings, and the most exemplar faithfulness, and the severest truth, and the heartiest counsel, and the greatest union of minds, of which brave men and women are capable. But then I must tell you that christianity hath new christened it, and calls this 'charity.' The Christian knows no enemy he hath; that is, though persons may be injurious to him, and unworthy in themselves, yet he knows none whom he is not first bound to forgive, which is indeed to make them on his part to be no enemies, that is, to make that the word 'enemy' shall not be perfectly contrary to 'friend,' it shall not be a relative term and signify something on each hand, a relative and a correlative; and then he knows none whom he is not bound to love and pray for, to treat kindly and justly, liberally and obligingly. Christian charity is friendship to all the world; and when friendships were the noblest things in the world, charity was little, like the sun drawn in at a chink, or his beams drawn into the centre of a burning-glass; but christian charity is friendship, expanded like the face of the sun when it mounts above the eastern hills: and I was strangely pleased when I saw something of this in Cicero; for I have been so pushed at by herds and flocks of people that follow any body that whistles to them, or drives them to pasture, that I am grown afraid of any truth that seems chargeable with singularity[d]: but therefore I say, glad I was when I saw Lælius in Cicero[e] discourse thus, *Amicitia ex infinitate generis humani quam conciliavit ipsa natura contracta res est, et adducta in angustum; ut omnis caritas aut inter duos aut inter paucos jungeretur.* Nature hath made friendships and societies, relations and endearments; and by something or other we relate to all the world; there is enough in every man that is willing, to make him become our friend; but when men contract friendships, they enclose the commons; and what nature intended should be every man's, we make proper to two or three. Friendship is like rivers, and the strand of seas, and the air, common to all the world; but tyrants, and evil customs, wars, and want of love, have made them proper and peculiar. But when

[c] [See vol. v. p. 386.]

[d] [The controversy about Original Sin was still recent; see vol. vii. p. 586.]

[e] ['Quanta autem vis amicitiæ sit, ex hoc intelligi maxime potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est' &c. Cic. de amicit. 5.]

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christianity came to renew our nature, and to restore our laws, and to increase her privileges, and to make her aptness to become religion, then it was declared that our friendships were to be as universal as our conversation; that is, actual to all with whom we converse, and potentially extended unto those with whom we did not. For he who was to treat his enemies with forgiveness and prayers and love and beneficence, was indeed to have no enemies, and to have all friends.

So that to your question, how far a dear and perfect friendship is authorized by the principles of christianity? the answer is ready and easy. It is warranted to extend to all mankind; and the more we love, the better we are, and the greater our friendships are, the dearer we are to God; let them be as dear, and let them be as perfect, and let them be as many as you can; there is no danger in it; only where the restraint begins, there begins our imperfection; it is not ill that you entertain brave friendships and worthy societies: it were well if you could love, and if you could benefit all mankind; for I conceive that is the sum of all friendship.

I confess this is not to be expected of us in this world; but as all our graces here are but imperfect, that is, at the best they are but tendencies to glory, so our friendships are imperfect too, and but beginnings of a celestial friendship, by which we shall love every one as much as they can be loved. But then so we must here in our proportion; and indeed that is it that can make the difference; we must be friends to all: that is, apt to do good, loving them really, and doing to them all the benefits which we can, and which they are capable of. The friendship is equal to all the world, and of itself hath no difference; but is differenced only by accidents, and by the capacity or incapacity of them that receive it. Nature and religion are the bands of friendships; excellency and usefulness are its great endearments: society and neighbourhood, that is, the possibilities and the circumstances of converse, are the determinations and actualities of it. Now when men either are unnatural, or irreligious, they will not be friends; when they are neither excellent nor useful, they are not worthy to be friends; when they are strangers or unknown, they cannot be friends actually and practically; but yet, as any man hath any thing of the good, contrary to those evils, so he can have and must have his share of friendship. For thus the sun is the eye of the[f] world; and he is indifferent to the negro or the cold Russian, to them that dwell under the line, and them that stand near the tropics, the scalded Indian, or the poor boy that shakes at the foot of the Riphean hills; but the fluxures[g] of the heaven and the earth, the conveniency of abode, and the approaches to the north or south respectively change the emanations of his beams; not that they do not pass always from him, but that they are not equally received below, but by periods and changes, by little inlets and

[f] ['of all the' A.] [g] ['flexures' A.]

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reflections: they receive what they can; and some have only a dark day and a long night from him, snows and white cattle, a miserable life, and a perpetual harvest of catarrhs and consumptions, apoplexies and dead palsies; but some have splendid fires and aromatic spices, rich wines and well digested fruits, great wit and great courage; because they dwell in his eye, and look in his face, and are the courtiers of the sun, and wait upon him in his chambers of the east. Just so is it in friendships: some are worthy, and some are necessary; some dwell hard by and are fitted for converse; nature joins some to us, and religion combines us with others; society and accidents, parity of fortune and equal dispositions do actuate our friendships: which of themselves and in their prime disposition are prepared for all mankind according as any one can receive them. We see this best exemplified by two instances and expressions of friendships and charity: viz. Alms and Prayers. Every one that needs relief is equally the object of our charity; but though to all mankind in equal needs we ought to be alike in charity; yet we signify this severally and by limits, and distinct measures: the poor man that is near me, he whom I meet, he whom I love, he whom I fancy, he who did me benefit, he who relates to my family, he rather than another; because my expressions being finite and narrow, and cannot extend to all in equal significations, must be appropriate to those whose circumstances best fit me: and yet even to all I give my alms; to all the world that needs them; I pray for all mankind, I am grieved at every sad story I hear; I am troubled when I hear of a pretty bride murdered in her bride-chamber by an ambitious and enraged rival; I shed a tear when I am told that a brave king was misunderstood, then slandered, then imprisoned, and then put to death by evil men[h]: and I can never read the story of the Parisian massacre[i], or the Sicilian vespers[i], but my blood curdles, and I am disordered by two or three affections. A good man is a friend to all the world; and he is not truly charitable that does not wish well and do good to all mankind in what he can; but though we must pray for all men, yet we say special litanies for brave kings, and holy prelates, and the wise guides of souls; for our brethren and relations, our wives and children.

The effect of this consideration is, that the universal friendship of which I speak, must be limited, because we are so. In those things where we stand next to immensity and infinity, as in good wishes and prayers, and a readiness to benefit all mankind, in these our friendships must not be limited; but in other things which pass under our hand and eye, our voices and our material exchanges; our hands can reach no further but to our arm's end, and our voices can but sound till the next air be quiet, and therefore they can have entercourse but within the sphere of their own activity; our needs and our conversations are served by a few, and they cannot reach to all; where they

[h] [See vol. vii. p. 359 note.]

[i] [See vol. viii. p. 495.]

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can, they must; but where it is impossible, it cannot be necessary. It must therefore follow, that our friendships to mankind may admit variety as does our conversation; and as by nature we are made sociable to all, so we are friendly; but as all cannot actually be of our society, so neither can all be admitted to a special, actual friendship; of some entercourses all men are capable, but not of all; men can pray for one another, and abstain from doing injuries to all the world, and be desirous to do all mankind good, and love all men; now this friendship we must pay to all because we can, but if we can do no more to all, we must shew our readiness to do more good to all by actually doing more good to all them to whom we can.

To some we can, and therefore there are nearer friendships to some than to others, according as there are natural or civil nearnesses, relations and societies; and as I cannot express my friendships to all in equal measures and significations, that is, as I cannot do benefits to all alike: so neither am I tied to love all alike: for although there is much reason to love every man, yet there are more reasons to love some than others; and if I must love because there is reason I should, then I must love more where there is more reason; and where there's a special affection and a great readiness to do good and to delight in certain persons towards each other, there is that special charity and endearment which philosophy calls 'friendship[k],' but our religion calls 'love' or 'charity.'

Now if the enquiry be concerning this special friendship,

1. how it can be appropriate, that is, who to be chosen to it;
2. how far it may extend; that is, with what expressions signified;
3. how conducted;—

The answers will depend upon such considerations which will be neither useless nor unpleasant.

I. 1. There may be a special friendship contracted for any special excellency whatsoever; because friendships are nothing but love and society mixed together; that is, a conversing with them whom we love; now for whatsoever we can love any one, for that we can be his friend; and since every excellency is a degree of amability, every such worthiness is a just and proper motive of friendship, or loving conversation. But yet in these things there is an order and proportion. Therefore

2. A good man is the best friend, and therefore soonest to be chosen, longer to be retained; and indeed never to be parted with; unless he cease to be that for which he was chosen.

> Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀρετῇ ποιεῦ φίλον ὅστις ἄριστος[l].
>
> Μήποτε τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι ἑταῖρον[m].
>
> Where virtue dwells there friendships make,
> But evil neighbourhoods forsake.

[k] ['friendships' A.] [l] [Pythag. carm. aur 5.] [m] [Theogn. lin. 113.]

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But although virtue alone is the worthiest cause of amability, and can weigh down any one consideration; and therefore to a man that is virtuous every man ought to be a friend; yet I do not mean the severe and philosophical excellencies of some morose persons who are indeed wise unto themselves, and exemplar to others: by virtue here I do not mean justice and temperance, charity and devotion; for these I am to love the man, but friendship is something more than that: friendship is the nearest love and the nearest society of which the persons are capable. Now justice is a good entercourse for merchants, as all men are that buy and sell; and temperance makes a man good company, and helps to make a wise man; but a perfect friendship requires something else, these must be in him that is chosen to be my friend; but for these I do not make him my *privado;* that is, my special and peculiar friend: but if he be 'a good man,' then he is properly fitted to be my correlative in the noblest combination.

And for this we have the best warrant in the world: "For a just man scarcely will a man die[n];" the Syriac[o] interpreter reads it *ὑπὲρ ἀδίκου*, 'for an unjust man scarcely will a man die;' that is, a wicked man is at no hand fit to receive the expression of the greatest friendship; but all the Greek copies that ever I saw or read of, read it as we do, 'for a righteous man' or 'a just man;' that is, justice and righteousness is not the nearest endearment of friendship; but for 'a good man' some will even dare to die: that is, for a man that is sweetly disposed[p], ready to do acts of goodness and to oblige others, to do things useful and profitable, for a loving man, a beneficent bountiful man, one who delights in doing good to his friend; such a man may have the highest friendship, he may have a friend that will die for him. And this is the meaning of Lælius,—Virtue may be despised, so may learning and nobility; *at una est amicitia in rebus humanis de cujus utilitate omnes*[q] *consentiunt*, 'only friendship is that thing, which because all know to be useful and profitable, no man can despise;' that is, *χρηστότης* or *ἀγαθότης*, 'goodness' or 'beneficence' makes friendships. For if he be a good man he will love where he is beloved, and that's the first tie of friendship.

'Αλλήλους ἐφίλασαν ἴσῳ ζυγῷ—

That was the commendation of the bravest friendship in Theocritus[r],

They loved each other with a love
That did in all things equal prove.

——Ἦ ῥα τότ' ἦσαν
χρύσειοι πάλαι ἄνδρες ὅκ' ἀντεφίλασ' ὁ φιλαθείς·

The world was under Saturn's reign
When he that loved was loved again.

[n] [Rom. v. 7.]
[o] [See vol. ii. p. 402.]
[p] [Compare vol. ii. p. 523.]
[q] ['omnes uno ore' &c.—Cic. de amicit. xxiii.]
[r] [Idyll. xii. 15.]

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For it is impossible this nearness of friendship can be where there is not mutual love; but this is secured if I choose a good man; for he that is apt enough to begin alone, will never be behind in the relation and correspondency; and therefore I like the gentile's litany well,

Ζεύς μοι τῶν τε φίλων δοίη τίσιν οἵ με φιλεῦσι[s].
Ὄλβιοι οἱ φιλέοντες, ἐπὴν ἴσον ἀντεράωνται[t].

Let God give friends to me for my reward,
Who shall my love with equal love regard;

Happy are they, who when they give their heart
Find such as in exchange their own impart.

But there is more in it than this felicity amounts to. For χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ, 'the good man,' is a profitable, useful person, and that's the band of an effective friendship. For I do not think that friendships are metaphysical nothings, created for contemplation, or that men or women should stare upon each other's faces, and make dialogues of news and prettinesses, and look babies in one another's eyes. Friendship is the allay of our sorrows, the ease of our passions, the discharge of our oppressions, the sanctuary to our calamities, the counsellor of our doubts, the clarity of our minds, the emission of our thoughts, the exercise and improvement of what we meditate. And although I love my friend because he is worthy, yet he is not worthy if he can do no good. I do not speak of accidental hindrances and misfortunes by which the bravest man may become unable to help his child; but of the natural and artificial capacities of the man. He only is fit to be chosen for a friend, who can do those offices for which friendship is excellent. For (mistake not) no man can be loved for himself; our perfections in this world cannot reach so high; it is well if we would love God at that rate, and I very much fear that if God did us no good, we might admire His beauties, but we should have but a small proportion of love towards Him; and therefore it is that God to endear the obedience, that is, the love of His servants, signifies what benefits He gives us, what great good things He does for us. "I am the Lord God that brought thee out of the land of Egypt[u]:" and, "Does Job serve God for nought?" and, "He that comes to God, must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder:" all His other greatnesses are objects of fear and wonder, it is His goodness that makes Him lovely: and so it is in friendships. He only is fit to be chosen for a friend who can give counsel[x], or defend my cause, or guide me right, or relieve my need, or can and will, when I need it, do me good: only this I add: into the heaps of doing good, I will reckon 'loving me,' for it is a pleasure to be beloved; but when his love signifies nothing but kissing my cheek, or talking kindly, and can go no further, it is a prostitution of the bravery of friendship to spend it upon impertinent

[s] [Theogn. lin. 337.]
[t] [Bion, ap. Stob. floril. tit. lxiii. (de Venere &c.) 28.]
[u] [Exod. xx. 2; Job i. 9; Heb. xi. 6.]
[x] ['give me counsel' A.]

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people who are (it may be) loads to their families, but can never ease my loads: but my friend is a worthy person when he can become to me instead of God, a guide or a support, an eye or a hand; a staff or a rule. There must be in friendship something to distinguish it from a companion, and a countryman, from a schoolfellow or a gossip, from a sweet-heart or a fellow-traveller: friendship may look in at any one of these doors, but it stays not any where till it come to be the best thing in the world: and when we consider that one man is not better than another, neither towards God nor towards man[y], but by doing better and braver things, we shall also see that that which is most beneficent is also most excellent; and therefore those friendships must needs be most perfect, where the friends can be most useful. For men cannot be useful but by worthinesses in the several instances: a fool cannot be relied upon for counsel, nor a vicious person for the advantages of virtue, nor a beggar for relief, nor a stranger for conduct, nor a tattler to keep a secret, nor a pitiless person trusted with my complaint, nor a covetous man with my child's fortune, nor a false person without a witness, nor a suspicious person with a private design; nor him that I fear with the treasures of my love: but he that is wise and virtuous, rich and at hand, close and merciful, free of his money and tenacious of a secret, open and ingenuous, true and honest, is of himself an excellent man; and therefore fit to be loved; and he can do good to me in all capacities where I can need him, and therefore is fit to be a friend. I confess we are forced in our friendships to abate some of these ingredients; but full measures of friendship would have full measures of worthiness; and according as any defect is in the foundation, in the relation also there may be imperfection: and indeed I shall not blame the friendship so it be worthy, though it be not perfect; not only because friendship is charity, which cannot be perfect here, but because there is not in the world a perfect cause of perfect friendship.

If you can suspect that this discourse can suppose friendship to be mercenary, and to be defective in the greatest worthiness of it, which is to love our friend for our friend's sake, I shall[z] easily be able to defend myself; because I speak of the election and reasons of choosing friends: after he is chosen, do as nobly as you talk, and love as purely as you dream, and let your conversation be as metaphysical as your discourse, and proceed in this method, till you be confuted by experience; yet till then, the case is otherwise when we speak of choosing one to be my friend: he is not my friend till I have chosen him, or loved him; and if any man enquires whom he shall choose or whom he should love, I suppose it ought not to be

[y] ['nor man' A.]

[z] ['for our friend's sake (for so Scipio said [Cic. de amicit. xvi.] that it was against friendship to say 'ita amare oportere ut aliquando esset usurus,' [sic] 'that we ought so to love, that we may also sometimes make use of a friend:') I shall' &c., A.]

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answered, that we should love him who hath least amability; that we should choose him who hath least reason to be chosen. But if it be answered, he is to be chosen to be my friend who is most worthy in himself, not he that can do most good to me; I say, here is a distinction but no difference; for he is most worthy in himself who can do most good; and if he can love me too, that is, if he will do me all the good he can, or[a] that I need, then he is my friend and he deserves it. And it is impossible from a friend to separate a will to do me good: and therefore I do not choose well, if I choose one that hath not power; for if it may consist with the nobleness of friendship to desire that my friend be ready to do me benefit or support, it is not sense to say, it is ignoble to desire he should really do it when I need; and if it were not for pleasure or profit, we might as well be without a friend as have him.

Among all the pleasures and profits, the sensual pleasure, and the matter of money, are the lowest and the least; and therefore although they may sometimes be used in friendship, and so not wholly excluded from the consideration of him that is to choose, yet of all things they are to be the least regarded.

Ἐν τοῖς δὲ δεινοῖς χρημάτων κρείττων φίλος[b].

When fortune frowns upon a man,
A friend does more than money can.

For there are besides these, many profits and many pleasures; and because these only are sordid, all the other are noble and fair, and the expectations of them no disparagements to the best friendships. For can any wise or good man be angry if I say, I choose[c] this man to be my friend, because he is able to give me counsel, to restrain my wanderings, to comfort me in my sorrows; he is pleasant to me in private, and useful in public; he will make my joys double, and divide my grief between himself and me? For what else should I choose; for being a fool, and useless? for a pretty face or a smooth chin? I confess it is possible to be a friend to one that is ignorant, and pitiable, handsome and good for nothing, that eats well, and drinks deep, but he cannot be a friend to me; and I love him with a fondness or a pity, but it cannot be a noble friendship.

Οὐκ ἐκ πότων καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν τρυφῆς
ζητοῦμεν ᾧ πιστεύσομεν τὰ τοῦ βίου
πάτερ; οὐ περιττὸν οἵοι τ'[d] ἐξευρηκέναι
ἀγαθὸν ἕκαστος ἐὰν ἔχῃ φίλου σκίαν·

said Menander[e];

By wine and mirth and every day's delight
We choose our friends, to whom we think we might
Our souls intrust; but fools are they that lend
Their bosom to the shadow of a friend.

[a] ['or' deest C.]
[b] [Auct. incert. ap. Grot. excerpt. ex trag. et com. p. 945. 4to. Paris. 1626.]
[c] ['chose' A.]
[d] [πάτερ' . . οἵετ', edd. recentt.]
[e] [ap. Plut. de frat. am.—t. vii. p. 872.]

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Εἴδωλα καὶ μιμήματα φιλίας, Plutarch[f] calls such friendships, 'the idols and images of friendship.' True and brave friendships are between worthy persons; and there is in mankind no degree of worthiness, but is also a degree of usefulness, and by every thing by which a man is excellent, I may be profited: and because those are the bravest friends which can best serve the ends of friendships, either we must suppose that friendships are not the greatest comforts in the world, or else we must say, he chooses his friend best, that chooses such a one by whom he can receive the greatest comforts and assistances.

3. This being the measure of all friendships; they all partake of excellency, according as they are fitted to this measure: a friend may be counselled well enough though his friend be not the wisest man in the world, and he may be pleased in his society though he be not the best natured man in the world; but still it must be that something excellent is, or is apprehended, or else it can be no worthy friendship; because the choice is imprudent and foolish. Choose for your friend him that is wise and good, and secret and just, ingenuous and honest; and in those things which have a latitude, use your own liberty; but in such things which consist in an indivisible point, make no abatements; that is, you must not choose him to be your friend that is not honest and secret, just and true to a tittle; but if he be wise at all, and useful in any degree, and as good as you can have him, you need not be ashamed to own your friendships; though sometimes you may be ashamed of some imperfections of your friend.

4. But if you yet enquire further, whether fancy may be an ingredient in your choice? I answer, that fancy may minister to this as to all other actions in which there is a liberty and variety; and we shall find that there may be peculiarities and little partialities, a friendship, improperly so called, entering upon accounts of an innocent passion and a pleased fancy; even our blessed Saviour himself loved S. John and Lazarus by a special love, which was signified by special treatments; and of the young man that spake well and wisely to Christ, it is affirmed, 'Jesus loved him:' that is, He fancied the man, and His soul had a certain cognation and similitude of temper and inclination. For in all things where there is a latitude, every faculty will endeavour to be pleased, and sometimes the meanest persons in a house have a festival; even sympathies and natural inclinations to some persons, and a conformity of humours, and proportionable loves, and the beauty of the face, and a witty answer may first strike the flint and kindle a spark, which if it falls upon tender and compliant natures may grow into a flame; but this will never be maintained at the rate of friendship, unless it be fed by pure materials, by worthinesses which are the food of friendship: where these are not, men and women may be pleased with one another's company,

[f] [ubi supra.]

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and lie under the same roof, and make themselves companions of equal prosperities, and humour their friend; but if you call this friendship, you give a sacred name to humour or fancy; for there is a Platonic friendship as well as a Platonic love; but they being but the images of more noble bodies are but tinsel dressings, which will shew bravely by candle-light, and do excellently in a mask, but are not fit for conversation, and the material entercourses of our life. These are the prettinesses of prosperity and good-natured wit; but when we speak of friendship, which is the best thing in the world (for it is love and beneficence; it is charity that is fitted for society) we cannot suppose a brave pile should be built up with nothing; and they that build castles in the air, and look upon friendship as upon a fine romance, a thing that pleases the fancy, but is good for nothing else, will do well when they are asleep, or when they are come to Elysium; and for aught I know in the mean time may be as much in love with Mandana in the Grand Cyrus[g], as with the infanta of Spain, or any of the most perfect beauties and real excellencies of the world[h]; and by dreaming of perfect and abetracted friendships, make them so immaterial that they perish in the handling and become good for nothing.

But I know not whither I was going; I did only mean to say that because friendship is that by which the world is most blessed and receives most good, it ought to be chosen amongst the worthiest persons, that is, amongst those that can do greatest benefit to each other; and though in equal worthiness I may choose by my eye or ear, that is, into the consideration of the essential I may take in also the accidental and extrinsic worthinesses; yet I ought to give every one their just value; when the internal beauties are equal, these shall help to weigh down the scale, and I will love a worthy friend that can delight me as well as profit me, rather than him who cannot delight me at all, and profit me no more; but yet I will not weigh the gayest flowers, or the wings of butterflies, against wheat; but when I am to choose wheat, I may take that which looks the brightest: I had rather see thyme and roses, marjoram and July flowers, that are fair and sweet and medicinal, than the prettiest tulips that are good for nothing: and my sheep and kine are better servants than race-horses and grey-hounds: and I shall rather furnish my study with Plutarch and Cicero, with Livy and Polybius, than with Cassandra[i] and Ibrahim Bassa[g]; and if I do give an hour to these for divertisement or pleasure, yet I will dwell with them that can instruct me, and make me wise and eloquent, severe and useful to myself and others. I end this with the saying of Lælius in Cicero[j], *Amicitia non debet consequi utilitatem, sed amicitiam utilitas.* When I choose my friend, I will not stay till I have re-

[g] [Romances by Magd. de Scuderi.]

[h] ['the Grand Cyrus, as with the countess of Exeter,' A.]

[i] ['Promos and Cassandra, a comical discourse,' by G. Whetstone.]

[j] [De amicit. xiv. 'Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam consecuta est.']

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ceived a kindness; but I will choose such an one that can do me many if I need them: but I mean such kindnesses which make me wiser, and which make me better; that is, I will when I choose my friend, choose him that is the bravest, the worthiest and the most excellent person: and then your first question is soon answered;—To love such a person and to contract such friendships is just so authorized by the principles of CHRISTIANITY, as it is warranted to love wisdom and virtue, goodness and beneficence, and all the impresses of God upon the spirits of brave men.

II. The next enquiry is, How far it may extend; that is, by what expressions it may be signified. I find that David and Jonathan loved at a strange rate; they were both good men; though it happened that Jonathan was on the obliging side; but here the expressions were, Jonathan watched for David's good; told him of his danger, and helped him to escape; took part with David's innocence against his father's malice and injustice; and beyond all this, did it to his own prejudice; and they two stood like two feet supporting one body; though Jonathan knew that David would prove like the foot of a wrestler, and would supplant him, not by any unworthy or unfriendly action, but it was from God; and he gave him his hand to set him upon his own throne.

We find his parallels in the gentile stories: young Athenodorus[k] having divided the estate with his brother Xenon, divided it again when Xenon had spent his own share; and Lucullus[k] would not take the consulship till his younger brother had first enjoyed it for a year; but Pollux[k] divided with Castor his immortality; and you know who offered himself to death being pledge for his friend; and his friend by performing his word rescued him as bravely[l]: and when we find in scripture[m] that 'for a good man some will even dare to die;' and that Aquila and Priscilla[n] laid their necks down for S. Paul; and the Galatians[o] would have given him their very eyes, that is, every thing that was most dear to them, and some others were near unto death for his sake; and that it is a precept of christian charity to lay down our lives for our brethren, that is, those who were combined in a cause of religion, who were united with the same hopes, and imparted to each other ready assistances, and grew dear by common sufferings: we need enquire no further for the expressions of friendships; "Greater love than this hath no man, than that he lay down his life for his friends[p];" and this we are obliged to do in some cases for all Christians; and therefore we may do it for those who are to us in this present and imperfect state of things, that which all the good men and women in the world shall be in heaven, that is, in the state of perfect friendships. This is the

[k] [Plut. ubi supra, pp. 888, 90.]
[l] [Damon and Pythias, Cic. off. iii. 10.]
[m] [Rom. v. 7.]
[n] [Rom. xvi. 4.]
[o] [Gal. iv. 15.]
[p] [John xv. 13.]

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biggest; but then it includes and can suppose all the rest; and if this may be done for all, and in some cases must for any one of the multitude, we need not scruple whether we may do it for those who are better than a multitude. But as for the thing itself, it is not easily and lightly to be done; and a man must not die for humour, nor expend so great a jewel for a trifle: *μόλις ἀνεπνεύσαμεν . . εἰδότες ἐπ' οὐδενὶ λυσιτελεῖ παρανάλωμα γενησόμενοι*, said Philo[q]; we will hardly die when it is for nothing, when no good, no worthy end is served, and become a sacrifice to redeem a footboy. But we may not give our life to redeem another: unless 1) The party for whom we die be a worthy and an useful person; better for the public, or better for religion, and more useful to others than myself. Thus Ribischius the German[r] died bravely when he became a sacrifice for his master, Maurice duke of Saxony, covering his master's body with his own, that he might escape the fury of the Turkish soldiers. *Succurram perituro, sed ut ipse non peream, nisi si futurus ero magni hominis aut magnæ rei merces*, said Seneca[s], 'I will help a dying person if I can; but I will not die myself for him, unless by my death I save a brave man, or become the price of a great thing;' that is, I will die for a prince, for the republic, or to save an army, as David[t] exposed himself to combat with the Philistine for the redemption of the host of Israel: and in this sense, that is true, *Præstat ut pereat unus, quam unitas*[u], 'better that one perish than a multitude.' 2) A man dies bravely when he gives his temporal life to save the soul of any single person in the christian world. It is a worthy exchange, and the glorification of that love by which Christ gave His life for every soul. Thus he that reproves an erring prince wisely and necessarily, he that affirms a fundamental truth, or stands up for the glory of the divine attributes, though he die for it, becomes a worthy sacrifice. 3) These are duty; but it may be heroic and full of christian bravery, to give my life to rescue a noble and a brave friend, though I myself be as worthy a man as he; because the preference of him is an act of humility in me, and of friendship towards him; Humility and Charity making a pious difference, where art and nature have made all equal.

Some have fancied other measures of treating our friends. One sort of men say that we are to expect that our friends should value us as we value ourselves: which if it were to be admitted, will require that we make no friendship with a proud man, and so far indeed were well; but then this proportion does exclude some[v] humble men, who are most to be valued, and the rather because they undervalue themselves.

Others say that a friend is to value his friend as much as his

[q] [De virtut. &c. (tom. ii. p. 600. ed. Mangey) as quoted by Grotius on Rom. v. 7.]

[r] [Arnold. vit. Maurit. elect. Saxon. ap. Mencken. rer. germ. scriptt. tom. ii. col. 1166. fol. Lips. 1728.]

[s] [De benef. ii. 15.]

[t] [1 Sam. xvii.]

[u] [S. Aug. teste Lips. polit. iv. 3.]

[v] ['exclude also' A.]

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friend values him; but neither is this well or safe, wise or sufficient; for it makes friendship a mere bargain, and is something like the country weddings in some places where I have been, where the bridegroom and the bride must meet in the half way, and if they fail a step, they retire and break the match. It is not good to make a reckoning in friendship; that's merchandise, or it may be gratitude, but not noble friendship; in which each part strives to outdo the other in significations of an excellent love: and amongst true friends there is no fear of losing anything.

But that which amongst the old philosophers comes nearest to the right, is that we love our friends as we love ourselves. If they had meant it as our blessed Saviour did, of that general friendship by which we are to love all mankind, it had been perfect and well; or if they had meant it of the inward affection, or of outward justice; but because they meant it of the most excellent friendships, and of the outward significations of it, it cannot be sufficient: for a friend may and must sometimes do more for his friend than he would do for himself. Some men will perish before they will beg or petition for themselves to some certain persons; but they account it noble to do it for their friend, and they will want rather than their friend shall want; and they will be more earnest in praise or dispraise respectively for their friend than for themselves. And indeed I account that one of the greatest demonstrations of real friendship[x], that a friend can really endeavour to have his friend advanced in honour, in reputation, in the opinion of wit or learning, before himself.

Aurum, et opes, et rura frequens donabit amicus:
Qui velit ingenio cedere, rarus erit[y].

Sed tibi tantus inest veteris respectus amici,
Carior ut mea sit quam tua fama tibi[z].

Lands, gold, and trifles many give or lend;
But he that stoops in fame is a rare friend;

In friendship's orb thou art the brightest star,
Before thy fame mine thou preferrest far.

But then be pleased to think that therefore I so highly value this signification of friendship, because I so highly value humility. Humility and charity are the two greatest graces in the world; and these are the greatest ingredients which constitute friendship and express it.

But there needs no other measures of friendship, but that it may be as great as you can express it; beyond death it cannot go, to death it may, when the cause is reasonable and just, charitable and religious: and yet if there be any thing greater than to suffer death (and pain and shame to some are more insufferable) a true and noble friendship shrinks not at the greatest trials.

And yet there is a limit even to friendship. It must be as great as our friend fairly needs in all things where we are not tied up by a former duty, to God, to ourselves, or some pre-obliging relative.

[x] ['friendship is,' A.] [y] Martial., lib. viii. ep. 18. [fin.] [z] [ibid. lin. 3.]

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When Pollux heard somebody whisper a reproach against his brother Castor, he killed the slanderer with his fist[a]: that was a zeal which his friendship could not warrant. *Nulla est excusatio . . si amici causa peccaveris*, said Cicero[b]. No friendship can excuse a sin: and this the braver Romans instanced in the matter of duty to their country. It is not lawful to fight on our friend's part against our prince or country; and therefore when Caius Blosius of Cuma[b] in the sedition of Gracchus appeared against his country, when he was taken, he answered, that he loved Tiberius Gracchus so dearly, that he thought fit to follow him whithersoever he led; and begged pardon upon that account. They who were his judges were so noble, that though they knew it no fair excuse, yet for the honour of friendship they did not directly reject his motion: but put him to death, because he did not follow, but led on Gracchus, and brought his friend into the snare: for so they preserved the honours of friendship on either hand, by neither suffering it to be sullied by a foul excuse, nor yet rejected in any fair pretence. A man may not be perjured for his friend. I remember to have read in the history of the Low-countries, that Grimston and Redhead[c], when Bergen-op-Zoom was besieged by the duke of Parma, acted for the interest of the queen of England's forces a notable design; but being suspected and put for their acquaintance to take the sacrament of the altar[d], they dissembled their persons, and their interest, their design and their religion, and did for the queen's service (as one wittily wrote to her) give not only their bodies but their souls, and so deserved a reward greater than she could pay them. I cannot say this is a thing greater than a friendship can require, for it is not great at all, but a great villainy, which hath no name, and no order in worthy entercourses; and no obligation to a friend can reach as high as our duty to God: and he that does a base thing in zeal for his friend, burns the golden thread that ties their hearts together; it is a conspiracy, but no longer friendship. And when Cato[e] lent his wife to Hortensius, and Socrates[f] lent his to a merry Greek[g], they could not amongst wise persons obtain so much as the fame of being worthy friends, neither could those great names legitimate an unworthy action under the most plausible title.

It is certain that amongst friends their estates are common; that is, by whatsoever I can rescue my friend from calamity, I am to serve him, or not to call him friend; there[h] is a great latitude in this, and it is to be restrained by no prudence, but when there is on the other side a great necessity neither vicious nor avoidable: a man may choose whether he will or no; and he does not sin in not doing it, unless

[a] [Plut. de frat. am.—t. vii. p. 886.]
[b] [Cic. de amicit. xi.]
[c] [Victoires &c. de Maurice de Nassau, fo. 74.—fol. Leyd. 1612.]
[d] [This is denied by Grimeston, Hist. of Netherl. bk. xiii. p. 889. fol. 1627.]
[e] [Plut. in Caton. min. § 25.]
[f] [vid. Athen. v. 61; Lucian. conv. 32, et vitt. auct. 17. Cf. vol. ii. p. 47.]
[g] [Cf. Troil. & Cress. act i. sc. 2. & iv. 4; notes of Steevens, Malone, and Collier.]
[h] ['and there' A.]

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he have bound himself to it: but certainly friendship is the greatest band in the world, and if he have professed a great friendship, he hath a very great obligation to do that and more; and he can noways be disobliged but by the care of his natural relations.

I said, 'Friendship is the greatest bond in the world,' and I had reason for it, for it is all the bands that this world hath; and there is no society, and there is no relation that is worthy, but it is made so by the communications of friendship, and by partaking some of its excellencies. For friendship is a transcendent, and signifies as much as Unity can mean, and every consent, and every pleasure, and every benefit, and every society, is the mother or the daughter of friendship. Some friendships are made by nature; some by contract; some by interest; and some by souls. And in proportion to these ways of uniting, so the friendships are greater or less, virtuous or natural, profitable or holy, or all this together. Nature makes excellent friendships; of which we observe something in social plants[i], growing better in each other's neighbourhood than where they stand singly: and in animals it is more notorious, whose friendships extend so far as to herd and dwell together, to play, and feed, to defend and fight for one another, and to cry in absence, and to rejoice in one another's presence. But these friendships have other names less noble, they are 'sympathy,' or they are 'instinct.' But if to this natural friendship there be reason superadded, something will come in upon the stock of reason which will ennoble it; but because no rivers can rise higher than fountains, reason shall draw out all the dispositions which are in nature and establish them into friendships, but they cannot surmount the communications of nature; nature can make no friendships greater than her own excellencies. Nature is the way of contracting necessary friendships: that is, by nature such friendships are contracted without which we cannot live, and be educated, or be well, or be at all. In this scene, that of parents and children is the greatest, which indeed is begun in nature, but is actuated by society and mutual endearments. For parents love their children because they love themselves, children being but like emissions of water, symbolical, or indeed the same with the fountain; and they in their posterity see the images and instruments[k] of a civil immortality; but if parents and children do not live together, we see their friendships and their loves are much abated, and supported only by fame and duty, by customs and religion, which to nature are but artificial pillars, and make this friendship to be complicated, and to pass from its own kind to another. That of children to their parents is not properly friendship, but gratitude, and interest, and religion; and whatever can supervene of the nature of friendship comes in upon another account; upon society, and worthiness, and choice.

This relation on either hand makes great dearnesses: but it hath special and proper significations of it, and there is a special duty

[i] ['parts' C.] [k] ['instrument' A.]

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incumbent on each other respectively. This friendship and social relation is not equal, and there is too much authority on one side, and too much fear on the other to make equal friendships; and therefore although this is one of the kinds of friendship, that is, of a social and relative love and conversation, yet in the more proper use of the word, 'friendship' does do some things which father and son do not; I instance in the free and open communicating counsels, and the evenness and pleasantness of conversation; and consequently the significations of the paternal and filial love as they are divers in themselves and unequal, and therefore another kind of friendship than we mean in our enquiry; so they are such a duty which no other friendship can annul: because their mutual duty is bound upon them by religion long before any other friendships can be contracted; and therefore having first possession must abide for ever. The duty and love to parents must not yield to religion, much less to any new friendships: and our parents are to be preferred before the *corban*[1], and are at no hand to be laid aside but when they engage against God; that is, in the rights which this relation and kind of friendship challenges as its propriety, it is supreme and cannot give place to any other friendships; till the father gives his right away, and God or the laws consent to it; as in the case of marriage, emancipation, and adoption to another family: in which cases though love and gratitude are still obliging, yet the societies and duties of relation are very much altered, which in the proper and best friendships can never be at all. But then this also is true: that the social relations of parents and children not having in them all the capacities of a proper friendship, cannot challenge all the significations of it: that is, it is no prejudice to the duty I owe there, to pay all the dearnesses which are due here; and to friends there are some things due which the other cannot challenge: I mean, my secret and my equal conversation, and the pleasures and interests of these, and the consequents of all.

Next to this is the society and dearness of brothers and sisters: which usually is very great amongst worthy persons; but if it be considered what it is in itself, it is but very little; there is very often a likeness of natural temper, and there is a social life under the same roof, and they are commanded to love one another, and they are equals in many instances, and are endeared by conversation when it is merry and pleasant, innocent and simple, without art and without design. But brothers pass not into noble friendships upon the stock of that relation: they have fair dispositions and advantages, and are more easy and ready to ferment into the greatest dearnesses, if all things else be answerable. Nature disposes them well towards it, but in this enquiry if we ask what duty is passed upon a brother to a brother even for being so? I answer, that religion, and our parents, and God, and the laws, appoint what measures

[1] [Mark vii. 11.]

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they please; but nature passes but very little, and friendship less; and this we see apparently in those brothers who live asunder, and contract new relations, and dwell in other societies: there is no love, no friendship without the entercourse of conversation: friendships indeed may last longer than our abode together, but they were first contracted by it, and established by pleasure and benefit, and unless it be the best kind of friendship (which that of brothers in that mere capacity is not) it dies when it wants the proper nutriment and support: and to this purpose is that which was spoken by Solomon[m], "Better is a neighbour that is near than a brother that is far off;" that is, although ordinarily brothers are first possessed of the entries and fancies of friendship, because they are of the first societies and conversations, yet when that ceases and the brother goes away, so that he does no advantage, no benefit of entercourse; the neighbour that dwells by me, with whom if I converse at all, either he is my enemy, and does and receives evil; or if we converse in worthinesses and benefit and pleasant communication, he is better in the laws and measures of friendship than my distant brother. And it is observable, that 'brother' is indeed a word of friendship and charity and of mutual endearment, and so is a title of the bravest society; yet in all the scripture there are no precepts given of any duty and comport which brothers, that is, the descendents of the same parents, are to have one towards another in that capacity; and it is not because their nearness is such that they need none: for parents and children are nearer, and yet need tables of duty to be described; and for brothers, certainly they need it infinitely if there be any peculiar duty; Cain and Abel are the great probation of that, and you know who said,

—— fratrum quoque gratia rara est[n]:

It is not often you shall see
Two brothers live in amity.

But the scripture, which often describes the duty of parents and children, never describes the duty of brothers; except where by 'brethren' are meant all that part of mankind who are tied to us by any vicinity and endearment of religion or country, of profession and family, of contract or society, of love and the noblest friendships; the meaning is, that though fraternity alone be the endearment of some degrees of friendship, without choice and without excellency; yet the relation itself is not friendship, and does not naturally infer it, and that which is procured by it is but limited and little; and though it may pass into it, as other conversations may, yet the friendship is accidental to it; and enters upon other accounts, as it does between strangers; with this only difference, that brotherhood does oftentimes assist the valuation of those excellencies for which we entertain our friendships. Fraternity is the opportunity and pre-

[m] [Prov. xxvii. 10.]

[n] [Ovid. metamorph. i. 145.]

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liminary disposition to friendship, and no more. For if my brother be a fool or a vicious person, the love to which nature and our first conversation disposes me, does not end in friendship, but in pity and fair provisions, and assistances; which is a demonstration that brotherhood is but the inclination and address to friendship: and though I will love a worthy brother more than a worthy stranger, if the worthiness be equal, because the relation is something, and being put into the scales against an equal worthiness must needs turn the balance, as every grain will do in an even weight; yet when the relation is all the worthiness that is pretended, it cannot stand in competition with a friend: for though a friend brother is better than a friend stranger, where the friend is equal, but the brother is not: yet a brother is not better than a friend; but as Solomon's[n] expression is, "There is a friend that is better than a brother," and to be born of the same parents is so accidental and extrinsic to a man's pleasure or worthiness, or spiritual advantages, that though it be very pleasing and useful that a brother should be a friend, yet it is no great addition to a friend that he also is a brother: there is something in it, but not much. But in short, the case is thus. The first beginnings of friendship serve the necessities; but choice and worthiness are the excellencies of its endearment and its bravery; and between a brother that is no friend, and a friend that is no brother, there is the same difference as between the disposition, and the act or habit: a brother if he be worthy is the readiest and the nearest to be a friend, but till he be so, he is but the twilight of the day, and but the blossom to the fairest fruit of paradise. A brother does not always make a friend, but a friend ever makes a brother and more: and although nature sometimes finds the tree, yet friendship engraves the image; the first relation places him in the garden, but friendship sets it in the temple, and then only it is venerable and sacred: and so is brotherhood when it hath the soul of friendship.

So that if it be asked which are most to be valued, brothers or friends; the answer is very easy: brotherhood is or may be one of the kinds of friendship, and from thence only hath its value, and therefore if it be compared with a greater friendship must give place. But then it is not to be asked which is to be preferred, a brother or a friend; but which is the better friend, Memnon or my brother? For if my brother says I ought to love him best, then he ought to love me best[o]; if he does, then there is a great friendship, and he possibly is to be preferred; if he can be that friend which he pretends to be, that is, if he be equally worthy: but if he says, I must love him only because he is my brother, whether he loves me or no, he is ridiculous; and it will be a strange relation which hath no cor-

[n] [Prov. xviii. 24.]

[o] Ut præstem Pyladen, aliquis mihi præstet Oresten:
Hoc non fit verbis, Marce; ut ameris, ama.
Martial., lib. vi. ep. 11 [fin.]

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respondent. But suppose it, and add this also, that I am equally his brother as he is mine, and then he also must love me whether I love him or no; and if he does not, he says, I must love him though he be my enemy; and so I must; but I must not love my enemy though he be my brother more than I love my friend: and at last if he does love me for being his brother, I confess that this love deserves love again; but then I consider, that he loves me upon an incompetent reason: for he that loves me only because I am his brother, loves me for that which is no worthiness, and I must love him as much as that comes to, and for as little reason; unless this be added, that he loves me first: but whether choice and union of souls, and worthiness of manners, and greatness of understanding, and usefulness of conversation, and the benefits of counsel, and all those endearments which make our lives pleasant and our persons dear, are not better and greater reasons of love and dearness than to be born of the same flesh, I think amongst wise persons needs no great enquiry. For fraternity is but a cognation of bodies, but friendship is an union of souls which are confederated by more noble ligatures. My brother, if he be no more, shall have my hand to help him, but unless he be my friend too, he cannot challenge my heart: and if his being my friend be the greater nearness, then friend is more than brother, and I suppose no man doubts but that David loved Jonathan far more than he loved his brother Eliab.

One enquiry more there may be in this affair, and that is, whether a friend may be more than a husband or wife; to which I answer, that it can never be reasonable or just, prudent or lawful: but the reason is, because marriage is the queen of friendships[p], in which there is a communication of all that can be communicated by friendship: and it being made sacred by vows and love, by bodies and souls, by interest and custom, by religion and by laws, by common counsels, and common fortunes; it is the principal in the kind of friendship, and the measure of all the rest. And there is no abatement to this consideration, but that there may be some allay in this as in other lesser friendships, by the incapacity of the persons: if I have not chosen my friend wisely or fortunately, he cannot be the correlative in the best union; but then the friend lives as the soul does after death, it is in the state of separation, in which the soul strangely loves the body and longs to be re-united, but the body is an useless trunk and can do no ministries to the soul; which therefore prays to have the body reformed and restored and made a brave and a fit companion: so must these best friends, when one is useless or unapt to the braveries of the princely friendship, they must love ever and pray ever, and long till the other be perfected and made fit; in this case there wants only the body, but the soul is still a relative and must be so for ever.

[p] ["A friend and companion never meet amiss, but above all is a wife with her husband." Ecclus. xl. 23.]

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A husband and a wife are the best friends, but they cannot always signify all that to each other which their friendships would; as the sun shines not upon a valley which sends up a thick vapour to cover his face; and though his beams are eternal, yet the emission is intercepted by the intervening cloud. But however, all friendships are but parts of this; a man must leave father and mother and cleave to his wife, that is, the dearest thing in nature is not comparable to the dearest thing of friendship: and I think this is argument sufficient to prove friendship to be the greatest band in the world. Add to this, that other friendships are parts of this, they are marriages too, less indeed than the other, because they cannot, must not be all that endearment which the other is; yet that being the principal, is the measure of the rest, and are all to be honoured by like dignities, and measured by the same rules, and conducted by their portion of the same laws: but as friendships are marriages of the soul, and of fortunes and interests, and counsels; so they are brotherhoods too; and I often think of the excellencies of friendships in the words of David[q], who certainly was the best friend in the world, *Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum fratres habitare in unum:* it is good and it is pleasant that brethren should live like friends, that is, they who are any ways relative, and who are any ways social and confederate, should also dwell in unity and loving society; for that is the meaning of the word 'brother' in scripture; "It was my brother Jonathan," said David[r]; such brothers contracting such friendships are the beauties of society, and the pleasure of life, and the festivity of minds: and whatsoever can be spoken of love, which is God's eldest daughter, can be said of virtuous friendships; and though Carneades[s] made an eloquent oration at Rome against justice, yet I never saw a panegyric of malice, or ever read that any man was witty against friendship. Indeed it is probable that some men, finding themselves by the peculiarities of friendship excluded from the participation of those beauties of society which enamel and adorn the wise and the virtuous, might suppose themselves to have reason to speak the evil words of envy and detraction; I wonder not that all those unhappy souls which shall find heaven gates shut against them, will think they have reason to murmur and blaspheme. The similitude is apt enough, for that is the region of friendship, and love is the light of that glorious country, but so bright that it needs no sun: here we have fine and bright rays of that celestial flame, and though to all mankind the light of it is in some measure to be extended, like the treasures of light dwelling in the south, yet a little do illustrate and beautify the north, yet some live under the line, and the beams of friendship in that position are imminent and perpendicular.

I know but one thing more in which the communications of friendship can be restrained; and that is, in friends and enemies; *Amicus amici amicus meus non est;* my friend's friend is not always

[q] [Ps. cxxxiii. 1.] [r] [2 Sam. i. 26.] [s] [Quinctil. inst. orat. xii. 1.]

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my friend; nor his enemy mine; for if my friend quarrel with a third person with whom he hath had no friendships, upon the account of interest; if that third person be my friend, the nobleness of our friendships despises such a quarrel; and what may be reasonable in him would be ignoble in me; sometimes it may be otherwise, and friends may marry one another's loves and hatreds, but it is by chance if it can be just, and therefore because it is not always right it cannot be ever necessary.

In all things else, let friendships be as high and expressive till they become an union, or that friends like the *Molionidæ* be so the same that the flames of their dead bodies make but one *pyramis;* no charity can be reproved; and such friendships which are more than shadows, are nothing else but the rays of that glorious grace drawn into one centre, and made more active by the union; and the proper significations are well represented in the old hieroglyphic by which the ancients depicted friendship[u], 'in the beauties and strength of a young man, bare headed, rudely clothed, to signify its activity and lastingness, readiness of action and aptnesses to do service; upon the fringes of his garment was written *mors et vita*, as signifying that in life and death the friendship was the same; on the forehead was written 'summer and winter,' that is, prosperous and adverse accidents and states of life; the left arm and shoulder was bare and naked down to the heart, to which the finger pointed, and there was written *longe et prope:*' by all which we know that friendship does good far and near, in summer and winter[x], in life and death, and knows no difference of state or accident but by the variety of her services: and therefore ask no more to what we can be obliged by friendship; for it is every thing that can be honest and prudent, useful and necessary.

For this is all the allay of this universality; we may do any thing or suffer any thing, that is wise or necessary, or greatly beneficial to my friend, and that in any thing in which I am perfect master of my person and fortunes. But I would not in bravery visit my friend when he is sick of the plague, unless I can do him good equal at least to my danger, but I will procure him physicians and prayers, all the assistances that he can receive, and that he can desire, if they be in my power: and when he is dead I will not run into his grave and be stifled with his earth; but I will mourn for him, and perform his will, and take care of his relatives, and do for him as if he were alive; and I think that is the meaning of that hard saying of a Greek poet[y],

> Ἄνθρωπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἀπόπροθεν ὄμεν ἑταῖρος·
> πλὴν τούτου, πάντος χρήματός ἐστι κόρος.

[t] [Plut. de frat. amor.—tom. vii. p. 869.]

[u] [A hebrew hieroglyphic; see Lil. Gyrald., hist. deor. syntagm. i.—tom. i. col. 54.—fol. Lugd. Bat. 1696.]

[x] ['and in winter' A.]

[y] [Theogn. lin. 595.]

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To me though distant let thy friendship fly,
Though men be mortal, friendships must not die,
Of all things else there's great satiety.

Of such immortal abstracted pure friendships indeed there is no great plenty, and to see brothers hate each other is not so rare as to see them love at this rate. "The dead and the absent have but few friends," say the Spaniards; but they who are the same to their friend ἀπόπροθεν, when he is in another country, or in another world, these are they who are fit to preserve the sacred fire for eternal sacrifices, and to perpetuate the memory of those exemplar friendships of the best men which have filled the world with history and wonder: for in no other sense but this can it be true that friendships are pure loves, regarding to do good more than to receive it. He that is a friend after death, hopes not for a recompense from his friend, and makes no bargain either for fame or love; but is rewarded with the conscience and satisfaction of doing bravely: but then this is demonstration that they choose friends best who take persons so worthy that can and will do so: this is the profit and usefulness of friendship; and he that contracts such a noble union, must take care that his friend be such who can and will; but hopes that himself shall be first used, and put to act it. I will not have such a friendship that is good for nothing, but I hope that I shall be on the giving and assisting part; and yet if both the friends be so noble, and hope and strive to do the benefit, I cannot well say which ought to yield; and whether that friendship were braver that could be content to be unprosperous so his friend might have the glory of assisting him; or that which desires to give assistances in the greatest measures of friendship: but he that chooses a worthy friend that himself in the days of sorrow and need might receive the advantage, hath no excuse, no pardon, unless himself be as certain to do assistances when evil fortune shall require them. The sum of this answer to this enquiry I give you in a pair of Greek verses.

Ἴσον θεῷ σου τοὺς φίλους τιμᾶν θέλε[z].
ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς δὲ τοὺς φίλους εὐεργέτει[z].

Friends are to friends as lesser gods, while they
Honour and service to each other pay.
But when a dark cloud comes, grudge not to lend
Thy head, thy heart, thy fortune to thy friend.

III. The last enquiry is, How friendships are to be conducted; that is, what are the duties in presence and in absence; whether the friend may not desire to enjoy his friend as well as his friendship. The answer to which in a great measure depends upon what I have said already: and if friendship be a charity in society, and is not for contemplation and noise, but for material comforts and noble treatments and usages, there[a] is no peradventure but that if I buy land, I

[z] [Poet. incert.—Grot. excerpt., p. 945.]

[a] ['this' A.]

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may eat the fruits, and if I take a house I may dwell in it; and if I love a worthy person, I may please myself in his society: and in this there is no exception, unless the friendship be between persons of a different sex: for then not only the interest of their religion, and the care of their honour, but the worthiness of their friendship requires that their entercourse be prudent and free from suspicion and reproach: and if a friend is obliged to bear a calamity, so he secure the honour of his friend, it will concern him to conduct his entercourse in the lines of a virtuous prudence, so that he shall rather lose much of his own comfort, than she any thing of her honour; and in this case the noises of people are so to be regarded, that next to innocence they are the principal. But when by caution and prudence and severe conduct, a friend hath done all that he or she can to secure fame and honourable reports; after this, their noises are to be despised; they must not fright us from our friendships, nor from her fairest entercourses; I may lawfully pluck the clusters from my own vine, though he that walks by calls me thief.

But by the way, madam, you may see how much I differ from the morosity of those cynics who would not admit your sex into the communities of a noble friendship. I believe some wives have been the best friends in the world; and few stories can out-do the nobleness and piety of that lady[b] that sucked the poisonous purulent matter from the wound of our brave prince in the holy land, when an assassin had pierced him with a venomed arrow. And if it be told that women cannot retain counsel, and therefore can be no brave friends; I can best confute them by the story of Porcia[c], who being fearful of the weakness of her sex, stabbed herself into the thigh to try how she could bear pain; and finding herself constant enough to that sufferance, gently chid her Brutus for not daring to trust her, since now she perceived that no torment could wrest that secret from her, which she hoped might be intrusted to her. If there were not more things to be said for your satisfaction, I could have made it disputable whether have been more illustrious in their friendships, men or women. I cannot say that women are capable of all those excellencies by which men can oblige the world; and therefore a female friend in some cases is not so good a counsellor as a wise man, and cannot so well defend my honour, nor dispose of reliefs and assistances if she be under the power of another: but a woman can love as passionately, and converse as pleasantly, and retain a secret as faithfully, and be useful in her proper ministries; and she can die for her friend as well as the bravest Roman knight; and we find that some persons have engaged themselves as far as death upon a less interest than all this amounts to: such were the εὐχωλιμαῖοι[d], as the Greeks call them, the *devoti* of a

[b] [Eleanor, queen of Edward i. The authority for the story is Rodericus Sanctius, Hist. Hispan. part i. cap. 4.]

[c] [Plut. in Bruto, tom. v. p. 370.]

[d] [Herod. Euterp. cap. lxiii.]

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prince or general, the assassins amongst the Saracens, the σιλόδουλοι[e] amongst the old Galatians: they did as much as a friend could do; and if the greatest services of a friend can be paid for by an ignoble price, we cannot grudge to virtuous and brave women that they be partners in a noble friendship, since their conversation and returns can add so many moments to the felicity of our lives: and therefore, though a knife cannot enter as far as a sword, yet a knife may be more useful to some purposes; and in every thing, except it be against an enemy. A man is the best friend in trouble, but a woman may be equal to him in the days of joy: a woman can as well increase our comforts, but cannot so well lessen our sorrows: and therefore we do not carry women with us when we go to fight; but in peaceful cities and times, virtuous women are the beauties of society and the prettinesses of friendship. And when we consider that few persons in the world have all those excellencies by which friendship can be useful and illustrious, we may as well allow women as men to be friends; since they can have all that which can be necessary and essential to friendships, and these cannot have all by which friendships can be accidentally improved; in all some abatements will be made; and we shall do too much honour to women if we reject them from friendships because they are not perfect: for if to friendships we admit imperfect men, because no man is perfect: he that rejects women does find fault with them because they are not more perfect than men, which either does secretly affirm that they ought and can be perfect, or else it openly accuses men of injustice and partiality.

I hope you will pardon me that I am a little gone from my undertaking: I went aside to wait upon the women and to do countenance to their tender virtues; I am now returned, and, if I were to do the office of a guide to uninstructed friends, would add the particulars following: madam, you need not read them now, but when any friends come to be taught by your precept and example how to converse in the noblest conjugations[f], you may put these into better words and tell them,

1. That the first law of friendship is, they must neither ask of their friend what is undecent; nor grant it if themselves be asked. For it is no good office to make my friend more vicious or more a fool; I will restrain his folly, but not nurse it; I will not make my groom the officer of my lust and vanity. There are villains who sell their souls for bread, that offer sin and vanity at a price: I should be unwilling my friend should know I am vicious; but if he could be brought to minister to it, he is not worthy to be my friend: and if I could offer it to him, I do not deserve to clasp hands with a virtuous person.

2. Let no man choose him for his friend whom it should be possible for him ever after to hate; for though the society may justly be

[e] [al. σιλόδουροι· Athen. vi. 12. al. 22.]
54. [f] Soldurii,' Cæs. de bell. gall. iii. [f] ['conjurations' A.]

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interrupted, yet love is an immortal thing, and I will never despise him whom I could once think worthy of my love. A friend that proves not good is rather to be suffered, than any enmities be entertained: and there are some outer offices of friendship and like drudgeries in which the less worthy are to be employed, and it is better that he be below stairs than quite thrown out of doors.

3. There are two things[g] which a friend can never pardon, a treacherous blow and the revealing of a secret, because these are against the nature of friendship; they are the adulteries of it, and dissolve the union; and in the matters of friendship, which is the marriage of souls, these are the proper causes of divorce: and therefore I shall add this only, that secrecy is the chastity of friendship, and the publication of it is a prostitution and direct debauchery; but a secret, treacherous wound is a perfect and unpardonable apostasy. I remember a pretty apologue that Bromiard[h] tells;—A fowler in a sharp frosty morning having taken many little birds for which he had long watched, began to take up his nets; and nipping the birds on the head laid them down. A young thrush espying the tears trickling down his cheeks by reason of the extreme cold, said to her mother, that certainly the man was very merciful and compassionate that wept so bitterly over the calamity of the poor birds. But her mother told her more wisely, that she might better judge of the man's disposition by his hand than by his eye; and if the hands do strike treacherously, he can never be admitted to friendship, who speaks fairly and weeps pitifully. Friendship is the greatest honesty and ingenuity in the world.

4. Never accuse thy friend, nor believe him that does; if thou dost, thou hast broken the skin; but he that is angry with every little fault breaks the bones of friendship; and when we consider that in society and the accidents of every day, in which no man is constantly pleased or displeased with the same things, we shall find reason to impute the change unto ourselves[i]; and the emanations of the sun are still glorious, when our eyes are sore: and we have no reason to be angry with an eternal light, because we have a changeable and a mortal faculty. But however, do not think thou didst contract alliance with an angel, when thou didst take thy friend into thy bosom; he may be weak as well as thou art, and thou mayest need pardon as well as he, and

> Μήποτ' ἐπὶ σμικρῷ προφάσει φίλον ἀνδρ' ἀπολέσσῃς
> πειθόμενος χαλεπῇ Κύρνε διαβολίῃ.
> Εἴτις ἁμαρτωλῇσι φίλων ἐπὶ πάντι χολῷτο,
> Οὔποτ' ἂν ἀλλήλοις ἄρθμιοι οὔδε φίλοι
> [Elev.] Theogn. [lin. 323.]

[g] [Ecclus. xxii. 22. 'If thou hast opened thy mouth against thy friend, fear not; for there may be a reconciliation: except for upbraiding, or pride, or disclosing of secrets, or a treacherous wound: for for these things every friend will depart.']

[h] [Summa prædicantium, 'Misericordia.' tom. ii. fo. 41. 4to. Venet. 1586.]

[i] ['and when . . ourselves;' sic edd.]

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'That man loves flattery more than friendship, who would not only have his friend, but all the contingencies of his friend to humour him.'

5. Give thy friend counsel wisely and charitably, but leave him to his liberty whether he will follow thee or no: and be not angry if thy counsel be rejected; for 'advice is no empire,' and he is not my friend that will be my judge whether I will or no. Neoptolemus[k] had never been honoured with the victory and spoils of Troy if he had attended to the tears and counsel of Lycomedes, who being afraid to venture the young man, fain would have had him sleep at home safe in his little island. He that gives advice to his friend and exacts obedience to it, does not the kindness and ingenuity of a friend, but the office and pertness of a school-master.

6. Never be a judge between thy friends in any matter where both set their hearts upon the victory: if strangers or enemies be litigants, whatever side thou favourest, thou gettest a friend, but when friends are the parties thou losest one.

7. Never comport thyself so, as that thy friend can be afraid of thee: for then the state of the relation alters when a new and troublesome passion supervenes. *Oderunt quos metuunt*[l]. "Perfect love casteth out fear[m]:" and no man is a friend to a tyrant; but that friendship is tyranny where the love is changed into fear, equality into empire, society into obedience; for then all my kindness to him also will be no better than flattery.

8. When you admonish your friend, let it be without bitterness; when you chide him, let it be without reproach; when you praise him, let it be with worthy purposes, and for just causes, and in friendly measures; too much of that is flattery, too little is envy; if you do it justly, you teach him true measures: but when others praise him, rejoice, though they praise not thee, and remember that if thou esteemest his praise to be thy disparagement, thou art envious, but neither just nor kind.

9. When all things else are equal, prefer an old friend before a new. If thou meanest to spend thy friend, and make a gain of him till he be weary, thou wilt esteem him as a beast of burden, the worse for his age; but if thou esteemest him by noble measures, he will be better to thee by thy being used to him, by trial and experience, by reciprocation of endearments, and an habitual worthiness. An old friend is like old wine, which when a man hath drunk, he doth not desire new, because he saith the old is better. But every old friend was new once; and if he be worthy, keep the new one till he become old.

10. After all this, treat thy friend nobly, love to be with him, do to him all the worthinesses of love and fair endearment, according to thy capacity and his; bear with his infirmities till they approach to-

[k] [Cic. de amicit., cap. xx.]

[l] [vid. Sen. de ira, i. 16, et de clement. ii. 2.]

[m] [1 John iv. 18.]

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wards being criminal; but never dissemble with him, never despise him, never leave him. Give him gifts[n] and upbraid him not, and refuse not his kindnesses, and be sure never to despise the smallness or the impropriety of them. *Confirmatur amor beneficio accepto;* 'a gift,' saith Solomon, 'fasteneth friendships;' for as an eye that dwells long upon a star must be refreshed with lesser beauties and strengthened with greens and looking-glasses, lest the sight become amazed with too great a splendor; so must the love of friends sometimes be refreshed with material and low caresses; lest by striving to be too divine it become less humane[o]: it must be allowed its share of both: it is humane[o] in giving pardon and fair construction, and openness and ingenuity, and keeping secrets; it hath something that is divine, because it is beneficent; but much, because it is eternal.

POSTSCRIPT.

MADAM,

IF you shall think it fit that these papers pass further than your own eye and closet, I desire they may be consigned into the hands of my worthy friend Dr. Wedderburne[p]; for I do not only expose all my sickness to his cure, but I submit my weaknesses to his censure, being as confident to find of him charity for what is pardonable, as remedy for what is curable: but indeed, madam, I look upon that worthy man as an idea of friendship, and if I had no other notices of friendship or conversation to instruct me than his, it were sufficient: for whatsoever I can say of friendship, I can say of his, and as all that know him reckon him amongst the best physicians, so I know him worthy to be reckoned amongst the best friends.

[n] Extra fortunam est quicquid donatur amicis;
Quas dederis solas semper habebis opes.—Martial., lib. v. [ep. xliii.]

Et tamen hoc vitium, sed non leve, sit licet unum,
Quod colit ingratas pauper amicitias.
Quis largitur opes veteri fidoque sodali?—[ib., ep. xix.]

Non belle quædam faciunt duo: sufficit unus
Huic operi: si vis ut loquar, ipse tace.
Crede mihi quamvis ingentia Posthume, dones,
Auctoris pereant garrulitate sui.—[ib., ep. liii.]

[o] [See vol. v. p. 386 note.]

[p] ['Joh. Wedderbourne, doct. of phys. of the university of St. Andrew in Scotland .. was originally a professor of philosophy in the said university, but that being too narrow a place for so great a person, he left it, travelled into various countries, and became so celebrated for his great learning and skill in physic, that he was the chief man of his country for many years for that faculty. Afterwards he received the honour of knighthood, and was highly valued when he was in Holland with the prince, 1646-7. At length though his infirmities and great age forced him to retire from public practice and business, yet his fame contracted all the Scotch nation to him; and his noble hospitality and kindness to all that were learned and virtuous, made his conversation no less loved, than his advice was desired.' Wood, Fast. Oxon. 1646.]

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RULES AND ADVICES

TO

THE CLERGY

OF THE

DIOCESE OF DOWN AND CONNOR,

FOR THEIR DEPORTMENT IN THEIR PERSONAL AND PUBLIC CAPACITIES.

GIVEN BY

JER. TAYLOR,

BISHOP OF THAT DIOCESE,

AT THE VISITATION AT LISNEGARVEY[a].

[a] [The ancient name of Lisburn; see Life of Taylor.]

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RULES AND ADVICES

TO

THE CLERGY.

I. PERSONAL DUTY.

I. Remember that it is your great duty, and tied on you by many obligations, that you be exemplar in your lives, and be patterns and presidents to your flocks: lest it be said unto you, 'Why takest thou My law into thy mouth, seeing thou hatest to be reformed thereby[a]?' He that lives an idle life may preach with truth and reason, or as did the pharisees; but not as Christ, or as one having authority.

II. Every minister in taking accounts of his life, must judge of his duty by more strict and severer measures than he does of his people; and he that ties heavy burdens upon others ought himself to carry the heaviest end: and many things may be lawful in them which he must not suffer in himself.

III. Let every minister endeavour to be learned in all spiritual wisdom, and skilful in the things of God; for he will ill teach others the way of godliness perfectly, that is himself a babe and uninstructed. An ignorant minister is an head without an eye; and an evil minister is salt that hath no savour.

IV. Every minister above all things must be careful that he be not a servant of passion, whether of anger or desire. For he that is not a master of his passions will always be useless, and quickly will become contemptible and cheap in the eyes of his parish.

V. Let no minister be litigious in any thing; not greedy or covetous; nor insisting upon little things, or quarrelling for or exacting of every minute portion of his dues; but bountiful and easy; remitting of his right, when to do so may be useful to his people, or when the contrary may do mischief, and cause reproach. "Be not over righteous," saith Solomon[b]; that is, not severe in demanding or forcing every thing, though it be indeed his due.

[a] [See psalm l. 16.]

[b] [Eccles. vii. 16.]

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VI. Let not the name of the church be made a pretence for personal covetousness, by saying, 'you are willing to remit many things, but you must not wrong the church:' for though it be true that you are not to do prejudice to succession, yet many things may be forgiven upon just occasions, from which the church shall receive no incommodity; but be sure that there are but few things which thou art bound to do in thy personal capacity, but the same also, and more, thou art obliged to perform as thou art a public person.

VII. Never exact the offerings, or customary wages, and such as are allowed by law, in the ministration of the sacraments, nor condition for them, nor secure them beforehand; but first do your office, and minister the sacraments purely, readily, and for Christ's sake; and when that is done, receive what is your due.

VIII. Avoid all pride, as you would flee from the most frightful apparition, or the most cruel enemy; and remember that you can never truly teach humility, or tell what it is, unless you practise it yourselves.

IX. Take no measures of humility but such as are material and tangible; such which consist not in humble words, and lowly gestures; but what is first truly radicated in your souls, in low opinion of yourselves, and in real preferring others before yourselves; and in such significations which can neither deceive yourselves nor others.

X. Let every curate of souls strive to understand himself best; and then to understand others. Let him spare himself least; but most severely judge, censure, and condemn himself. If he be learned, let him shew it by wise teaching, and humble manners: if he be not learned, let him be sure to get so much knowledge as to know that, and so much humility, as not to grow insolent, and puffed up by his emptiness. For many will pardon a good man that is less learned; but if he be proud no man will forgive him.

XI. Let every minister be careful to live a life as abstracted from the affairs of the world as his necessity will permit him; but at no hand to be immerged and principally employed in the affairs of the world. What cannot be avoided, and what is of good report, and what he is obliged to by any personal or collateral duty, that he may do, but no more; ever remembering the saying of our blessed Lord[c], "In the world ye shall have trouble, but in Me ye shall have peace:" and consider this also, which is a great truth,—that every degree of love to the world is so much taken from the love of God.

XII. Be no otherwise solicitous of your fame and reputation, but by doing your duty well and wisely; in other things refer yourself to

[c] [John xvi. 33.]

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God: but if you meet with evil tongues, be careful that you bear reproaches sweetly and temperately.

XIII. Remember that no minister can govern his people well and prosperously, unless himself hath learned humbly and cheerfully to obey his superior: for every minister should be like the good centurion in the gospel; himself is under authority, and he hath people under him.

XIV. Be sure in all your words and actions to preserve christian simplicity and ingenuity; to do to others as you would be done unto yourself; and never to speak what you do not think. Trust to truth, rather than to your memory; for this may fail you, that will never.

XV. Pray much and very fervently for all your parishioners, and all men that belong to you, and all that belong to God; but especially for the conversion of souls: and be very zealous for nothing, but for God's glory, and the salvation of the world, and particularly of your charges: ever remember that you are by God appointed as the ministers of prayer, and the ministers of good things, to pray for all the world, and to heal all the world, as far as you are able.

XVI. Every minister must learn and practise patience, that by bearing all adversity meekly, and humbly, and cheerfully, and by doing all his duty with unwearied industry, with great courage, constancy, and christian magnanimity, he may the better assist his people in the bearing of their crosses, and overcoming of their difficulties.

XVII. He that is holy, let him be holy still, and still more holy, and never think he hath done his work till all be finished by perseverance, and the measures of perfection, in a holy life, and a holy death: but at no hand must he magnify himself by vain separations from others, or despising them that are not so holy.

II. OF PRUDENCE REQUIRED IN MINISTERS.

XVIII. Remember that discretion is the mistress of all graces; and humility is the greatest of all miracles: and without this, all graces perish to a man's self; and without that, all graces are useless unto others.

XIX. Let no minister be governed by the opinion of his people, and destroy his duty by unreasonable compliance with their humours, lest as the bishop of Granata told the governors of Leria and Patti, like silly animals they take burdens upon their backs at the pleasure of the multitude, which they neither can retain with prudence, nor shake off with safety.

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XX. Let not the reverence of any man cause you to sin against God[d]; but in the matter of souls, being well advised, be bold and confident; but abate nothing of the honour of God, or the just measures of your duty, to satisfy the importunity of any man whatsoever, and God will bear you out.

XXI. When you teach your people any part of their duty, as in paying their debts, their tithes and offerings, in giving due reverence and religious regards, diminish nothing of admonition in these particulars, and the like, though they object 'that you speak for yourselves, and in your own cases.' For counsel is not the worse, but the better, if it be profitable both to him that gives, and to him that takes it. Only do it in simplicity, and principally intend the good of their souls.

XXII. In taking accounts of the good lives of yourselves or others, take your measures by the express words of scripture; and next to them estimate them by their proportion and compliance with the public measures, with the laws of the nation, ecclesiastical and civil, and by the rules of fame, of public honesty and good report; and last of all by their observation of the ordinances and exterior parts of religion.

XXIII. Be not satisfied when you have done a good work, unless you have also done it well; and when you have, then be careful that vain-glory, partiality, self-conceit, or any other folly or indiscretion, snatch it not out of your hand, and cheat you of the reward.

XXIV. Be careful so to order yourself that you fall not into temptation and folly in the presence of any of your charges; and especially that you fall not into chidings and intemperate talkings, and sudden and violent expressions: never be a party in clamours and scoldings, lest your calling become useless, and your person contemptible; ever remembering, that if you cheaply and lightly be engaged in such low usages with any person, that person is likely to be lost from all possibility of receiving much good from your ministry.

III. THE RULES AND MEASURES OF GOVERNMENT TO BE USED BY MINISTERS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE CURES.

XXV. Use no violence to any man, to bring him to your opinion; but by the word of your proper ministry, by demonstrations of the Spirit, by rational discourses, by excellent examples, constrain them to come in: and for other things they are to be permitted to their own liberty, to the measures of the laws, and the conduct of their governors.

[d] [See Eccles. iv. 22.]

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XXVI. Suffer no quarrel in your parish, and speedily suppress it when it is begun; and though all wise men will abstain from interposing in other men's affairs, and especially in matters of interest, which men love too well; yet it is your duty here to interpose, by persuading them to friendships, reconcilements, moderate prosecutions of their pretences; and by all means you prudently can, to bring them to peace and brotherly kindness.

XXVII. Suffer no houses of debauchery, of drunkenness or lust in your parishes; but implore the assistance of authority for the suppressing of all such meeting-places and nurseries of impiety; and as for places of public entertainment, take care that they observe the rules of christian piety, and the allowed measures of laws.

XXVIII. If there be any papists or sectaries in your parishes, neglect not frequently to confer with them in the spirit of meekness, and by the importunity of wise discourses seeking to gain them. But stir up no violences against them; but leave them (if they be incurable) to the wise and merciful disposition of the laws.

XXIX. Receive not the people to doubtful disputations[e]: and let no names of sects or differing religions be kept up amongst you, to the disturbance of the public peace and private charity: and teach not the people to estimate their piety by their distance from any opinion, but by their faith in Christ, their obedience to God and the laws, and their love to all christian people, even though they be deceived.

XXX. Think no man considerable upon the point or pretence of a tender conscience, unless he live a good life, and in all things endeavour to approve himself void of offence both towards God and man: but if he be an humble person, modest and enquiring, apt to learn and desirous of information; if he seeks for it in all ways reasonable and pious, and is obedient to laws, then take care of him, use him tenderly, persuade him meekly, reprove him gently, and deal mercifully with him, till God shall reveal that also unto him, in which his unavoidable trouble and his temptation lies.

XXXI. Mark them that cause divisions among you, and avoid them: for such persons are by the scripture[f] called 'scandals' in the abstract; they are offenders and offences too. But if any man have an opinion, let him have it to himself, till he can be cured of his disease by time, and counsel, and gentle usages. But if he separates from the church, or gathers a congregation, he is proud, and is fallen from the communion of saints, and the unity of the catholic church.

[e] [vid. Rom. xiv. 1.]

[f] σκάνδαλα παρὰ τὴν διδαχήν. Vide Rom. xvi. 17, οἱ διχοστατοῦντες.

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XXXII. He that observes any of his people to be zealous, let him be careful to conduct that zeal into such channels where there is least danger of inconveniency; let him employ it in something that is good; let it be pressed to fight against sin. For zeal is like a cancer in the breast; feed it with good flesh, or it will devour the heart.

XXXIII. Strive to get the love of the congregation; but let it not degenerate into popularity. Cause them to love you and revere you; to love with religion, not for your compliance; for the good you do them, not for that you please them. Get their love by doing your duty, but not by omitting or spoiling any part of it: ever remembering the severe words of our blessed Saviour[s], "Woe be to you when all men speak well of you."

XXXIV. Suffer not the common people to prattle about religion and questions; but to speak little, to be swift to hear, and slow to speak; that they learn to do good works for necessary uses, that they work with their hands, that they may have wherewithal to give to them that need; that they study to be quiet, and learn to do their own business.

XXXV. Let every minister take care that he call upon his charge, that they order themselves so, that they leave no void spaces of their time, but that every part of it be filled with useful or innocent employment. For where there is a space without business, that space is the proper time for danger and temptation; and no man is more miserable than he that knows not how to spend his time.

XXXVI. Fear no man's person in the doing of your duty wisely, and according to the laws: remembering always that a servant of God can no more be hurt by all the powers of wickedness, than by the noise of a fly's wing, or the chirping of a sparrow. Brethren, do well for yourselves: do well for yourselves as long as you have time; you know not how soon death will come.

XXXVII. Entertain no persons into your assemblies from other parishes, unless upon great occasion, or in the destitution of a minister, or by contingency and seldom visits, or with leave: lest the labour of thy brother be discouraged, and thyself be thought to preach Christ out of envy, and not of good will.

XXXVIII. Never appeal to the judgment of the people in matters of controversy; teach them obedience, not arrogancy; teach them to be humble, not crafty. For without the aid of false guides you will find some of them of themselves apt enough to be troublesome: and a question put into their heads, and a power of judging into their hands, is a putting it to their choice whether you shall be trou-

[s] [Luke vi. 26.]

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bled by them this week or the next; for much longer you cannot escape.

XXXIX. Let no minister of a parish introduce any ceremony, rites or gestures, though with some seeming piety and devotion, but what are commanded by the church, and established by law: and let these also be wisely and usefully explicated to the people, that they may understand the reasons and measures of obedience; but let there be no more introduced, lest the people be burdened unnecessarily, and tempted or divided.

IV. RULES AND ADVICES CONCERNING PREACHING.

XL. Let every minister be diligent in preaching the word of God, according to the ability that God gives him: ever remembering, that to minister God's word unto the people is the one half of his great office and employment.

XLI. Let every minister be careful that what he delivers be indeed the word of God: that his sermon be answerable to the text; for this is God's word, the other ought to be according to it; that although in itself it be but the word of man, yet by the purpose, truth, and signification of it, it may in a secondary sense be the word of God.

XLII. Do not spend your sermons in general and indefinite things, as in exhortations to the people to get Christ, to be united to Christ, and things of the like unlimited signification; but tell them in every duty what are the measures, what circumstances, what instruments, and what is the particular minute meaning of every general advice. For generals not explicated do but fill the people's heads with empty notions, and their mouths with perpetual unintelligible talk: but their hearts remain empty, and themselves are not edified.

XLIII. Let not the humours and inclinations of the people be the measures of your doctrines, but let your doctrines be the measure of their persuasions. Let them know from you what they ought to do; but if you learn from them what you ought to teach, you will give but a very ill account at the day of judgment of the souls committed to you. He that receives from the people what he shall teach them, is like a nurse that asks of her child what physic she shall give him.

XLIV. Every minister, in reproofs of sin and sinners, ought to concern himself in the faults of them that are present, but not of the absent; nor in reproof of the times; for this can serve no end but of faction and sedition, public murmur and private discontent; besides this, it does nothing but amuse the people in the faults of others,

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teaching them to revile their betters, and neglect the dangers of their own souls.

XLV. As it looks like flattery and design to preach nothing before magistrates but the duty of their people and their own eminency, so it is the beginning of mutiny to preach to the people the duty of their superiors and supreme; it can neither come from a good principle, nor tend to a good end. Every minister ought to preach to his parish, and urge their duty: S. John the baptist told the soldiers what the soldiers should do, but troubled not their heads with what was the duty of the scribes and pharisees.

XLVI. In the reproof of sins be as particular as you please, and spare no man's sin, but meddle with no man's person; neither name any man, nor signify him, neither reproach him, nor make him to be suspected; he that doth otherwise makes his sermon to be a libel, and the ministry of repentance an instrument of revenge; and so doing he shall exasperate the man, but never amend the sinner.

XLVII. Let the business of your sermons be to preach holy life, obedience, peace, love among neighbours, hearty love, to live as the old Christians did, and the new should; to do hurt to no man, to do good to every man: for in these things the honour of God consists, and the kingdom of the Lord Jesus.

XLVIII. Press those graces most that do most good, and make the least noise; such as giving privately and forgiving publicly; and prescribe the grace of charity by all the measures of it which are given by the apostle, 1 Cor. xiii. For this grace is not finished by good words nor yet by good works, but it is a great building, and many materials go to the structure of it. It is worth your study, for it is the fulfilling of the commandments.

XLIX. Because it is impossible that charity should live, unless the lust of the tongue be mortified, let every minister in his charge be frequent and severe against slanderers, detractors, and backbiters; for the crime of backbiting is the poison of charity; and yet so common, that it is passed into a proverb, "After a good dinner let us sit down and backbite our neighbours."

L. Let every minister be careful to observe, and vehement in reproving, those faults of his parishioners, of which the laws cannot or do not take cognizance, such as are many degrees of intemperate drinkings, gluttony, riotous living, expences above their ability, pride, bragging, lying in ordinary conversation, covetousness, peevishness, and hasty anger, and such like. For the word of God searches deeper than the laws of men; and many things will be hard to prove by the measures of courts, which are easy enough to be observed by the watchful and diligent eye and ear of the guide of souls.

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LI. In your sermons to the people, often speak of the four last things, of Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell: of the life and death of Jesus Christ, of God's mercy to repenting sinners, and His severity against the impenitent; of the formidable examples of God's anger poured forth upon rebels, sacrilegious, oppressors of widows and orphans, and all persons guilty of crying sins: these are useful, safe, and profitable; but never run into extravagancies and curiosities, nor trouble yourselves or them with mysterious secrets; for there is more laid before you than you can understand; and the whole duty of man is, 'To fear God and keep His commandments[h].' Speak but very little of the secret and high things of God, but as much as you can of the lowness and humility of Christ.

LII. Be not hasty in pronouncing damnation against any man or party in a matter of disputation. It is enough that you reprove an error; but what shall be the sentence against it at the day of judgment, thou knowest not, and therefore pray for the erring person, and reprove him, but leave the sentence to his Judge.

LIII. Let your sermons teach the duty of all states of men to whom you speak; and particularly take care of servants and hirelings, merchants and tradesmen, that they be not unskilful, nor unadmonished in their respective duties; and in all things speak usefully and affectionately; for by this means you will provide for all men's needs, both for them that sin by reason of their little understanding, and them that sin because they have evil, dull, or depraved affections.

LIV. In your sermons and discourses of religion, use primitive, known, and accustomed words, and affect not new, fantastical or schismatical terms. Let the sunday festival be called 'the Lord's day;' and pretend no fears from the common use of words amongst Christians. For they that make a business of the words of common use, and reform religion by introducing a new word, intend to make a change but no amendment; they spend themselves in trifles, like the barren turf that sends forth no medicinable herbs, but store of mushrooms; and they give a demonstration that they are either impertinent people, or else of a querulous nature; and that they are ready to disturb the church, if they could find occasion.

LV. Let every minister in his charge, as much as he can, endeavour to destroy all popular errors and evil principles taken up by his people, or others with whom they converse; especially those that directly oppose the indispensable necessity of a holy life: let him endeavour to understand in what true and useful sense Christ's active obedience is imputed to us; let him make his people fear the deferring of their repentance, and putting it off to their death-bed; let him explicate the nature of faith, so that it be an active and quicken-

[h] [Eccles. xii. 13.]

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ing principle of charity; let him, as much as he may, take from them all confidences that slacken their obedience and diligence; let him teach them to impute all their sins to their own follies and evil choice, and so build them up in a most holy faith to a holy life; ever remembering that in all ages it hath been the greatest artifice of Satan to hinder the increase of Christ's kingdom, by destroying those things in which it does consist, viz., peace and righteousness, holiness and mortification.

LVI. Every minister ought to be careful that he never expound scriptures in public contrary to the known sense of the catholic church, and particularly of the churches of England and Ireland, nor introduce any doctrine against any of the four first general councils[1]; for these, as they are measures of truth, so also of necessity; that is, as they are safe, so they are sufficient; and besides what is taught by these, no matter of belief is necessary to salvation.

LVII. Let no preacher bring before the people in his sermons or discourses, the arguments of great and dangerous heresies, though with a purpose to confute them; for they will much easier retain the objection than understand the answer

LVIII. Let not the preacher make an article of faith to be a matter of dispute; but teach it with plainness and simplicity, and confirm it with easy arguments and plain words of scripture, but without objection; let them be taught to believe, but not to argue, lest if the arguments meet with a scrupulous person, it rather shake the foundation by curious enquiry, than establish it by arguments too hard.

LIX. Let the preacher be careful that in his sermons he use no light, immodest, or ridiculous expressions, but what is wise, grave, useful, and for edification; that when the preacher brings truth and gravity, the people may attend with fear and reverence.

LX. Let no preacher envy any man that hath a greater audience, or more fame in preaching, than himself; let him not detract from him or lessen his reputation directly or indirectly: for he that cannot be even with his brother but by pulling him down, is but a dwarf still; and no man is the better for making his brother worse. In all things desire that Christ's kingdom may be advanced; and rejoice that He is served, whoever be the minister; that if you cannot have the fame of a great preacher, yet you may have the reward of being a good man; but it is hard to miss both.

LXI. Let every preacher in his parish take care to explicate to the people the mysteries of the great festivals, as of Christmas, Easter, Ascension-day, Whitsunday, Trinity-sunday, the Annunciation of the

[1] [See vol. v. p. 197.]

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blessed virgin Mary; because these feasts containing in them the great fundamentals of our faith, will with most advantage convey the mysteries to the people, and fix them in their memories, by the solemnity and circumstances of the day.

LXII. In all your sermons and discourses speak nothing of God but what is honourable and glorious; and impute not to Him such things, the consequents of which a wise and good man will not own: never suppose Him to be the author of sin, or the procurer of our damnation; for 'God cannot be tempted, neither tempteth He any man;' 'God is true, and every man a liar[k].'

LXIII. Let no preacher compare one ordinance with another; as prayer with preaching, to the disparagement of either; but use both in their proper seasons, and according to appointed order

LXIV. Let no man preach for the praise of men; but if you meet it, instantly watch and stand upon your guard, and pray against your own vanity; and by an express act of acknowledgment and adoration return the praise to God. Remember that Herod was for the omission of this smitten by an angel[l]; and do thou tremble, fearing lest the judgment of God be otherwise than the sentence of the people.

V. RULES AND ADVICES CONCERNING CATECHISM.

LXV. Every minister is bound upon every Lord's day before evening prayer to instruct all young people in the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as they are set down and explicated in the church catechism.

LXVI. Let a bell be tolled when the catechizing is to begin, that all who desire it may be present; but let all the more ignorant and uninstructed part of the people, whether they be old or young, be required to be present: that no person in your parishes be ignorant in the foundations of religion; ever remembering that if in these things they be unskilful, whatever is taught besides, is like a house built upon the sand.

LXVII. Let every minister teach his people the use, practice, methods and benefits of meditation or mental prayer. Let them draw out for them helps and rules for their assistance in it; and furnish them with materials, concerning the life and death of the ever-blessed Jesus, the greatness of God, our own meanness, the dreadful sound of the last trumpet, the infinite event of the two last sentences at doomsday: let them be taught to consider what they have been, what they are, and what they shall be; and above all

[k] [See James i. 13; Rom. iii. 4.]

[l] [Acts xii. 23.]

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things what are the issues of eternity; glories never to cease, pains never to be ended.

LXVIII. Let every minister exhort his people to a frequent confession of their sins, and a declaration of the state of their souls; to a conversation with their minister in spiritual things, to an enquiry concerning all the parts of their duty: for by preaching, and catechizing, and private entercourse, all the needs of souls can best be served; but by preaching alone they cannot.

LXIX. Let the people be exhorted to keep fasting-days, and the feasts of the church, according to their respective capacities; so it be done without burden to them, and without becoming a snare; that is, that upon the account of religion and holy desires to please God, they spend some time in religion, besides the Lord's day: but be very careful that the Lord's day be kept religiously, according to the severest measures of the church, and the commands of authority: ever remembering that as they give but little testimony of repentance and mortification, who never fast; so they give but small evidence of their joy in God and religion, who are unwilling solemnly to partake of the public and religious joys of the christian church.

LXX. Let every minister be diligent in exhorting all parents and masters to send their children and servants to the bishops at the visitation, or other solemn times of his coming to them, that they may be confirmed: and let him also take care that all young persons may by understanding the principles of religion, their vow of baptism, the excellency of christian religion, the necessity and advantages of it, and of living according to it, be fitted and disposed, and accordingly by them presented to the bishop, that he may pray over them, and invocate the holy Spirit, and minister the holy rite of confirmation.

VI. RULES AND ADVICES CONCERNING THE VISITATION OF THE SICK.

LXXI. Every minister ought to be careful in visiting all the sick and afflicted persons of his parish; ever remembering, that as the priest's lips are to preserve knowledge, so it is his duty to minister a word of comfort in the time of need.

LXXII. A minister must not stay till he be sent for; but of his own accord and care to go to them, to examine them, to exhort them to perfect their repentance, to strengthen their faith, to encourage their patience, to persuade them to resignation, to the renewing of their holy vows, to the love of God, to be reconciled to their neighbours, to make restitution and amends, to confess their sins, to settle their estate, to provide for their charges, to do acts of piety and charity, and above all things, that they take care they do not sin towards the end of their lives. For if repentance on our death-bed seem so very

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late for the sins of our life; what time shall be left to repent us of the sins we commit on our death-bed?

LXXIII. When you comfort the afflicted, endeavour to bring them to the true love of God; for he that serves God for God's sake, it is almost impossible he should be oppressed with sorrow.

LXXIV. In answering the cases of conscience of the sick or afflicted people, consider not who asks, but what he asks; and consult in your answers more with the estate of his soul, than the conveniency of his estate; for no flattery is so fatal as that of the physician or the divine.

LXXV. If the sick person enquires concerning the final estate of his soul, he is to be reproved rather than answered; only he is to be called upon to finish his duty, to do all the good he can in that season, to pray for pardon and acceptance; but you have nothing to do to meddle with passing final sentences; neither cast him down in despair, nor raise him up to vain and unreasonable confidences. But take care that he be not carelessly dismissed.

LXXVI. In order to these and many other good purposes, every minister ought frequently to converse with his parishioners; to go to their houses, but always publicly, with witness, and with prudence, lest what is charitably intended be scandalously reported: and in all your conversation be sure to give good example, and upon all occasions to give good counsel.

VII. OF MINISTERING THE SACRAMENTS, PUBLIC PRAYERS, AND OTHER DUTIES OF MINISTERS.

LXXVII. EVERY minister is obliged publicly or privately to read the common prayers every day in the week, at morning and evening; and in great towns and populous places conveniently inhabited, it must be read in churches, that the daily sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving may never cease.

LXXVIII. The minister is to instruct the people that the baptism of their children ought not to be ordinarily deferred longer than till the next sunday after the birth of the child; lest importune and unnecessary delay occasion that the child die before it is dedicated to the service of God and the religion of the Lord Jesus, before it be born again, admitted to the promises of the gospel, and reckoned in the account of the second Adam.

LXXIX. Let every minister exhort and press the people to a devout and periodical communion, at the least three times in the year, at the great festivals: but the devouter sort, and they who have

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leisure, are to be invited to a frequent communion: and let it be given and received with great reverence.

LXXX. Every minister ought to be well skilled and studied in saying his office, in the rubrics, the canons, the articles, and the homilies of the church, that he may do his duty readily, discreetly, gravely, and by the public measures of the laws. To which also it is very useful that it be added, that every minister study the ancient canons of the church, especially the penitentials of the eastern and western churches: let him read good books, such as are approved by public authority; such which are useful, wise and holy; not the scribblings of unlearned parties, but of men learned, pious, obedient, and disinterested; and amongst these, such especially which describe duty and good life, which minister to faith and charity, to piety and devotion; cases of conscience, and solid expositions of scripture: concerning which learned and wise persons are to be consulted.

LXXXI. Let not a curate of souls trouble himself with any studies but such which concern his own or his people's duty; such as may enable him to speak well, and to do well; but to meddle not with controversies, but such by which he may be enabled to convince the gainsayers in things that concern public peace and a good life.

LXXXII. Be careful in all the public administrations of your parish that the poor be provided for. Think it no shame to beg for Christ's poor members; stir up the people to liberal alms by your word and your example. Let a collection be made every Lord's day, and upon all solemn meetings, and at every communion; and let the collection be wisely and piously administered: ever remembering, that at the day of judgment nothing shall publicly be proclaimed, but the reward of alms and mercy.

LXXXIII. Let every minister be sure to lay up a treasure of comforts and advices, to bring forth for every man's need in the day of his trouble; let him study and heap together instruments and advices for the promoting of every virtue, and remedies and arguments against every vice; let him teach his people to make acts of virtue not only by external exercise, but also in the way of prayer and internal meditation.

In these and all things else that concern the minister's duty, if there be difficulty, you are to repair to your bishop for further advice, assistance and information.

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SERMON.

THE GATE TO HEAVEN A STRAIT GATE[a].

Luke xiii. 23, 24.

Then said one unto Him, Lord, are there few that shall be saved? And He said unto them,

Strive to enter in at the strait gate; for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, but shall not be able.

The life of a Christian is a perpetual contention for mastery, a continual strife. Indeed we usually strive too much, and that for trifles and rewards inconsiderable; nay, we strive for things that ruin

[a] [This sermon is found in a small volume, 12mo. London, 1675, bearing Taylor's portrait for its frontispice, and a title-page as follows:—

"Christ's Yoke an Easy Yoke,
and yet the
Gate to Heaven a Strait Gate;
in two excellent Sermons
well worthy the serious perusal of
the strictest professors.
By a learned and reverend divine.
Heb. xi. 4.
Who being dead yet speaketh."

Then follows a short preface,
"To the reader.

Reader,—These sermons need no epistle of commendation before them; the works of this reverend author already extant, praise him in the gates: by means of a person of honour yet living, they are now come into the press for public use and benefit. For the subject matter of these excellent sermons, it is of all other the most necessary, to make the way of Christ pleasant to us, and to assure us of a blessed and glorious reward at the end; both which are handled by a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. What can more endear a Christian to the obedience of Christ, than to find His very yoke made easy, none of His commands grievous, but His ways, ways of pleasantness, and all His paths peace; besides the great and everlasting reward to all them that walk in them? And to quicken our diligence, that we be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and obedience inherit the promises, the author hath added another serious and weighty discourse, to shew us that 'strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life.'

Though Christ's precepts are plain and easy to a sincere heart, that truly loves Him; yet His promises are not to be obtained but by a universal endeavour, in a uniform obedience to all His commands.

In a word, Christ's yoke is easy, this should invite us to take His yoke upon us: the way is narrow that leadeth unto life, this should provoke us with care and circumspection to walk in it: the reward is certain and infinite, this should encourage us with greatest diligence, that we may at last obtain the promise.

This we doubt not was the design of the author in preaching these sermons; and we do assure thee no less in printing of them: which that they may conduce to so happy and blessed an end, is the hearty desire, and shall be the sincere prayer of thy friend,

to serve thee."

The two sermons thus introduced to the world were no doubt from Taylor's pen, written at an early period of his life. The one he afterwards inserted in the 'Life of Christ,' as part of the 'Discourse of the excellency,' &c. 'of christian religion.' And from the other he introduced many sentences into the 'Considerations upon the Circumcision,' in the same work. The latter sermon is here given entire.]

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us; whereas if we would 'strive lawfully,' that is, for that crown that is laid up for us, and 'run that race which is set before us,' our strivings would be as good as peace and rest; for they would bring us 'peace at the last;' victory and peace, security and eternity, joy and infinite satisfactions; and these are things worth striving for.

But here plainly is our duty;

1) We must 'strive to enter;' and this duty enforced by a double argument: 2) first from the order of the end, and nature of the thing; 'the gate is strait,' and therefore we must strive: 3) secondly, from the caution and example of them that have fallen short for want of due striving; many 'sought,' and fain would have entered, but for want of 'striving' they were 'not able.'

I. And first of the duty itself, *Contendite intrare*, 'strive to enter in at the strait gate.'

a) And here I consider, that besides the extension of our duty, there being more duties required of us than of any sort of men before the preaching of the gospel (the Jews themselves, who reckon that Moses gave to them six hundred and thirteen precepts[b], having received no precept at all concerning prayer, faith, or repentance) besides this I say, I consider, that not only in respect of the extension, but by reason of the intension of our duty, and the degrees of holiness that the holy laws of christianity require of us, it is necessary that we strive with great earnestness. *Qui enim sanctitatem sancte custodiunt, judicabuntur sancti*, saith the wisdom of Solomon, cap. vi. v. 10. A man may do holy things unholily. There are some that preach Christ out of envy, there are many that get proselytes for gain; there are some that are zealous to get disciples, that they may glory in their flesh, as some false apostles did to the Galatians; there is some zeal in an evil matter, and many times, when a man hath done good actions, he is the further off from the gates of heaven, not because he did the good actions, but because he wanted those formalities and circumstances, those manners and degrees, those principles and ends, which make good actions in themselves be good in us, which crown the actions and make us to be accepted.

It was well done in the pharisees to pray often, and to fast twice in the week, and to give alms; and yet these very good actions were so far from being commended, that they became the object of His anger, and the matter of reproof, and it was because they did it with a design to be accounted holy. Indeed they blew a trumpet, but that was to call the poor together, that was the external end. But there was a little ivy crept up on this goodly oak, till it sucked its heart out; they themselves would be taken notice of, and that spoiled all; their actions went no further than the end which they propounded to

[b] [Petr. Galat. xi. 3.—Cf. vol. ix. p. 496.]

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themselves. For that which men make their principal end, that God will suffer shall be their end: if they seek the praise of men, that being their purpose, that shall be their reward; but if they aim at the pleasure of God, and the rewards of heaven, thither will God's mercy and their own good deeds bear them.

A little leaven it is that sours the whole lump. Who would have thought that our blessed Saviour should have found fault with the pharisees for giving God thanks for His graces, or not have been satisfied with the exactness of their justness and religion, that they would give tithe even of mint and anise and cummin-seeds; or have reproved Judas for having care of the poor, or discountenanced the Jews for accusing the woman taken in adultery; or have been discontented at the doctors of the law for being strict and severe exactors of the law of God at the people's hands, or checked them for observing the innocent customs of their nation, and tradition of their forefathers. Since all these acts were pious, or just, or charitable, or religious, or prosecutions of some part or other of their duty. The several reasons of these reprehensions our blessed Saviour subjoins at the end of every of them respectively. They wanted a circumstance, or a good manner, their actions were better than their intentions, and sometimes their malice was greatest in their very acts of charity. And when they gave God thanks, they did despite to their brother, something or other did envenom the face of these acts of piety; their heart was not upright, or their religion was imperfect; their piety wanted some integral part, or had an evil eye. A word, a thought, a secret purpose, a less holy intention, any indirect circumstance, or obliquity in an accident, makes our piety become impious, and deprives us of our reward. Here therefore we had need to watch, to strive, to pray, to contend, and to do all diligence that can be expressed by all the *synonyma*'s of care and industry.

β) Secondly, we had need to strive, because though virtues be nice and curious, yet *vitia sunt in facili et propinquo*. Sin 'lies at the door,' and is thrust upon us by the violence of adversaries, or by the subtilty and insinuation of its own nature, which we are to understand to the following sense. For when we are born of christian parents, we are born *in puris naturalibus*, we have at first no more promptness[c] to commit some sort of sins, than to commit some good acts. We are as apt to learn to love God as to love our parents, if we be taught it. For though original sin hath lost to us all those supernatural assistances which were at first put into our nature *per modum gratiæ*, yet it is but by accident that we are more prone to sin than we are to virtue. For after this it happened that God giving us laws, made His restraints and prohibitions *in materia voluptatis sensualis*, He by His laws hath enjoined us to deny

[c] [The reader will perhaps here detect Taylor's peculiar doctrine of Original Sin. Cf. vol. vii. p. 243 sqq.; and p. cxxviii. below.]

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our natural appetites in many things. Now this being become the matter of divine laws, that we should in many parts and degrees abstain from what pleases our sense, by this supervening accident it happens that we are very hardly weaned from sin, but most easily tempted to a vice; our nature is not contrary to virtue, but the instances of some virtues are made to come cross our nature.

But in things intellectual and immaterial, we are indeed indifferent to virtue and vice; I say, where neither one nor the other satisfies the sensual part. In the old law, when it was a duty to swear by the God of Israel in common causes, men were indifferent to that, and to swear by the queen of heaven; they had no more natural inclination to the one, than to the other, except where something sensual became the argument to determine them. And in sensual things, if God had commanded polygamy or promiscuous concubinate, and indifferent unlimited lust, men had been more apt to obey that commandment than to disobey it. But then the restraint lying upon our natural appetites, and we being by ill education determined upon, and almost engaged to vicious actions, we suffer under the inconveniences of idle education, and in the mean time rail upon Adam and original sin. It is indifferent to us to love our fathers and to love strangers. And if from our infancy we be told concerning a stranger that he is our father; we frame our affections to nature, and our nature to custom and education, and are as apt to love him who is not, and yet is said to be, as him who is said not to be, and yet indeed is our natural father.

The purpose of this discourse is this, that we may consider how sin creeps upon us in our education, so tacitly and undiscernibly, that we mistake the cause of it; and yet so effectually and prevalently, that we guess it to be our very nature, and charge it upon Adam, when every one of us is the Adam, the man of sin, and the parent of our own iniquities.—We are taught to be revengeful even in our cradles, and taught to strike our neighbours as a means to still our frowardness, and satisfy our wranglings. Our nurses teach us to know the greatness of our birth, or the riches of our inheritance, or they learn us to be proud, or to be impatient, before we learn to know God, or to say our prayers.—After we are grown up to more years, we have tutors of impiety, that are stronger to persuade, and more diligent to insinuate, and we are more receptive of every vicious impression. And not to reckon all the inconveniences of evil company, indulgence of parents, public and authorized customs of sin, and all the mischiefs and dangers of public society and private retirements, when we have learned to discern good from evil, and when we are prompted to do a good, or engaged to it by some happy circumstance or occasion, our good is so seldom and so little, and there are so many ways of spoiling it, that there are not more ways to make an army miscarry in a battle, than there are to make us perish even in our good actions. Every enemy that is without, every

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weakness and imperfection we have within; every temptation, every vicious circumstance, every action of our life mingled with interest and design, is as a particular argument to engage our earnestness and zeal in this duty *ut contendamus acriter*, 'that we strive' and make it our business to 'enter into the strait gate.' For since the writers of moral institutions and cases of conscience have made no such abbreviatures of the duty of a Christian, but that I think there are amongst them all without *hyperbole* five thousand cases of conscience, besides the ordinary plain duty of a Christian, and there may be five thousand times five thousand[d], and the wit of man can no more comprise all cases which are or may be within their books, than they can at once describe an infinity, or set down the biggest number that can be; it will follow that it is a nice thing to be a Christian, and all the striving we can use will be little enough towards the doing of our duty.

And now if you enquire

a) What is meant by striving in this place? and what is the full intention of this precept?

I answer; it is an infinite or indefinite term, and signifies no determinate degree of labour and endeavour, but even as much as we can, supposing our weaknesses, our hindrances and avocations; that is, to make it the business of our lives, the care of our thoughts, our study and the greatest employment of the whole man, to serve God. Holy scripture gives us general notions and comprehensions of the whole duty of man, that may be excellent guides to us in this particular. "Let us lay aside every weight, and the sin that doth so easily beset us." "For he that contendeth for mastery is temperate in all things," saith S. Paul[e]. There is first an obligation of all sin whatsoever, every weight, every sin, every hindrance; abstaining from all things whatsoever that are impediments. And we do not strive to do this, unless we use all the means we can to learn what is our duty, and what infinite variety of sins there are that so easily beset us. And let me desire you to observe one thing; make a trial in any one sin that is or hath been most pleasing to any of you, and according to your duty set upon its mortification heartily and throughly, and try whether it will not be a hard strife with flesh and blood, and a great contention to kill that one crime; I mean in the midst of your temptations to it, and opportunities of acting it; and by this you may make a short conjecture at the greatness of this duty. And this is but the one half; for the extirpation of vices is not always the introduction of virtues. For there are some men that have ceased from an act of sin, that still retain the affection, and there are others who have quitted their affection to sin, who yet are not reconciled to the difficulty and pains of acquiring virtues. 'I thank God I am no extortioner, no adulterer, not as this publican,' saith the pharisee[f];

[d] [So p. 21 above.] [e] [Heb. xii. 1; 1 Cor. ix. 25.] [f] [Luke xviii. 11.]

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so far many go, and then they think themselves fairly assoiled, who are only like misguided travellers, that upon discovery of their error cease to wander further, but are not yet returned, nor have made any progress in the true way. Some men cease to oppress their neighbours, and will do so no more; but they think not of making restitution of what wrongs have been done by them long since. Some men will leave off from drunkenness; but they think not of fasting, and enduring hunger and thirst and pains to punish their past intemperance. There is a further striving, or we shall not enter into the narrow gate. S. Peter[g] gives an excellent account of it; "Having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust;" that's one half: but he adds, "And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, to knowledge temperance, to temperance patience, to patience godliness, to godliness brotherly kindness, to brotherly kindness charity:" "these things" must "be in you and abound," saith S. Peter; and therefore, as himself prefaces, you had need give all diligence, and strive earnestly to all these purposes.

In the mean time I pray remember, that this is not to strive, when we only do perform those offices of religion which custom or the laws of a church enjoin us to: nor this, when our religion is cheap and easy, when we use arts to satisfy our conscience, and heap up teachers of our own to that purpose, that by a stratagem they and we may bend the duty to our conscience, not measure our conscience by our duty; when we call security a just peace, want of understanding a sufficient warrant for quietness, the not committing of deformed and scandalous sins a pious life; this is far from striving, here is no striving in this, but how to cozen and abuse ourselves. If the affairs of the world (I do not say) take up not only most of our time, but most of our affections; if the returns of sin be frequent, and if religion be seldom and unpleasant; if any vice hath got possession of us, or that we have not got possession of all those virtues we have use of, we have not striven lawfully. Shall I tell you how S. Paul did strive, that thence we also may have a fair pattern and president[h] to imitate? 2 Cor. vi., you have his course of life largely described; "Giving no offence in any thing, but approving ourselves in much patience, in afflictions, in labours, in watchings, in fastings, by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness, and by an evenness of temper in the midst of an uneven, unquiet, and contradictory condition;" this was his course of life, thus did he labour, mortifying his soul, heightening his devotion, bringing his body under, and advancing the interests of the gospel, lest by any means he had run, or should run, in vain.

I speak not these things to discourage you, but to provoke you to good works and a holy life. For if you ask,

[g] [2 Pet. i. 4.] [h] [sic ed.]

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β) Who does all this, or indeed who is able?

I answer, it is no good argument of an affection to God, when we make such scrupulous questions concerning His injunctions: he that loves God does all this; love is the fulfilling of the commandments: 'Love hopeth all things, endureth all things,' thinketh nothing impossible; attempteth those things as most easy which to natural reason seem impossible.

For consider, that as without God's grace we can do nothing, so by His grace strengthening us we can do any thing. Faith works miracles, and charity does more. 'Through Christ that strengthens me I can do all things,' saith S. Paul, and 'Christ's grace is sufficient for me,' sufficient to all God's purposes, and to all mine. For it is not commanded to us to remove mountains from their places, which we never placed there; but to remove our sins, which we ourselves have made. We are not commanded to do things which are not in our power, but such things which God enables us to, and to which we disable ourselves by cowardice and intimidating our own spirits, by despairing of God's grace, by refusing to labour, by deferring our endeavours till the weight of our sin grows great, and our strength grows less; till our iniquities are many, and our days are few; and then indeed we have some reason to say we cannot strive in such measure as the greatness of these duties does require.

And yet remember 'tis but striving, that is, doing the utmost of our endeavour. The best man in the world can do no more than use all his endeavour, and he that is weakest can do so much, that is, he can do his endeavour: and although a boy cannot strike so great a stroke as a strong man, yet he can put forth all his strength; and the just and merciful lawgiver never requires more of us than all we have upon the stock of nature, and all He hath given us in the banks of grace. So that the duty we are here engaged upon, is but an earnest endeavour to do our best, and all we can; and every man can do that: but because they will not, because men have habitual aversations from the practices of a holy life, because to do actions of severe religion and strict piety is troublesome to their affections, because contrariant to their wills, therefore it is they call it hard and impossible; whereas it is not the impossibility of the thing, but their own disaffections, that have heightened the difficulty to a seeming impossibility.

And thus I have done with the first part of the text, the duty itself, with its manner of performance: we must 'strive to enter' into the narrow gate of life, and blissful immortality.

II. And that leads to the second part, or the first argument to engage our endeavours and earnest strivings; because the passage is hard and difficult, and not to be acquired by men that love their ease, but by those that with christian fortitude encounter all difficul-

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ties and oppositions. *Porta est angusta,* 'the gate is narrow,' therefore strive.

And first, I consider that virtues and vices many of them are so very like, that it is very often extremely difficult to distinguish them exactly, and pursue the virtue curiously. Virtue lies between two vices, not as a mediocrity, but as a thing assaulted by two enemies; for one virtue two vices, and each of the extremes hath something of the virtue in it. A prodigal hath the open-handedness of a liberal person, and a covetous person is as wary as he that spends nothing in vain, and both these would think themselves uncivilly dealt withal, if the freeness of the one, or the restraint of the other, should be called vicious. And there are some precepts which some will think they have reason to say they have strictly observed, when they have been most notorious prevaricators of it. For may not a vain-glorious person, that gives alms out of the promptness of his spirit, think he hath done his alms well, although he hath done them publicly; it being a divine precept, 'that our light so shine before men, that other men seeing our good works, might glorify our heavenly Father.' And if this be a precept, possibly also some who transgress this precept may think themselves safe on the surer side of humility. And truly that we may see how dangerous our condition is, and yet how safe our imaginations are, I think no man will doubt but all God's commandments have been broken, and this of *Luceat lux vestra,* 'let your light shine,' amongst the rest; and yet I never read or heard any man, in the greatest and largest of his confessions, ever acknowledge that crime, that he had not done his good deeds publicly. But between the duty of publication of good deeds, and the duty of humility, the way is so narrow, that it is hard to hit it right; and when, and how, and in what manner, and in what circumstances to do either, is the work of great understanding and much observation.

I consider yet further, many times a virtue and a vice differ but in one degree. For there is a rule of justice to which if any man adds but one degree of severity more, it degenerates into cruelty; and a little more than mercy is remissness; and want of discipline introduces licentiousness, and becomes unmerciful as to the public, and unjust as to the particular. Now this consideration is heightened, if we observe that virtue and vice consist not *in indivisibili,* but there is a latitude for either, which is not to be judged of by any certain rules drawn from the nature of the thing, but to be estimated in proportion to the persons, and other accidental circumstances.

Virtue and vice dwell too near together, unless they were better friends. All the learning of the *Sanhedrim* could not distinguish between the humiliation of Ahab and Manasses, nor between the zeal of Jehu and Josiah, nor between Joshua's and David's numbering the people; and yet Ahab was but an imperfect penitent, Jehu was

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a furious zealot, and David sinned grievously; whereas Manasses was truly contrite, and Josiah was a zealous reformer, and Joshua in the same action was a wise and provident captain. Abraham was called the friend of God for offering Isaac at God's command; now God commanded men to perform their vows, and yet Jephthah for offering up his daughter hath left to posterity the reputation of a temerarious and inconsiderate person. There is a right hand and a left in the paths of our life, and if we decline to either we are undone. And therefore pious and holy persons are called upright men, and the precept in scripture is frequently ingeminated, 'to walk in all God's commandments with an upright heart.' For on the right hand of man is ruin, and on the left is destruction; and in all the infinite variety of sins, there is no other variety of conditions, but either to perish or to be undone.

For every one vice kills the soul, but every virtue does not make alive. Adultery condemns a man to the lowest misery, but chastity alone does not keep our souls from death. Because we are forbidden to commit any sin; every crime lies under a prohibition, and the same laws of God command us to pursue all virtues, and enjoin the integrity of a holy life. Now as he that commits one sin, or entertains a single vice, breaks the commandment, which enjoins him to forsake all sin; so he observes not the precept of God concerning virtues, that does not acquire and entertain all, universally all. A man is spotted although he have but one stain; but he is not clean, unless he be all clean. A cup is broken[i], if only the top be broken, but is not entire unless every part of it be inviolate. One disease can make a whole man sick, but the taking away one disease will not make all men well; and there are a hundred ways to wander in, but one only way to life and immortality. So that I shall not need to urge the variety of temptations, the subtilty of sin, the watchfulness and malice of the devil, the infirmities of our spirits, the ignorance of our understandings, the obliquity of our will, the mutiny and disorder of our affections, the inconstancy of our good purposes, the unstableness of our resolutions, the pleasingness of sensual objects, the variety of evil occasions, the perpetual readiness of opportunities for evil, our unwillingness to good, so great, that we are loth to beg blessings and benefits of God almighty[j]. These, and thousands more, are but the particular instances of this first argument to engage our striving. For the gate that is strait enough in its own abstract consideration, is made ten thousand times straiter by the supervening enmities of the devil, the allurements of the world, the solicitations and impudent temptations of the flesh, and the imperfections and great weaknesses of mortality.

III. I now come to the last *notandum* of the text, or the second

[i] [See Index, 'Cup.']

[j] [See vol. iii. p. 175.

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argument to enforce our striving, the caution and example of such persons, who have fallen short of entering, for want of due striving; "For many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able."

"Many shall seek." The five foolish virgins sought; and they who shall tell Christ that they did miracles in His name, they sought; and the pharisees sought; but all seeking you see shall not find. Some seek themselves alone, and they shall never find any thing to satisfy them. Some seek God and themselves together; when religion and their own ends can stand together, well and good; when ease and devotion, charity and good husbandry, repentance and no restitution can stand together, we will seek to enter into heaven; but if heaven cannot be had but upon hard terms, they will not *pœnitentiam tanti emere;* they will not 'buy repentance at so dear a rate,' as to part with their goods unjustly gotten, that they may become true penitents; neither will they love God and hate themselves, that is no good charity they think; and therefore when God and ourselves come to dispute the question, whose interest shall be served, these men surely will serve themselves first. No wonder that these men enter not.

But there are some that seek more heartily, that throw away all incumbrances, that set upon the work of holy life with much zeal and fervour of spirit in the beginning of their conversion and resolutions of piety; but their fervours cool, their zeal grows from very hot to be tepid, from tepid to be cold, from cold to be quite frozen and incrustated; and at last comes to have no heat about them but zeal which is the *συνώνυμον* of envy, and the heats of lust and of a seared conscience. For the more furiously new converts drive in their first onsets of piety, if they once begin *defervescere,* to take off from their heights, their tediousness is greater, their weariness more, their anger is more impatient; and to take off from the shame of remissness and relaxation they often justify it, and thence degenerating by degrees, come at last to induration. For if we observe the nature of moral alterations, and the malice of some persons when they are provoked by shame, and consider also the secret ways and just counsels of God in taking away all those graces which men have slighted and rejected; and commonly great zeals, if they degenerate, prove either absolutely furious, or merely atheistical; and to all these add the probability of induration and obstinacy in such persons, and the moral impossibility of curing such distemperatures, or rising from such deaths, we may well believe it impossible: such zealots who once grow cool for want of perseverance in the strict courses of piety, although they did seek to enter, yet *erunt exclusissimi,* they 'shall not be able.'

Some are disabled and stopped in their first setting out; some go half way, and then turn back again; nay, some there are that have, as I may say, set one foot in heaven, and have drawn it back, and

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carried both to hell. God's counsels are secret, but they are ever just. But it is full of horror to consider that some persons, who have lived holily and justly all their life, have at last yielded in a temptation to a single act, and by the just judgment and severity of God have been taken away in that one act of sin; whose condition then is most sad and deplorable. It is not good to tempt God. If we will forget God in one act, possibly He may with His judgment so remember us, as to forget His mercy towards us to all eternity. And Palladius tells of divers old hermits, who lived fifty or sixty years in the strict service of God, and at last in some peevish humour despoiled themselves of all title and hopes of a crown. Was it not a sad sight to have observed amongst the forty martyrs[k], one of them that had endured torments almost till the expiration of his last breath, and then to fall away to renounce Jesus Christ, and to go out of his torments into a warm bath immediately to die and to perish? A thought, a minute, may destroy all our glories, and our hopes of a blissful immortality, which twenty or forty years have been with great labour in erecting.

There are some that deny hopes of heaven to persons that live excellent lives, upon pretence that they are very good moral men, but not of the household of faith; that is, not of their belief in all matters of opinion. The mistake is stupid enough; for the distinction of persons morally good, and religiously or divinely good, is not a distinction of subjects, but of degrees. For a moral life is not a distinct life from a theological, but a part of it, and that Christian which is just to his neighbour, and sober and temperate in his life, hath done some part of a theological and religious life. Indeed it is not revealed to us, how the good lives of heathens without the faith of Jesus Christ shall be accepted in order to eternity: but to undervalue the good lives of Christians by saying they are only good moral men, because they are not of such a sect, when they do those good actions in obedience to the laws of Jesus Christ, is a profane device, to advance faction and discountenance piety.

Indeed if to our moral virtues we add not also others which are more spiritual, that is, if we strive not to acquire all habits which are good *in genere morum*, 'morally good,' we shall not enter into heaven; not because we were only good moral men, but because we were not moral enough; we did not reform all our manners, we did not do our religion and charity to God, as well as charity to our neighbours. Our piety must be universal, our morality must be entire, and then the good moral man shall go to God, when the religious man, as he accounts himself, shall never see Him.

And indeed one of the greatest dangers of miscarrying is, in actions and undertakings and intermixtures spiritual. For besides that the whole institution of a spiritual life is a nice and a busy thing, the

[k] [S. Basil. hom. (xix.) in xl. martt., tom. ii. p. 154.—Cf. vol. iv. p. 122.]

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purgative way[1] being troublesome and austere, the illuminative[1] being mysterious and apt to be abused, the unitive[1] way not to be understood till it be felt, and therefore liable to all miscarriages, as not to be guided by rule; besides all this, I say, spiritual vices are most dangerous, and yet most apt to insinuate themselves in the actions of greatest perfections, and when they are mixed, 'tis extremely difficult to discern them and make a separation.

How hard is it for a man that hath lived holily, and one that rejoices in and thanks God for His graces, for his deliverances from the power of the devil; how hard, I say, is it for him to conserve either his conscience and truth, or his humility and modesty, when he shall or shall not say with S. Paul, I am the least of good men, and the greatest of sinners! For if he says so, and does not think so, he dissembles; if he thinks so, how can he acknowledge God's goodness in the manifestation of His graces, and the deliverance of him from sin? if he does neither think so nor say so, how is he so humble as his pattern? for we are so to follow S. Paul as he followed Christ. But then on the other side, how apt are men when they humble themselves to do it with greater pride? *Est qui nequiter humiliat se*[m], 'there is that humbleth himself wickedly.' I cannot insist upon the particulars; but actions spiritual are of so nice and immaterial consideration, that both not to be deceived, and to discover it when we are deceived, are matters of no small difficulty.

You may see in little, that a man may go a great way in piety, and yet not enter into heaven. What then shall we think of such persons, whose piety hath no more age than a fly; no more labour in it than walking in a shadow; no more expense than in the farthing-alms of the street or highway; no more devotion than going to church on sundays; no more justice than in preserving the rules of civil society, and obeying the compulsion of laws; no more mortification than fasting upon a friday, without denying one lust, and the importunity of sinful desires? These certainly are far from entering into the gate, because they are far from striving to enter. And yet there want not some men, will not do a quarter of this, and yet would spit in your face if you should put them in doubt or question their salvation. Some men are so fond as to think heaven is entailed upon a sect or an opinion, and then nothing is wanting to them, when they once have entered their name into that persuasion. Some are confident they shall be saved because of their good meaning; and they think they mean well, because they understand nothing, and in the mean time refuse not any opportunity to an evil. 'Alas, they cannot help it, flesh and blood is frail;' for 'Who can forgive him that hath undone me and my family? 'Tis true indeed, I should, if you speak like a divine, but we have flesh and blood about us.' 'Alas, I hate drunkenness, and I am never intemperate for love of the drink; but

[1] [See Index, 'Illuminative.]

[m] [Ecclus. xix. 23, ed. vulg.]

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when a man is in company he cannot do as he would do.' And yet these men will think to go to heaven, and yet will not do so much for it as either decline the company and opportunity of it, or the inconveniences of it. 'Flesh and blood' is the excuse, and yet we remember not that 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God;' but we by making it to be our excuse, hope to enter the rather for it.

Remember those great words and terrible, spoken by an oracle, by the blessed S. Peter, 'If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the wicked and sinner appear?' If after much striving many fall short, and the best is to work out his salvation with fear and trembling, what confidence can they have that are indifferent in their religion, that have no engagement to it but custom, no monitors but sermons and the checks of a drowsy conscience, no fruits of it but not to be accounted a man without a religion? But as for a holy life, they are as far from it as from doing miracles; and he that is so and remains so, no miracle will save him. These are the men that when the eternal scrutiny shall come, then they 'shall seek;' for they never seek till then to enter, and then it is as fruitless as it is late, as ineffectual as unreasonable. Christ is the way, and the truth, and the light[a], and He that openeth only the way for us to go in there, whither Himself is entered before: if we strive according to His holy injunctions, we shall certainly enter according to His holy promises, but else upon no condition.

[a] [sic ed.]

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THE

LIFE

OF THE

RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE;

WITH

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF HIS WRITINGS,

BY THE

RIGHT REV. REGINALD HEBER, D.D.,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

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[Dedication to edition of 1822.]

TO

THE HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND

EDWARD,

LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD,

AND WARDEN OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE,

THE

FOLLOWING VOLUMES

ARE INSCRIBED,

WITH THE STRONGEST FEELINGS OF PERSONAL RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

AND WITH THE SINCEREST WISHES FOR THE PROSPERITY

OF THAT SOCIETY

OVER WHICH HE SO WORTHILY PRESIDES

THE COLLEGE

OF LINACRE, OF SHELDON, OF CODRINGTON,

OF WREN, OF YOUNG,

AND OF

JEREMY TAYLOR.

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PREFACE

[to edition of 1822.]

After an anxious and unceasing labour of more than eighteen months, the Editors of the collected Works of Jeremy Taylor have completed their engagement with the public. It only remains, that they should express their gratitude to the many distinguished individuals whose patronage has enabled them to bring their undertaking to a close; that they should shortly state the considerations by which their plan has been regulated; and request indulgence for those defects of plan or execution to which every undertaking of a similar magnitude is liable.

To comprise in a uniform shape, and within a reasonable compass, those productions of Taylor's genius, of which some were hardly to be obtained at all, and the rest at high prices and in volumes of many different types and dimensions,—was an object the importance of which has been fully and generally recognised. The want of such an edition as the present was felt, both in this country and in America, not by the theological student alone, but by all the cultivators of ancient English literature; all who hold in reverence the great principles of christian piety and religious freedom; who love our language in its purest and richest melody; and value that essential spirit of eloquence and poetry which would alone suffice to render a language immortal.

Nor had this want been in any competent degree supplied by the selections from his writings which have from time to time enjoyed no inconsiderable share of public favour. Those republications were confined to his Sermons, his Holy Living and Dying, and some others of his devotional tracts. His Liberty of Prophesying, the first public defence of the principles of religious toleration; his Ductor Dubitantium, on which he himself expected his renown in after ages to be founded; his Life of Christ, the earliest, and in its day the most popular of his practical works; and his polemical writings, which display, in addition to their other excellences, a terseness of argument and poignancy of satire from which he was in other instances precluded, remained in detached tracts or scarce and unwieldy folios. And it may be said with truth, that a great proportion of his admirers had the means of becoming acquainted with a very small part only of the peculiar merits of their favourite.

It was under these circumstances, and with the reasonable hope

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that such an undertaking would receive its due share of national encouragement, that the writer of the following Memoirs was applied to by the proprietors to superintend their meditated edition of TAYLOR'S works. His distance however from the metropolis rendered it impossible for him to discharge many of the essential duties of an editor; and as the expense of such a measure rendered the addition of notes impossible, little more remained in his power than to exercise his judgment in the arrangement of the different pieces, and in the admission or exclusion of those of which the genuineness has been questioned.

The correction of the press, the verification of the numerous quotations and references, and in some instances the rectification of the previous readings, was fortunately undertaken by the reverend J. R. PITMAN, the alternate preacher of the Foundling and Magdalen hospitals; who by his classical learning, his knowledge of English literature, and a deep admiration of his author's merits, was eminently qualified for such a task; and who has afforded a fresh proof, if proof were wanting, of the compatibility of distinguished talent and eloquence with unwearied patience, and minute and laborious accuracy.

On the arrangement which has been adopted a few observations may perhaps be necessary. The natural and what would have been in some respects the most desirable order, was that of the date at which each tract was originally published. Yet as there are several of TAYLOR'S compositions which at different periods of his life received successive additions and improvements, it was not very easy to determine whether such should be referred to the year in which the first and less perfect sketch appeared, or that in which it received the latest polish of the author's taste and judgment: and it was desirable for the publishers, in an undertaking of so great extent and hazard, that their volumes should be so arranged as to enable them to sell some of the more popular treatises separately. For such a classification there was indeed a sanction in the author's own practice, in the instance of the *Σύμβολον Θεολογικὸν*, and there appeared a certain degree of fitness in printing those tracts in consecutive order, which relate to the same duties, or are opposed to similar errors. The works have been accordingly divided under the several heads of Practical, Polemical, Casuistic, and Devotional;—but subject to this division, they have been arranged, as nearly as possible, according to the dates of their respective publication.

The task of separating the genuine from the spurious compositions involved a greater responsibility, and was not to be attempted without considerable self-distrust and anxiety. Of the two postumous treatises,—both extremely rare, and the former of which it was necessary to transcribe, for the printer's use, from the single copy extant in the Bodleian library,—the sentiments and piety appear in perfect

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unison with bishop TAYLOR's known opinions; the style partakes of his characteristic merits and defects, and the weight of external evidence is such as can leave no reasonable doubt on the propriety of admitting them into the present collection[a].

It is otherwise with the dialogue on Artificial Handsomeness. The reasons which, after much patient and unprejudiced enquiry, at length conducted to its exclusion, will be found at some length in the following Life and Notes; and the writer of those animadversions will here only observe, that his opinion, adopted in the first instance with diffidence and reluctance, has acquired additional strength from every repeated comparison of that essay with the bishop's undoubted compositions.

The life of TAYLOR had been long only known through the meagre accounts of Wood and sir James Ware, and the few particulars recorded by bishop Rust in his funeral eulogium. As connected with the most interesting period of English history, and with the genius and writings of one whom English literature ranks among its noblest ornaments, several eminent scholars and divines of the latter part of the last century appear to have contemplated the publication of memoirs on a larger scale, and one more worthy of their subject. Bishop Horne and archdeacon Zouch are said to have cherished this design; and a few documents preparatory to such a work were collected by the reverend and learned Mr. Nicholson, perpetual curate of S. James's, Liverpool, and rector of Dudcote, Berkshire. But the two former appear to have made no progress whatever in their undertaking; and the papers which Mr. Nicholson left at his death, and which in themselves do not appear to have been either numerous or important, have eluded all the enquiries of the present writer, as well as of his learned and amiable friend archdeacon BONNEY.

Of the Life which the archdeacon has himself given to the world, it is sufficient to say, that it would have precluded the necessity of all succeeding labourers in the cause, had not a more detailed and critical examination of TAYLOR's writings been contemplated than fell within the scope of his plan; and had not a hope been excited of obtaining additional information from traditions and documents, which were previously not accessible.

[a] [The two works here alluded to, the 'Contemplations on the state of man,' and the 'Christian consolations,' are both omitted from the present edition of Taylor's works. The evidence on which they are so rejected, and assigned to other writers, will be found in full in a small volume which the editor has been allowed to deposit in the Bodleian library, called Pseudo-Tayloriana. The first of the two works is shewn in a pamphlet by archdeacon Churton to be a compilation, not very skilfully made, from a treatise by Nieremberg, a Spanish writer. The second is from the pen of bp. Hacket, as was suggested to the editor by the rev. James Brogden, and is now proved beyond dispute. In the ensuing pages therefore of this memoir, no further mention is made of these treatises.]

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A critical examination of the author's genius and writings was rendered expedient by the opportunity which it afforded of discussing, in a connected view, the merits and peculiarities of a writer so voluminous; by the propriety of discriminating between his many beauties, and his occasional though unfrequent aberrations from a correct taste and judgment; and sometimes also, though still less frequently, of detecting and obviating his departure from the usual and orthodox faith of Christians. Of the manner in which this task has been performed, it is for the public to decide. The writer cannot plead want of time; he is not conscious of any want of diligence; and he has had abundant opportunity to examine such of TAYLOR'S works as were not previously familiar to him. The warmer admirers of his author will perhaps sometimes condemn him as unjust and captious in his criticisms; while others may accuse him of a too indiscriminate praise, and of blindness to the imperfections with which these beautiful compositions are impaired and spotted. If these charges are both brought against him, he will seek no better defence than the balance of conflicting censures. But he will admit that of the two he has most dreaded the latter danger, as the one most injurious to the interests of literature and religion, and that to which an ardent admirer of TAYLOR'S excellences is naturally most liable.

From the works thus censured or extolled, it was obviously necessary to select particular passages in illustration of the principles laid down, or in justification of the criticisms hazarded. If those quotations should be thought too long or too frequent, let it be remembered that many may perhaps be tempted to read them in a compendious form, who would without some previous introduction to the author's beauties have been little inclined to search for them through fourteen closely printed volumes. And let it be observed that though some of the passages in question may have been extracted to make good a censure, or on account of their eloquence or their singularity, a still greater anxiety has been felt to bring forward those which contain the most useful precepts of sound sense and practical holiness.

That the wise, and moderate, and eminently christian spirit of JEREMY TAYLOR; his unshaken fidelity to the civil and religious institutions of his country; his unwearied industry; his inexhaustible learning; his zeal for the essentials of the catholic faith; his abhorrence of unprofitable and vexatious grounds of difference; his piety, his toleration, and his humility, may ever find imitators and rivals in that church which he loved and adorned; whose deep depression did not subdue, and whose triumph did not too far elate him;—is the hope and earnest prayer of one who has been accustomed to find in his writings a source of the purest gratification here, and a guide to brighter hopes hereafter.

R. H.

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THE

LIFE

OF

JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

&c. &c.

The life of a student is passed within a narrow circle; and of the men whose writings are most widely read and admired, the personal history is often enveloped in the deepest obscurity. Nor even of those individuals whom the zeal of their friends, or the malice of their enemies, have enabled or compelled to act a more conspicuous part on the theatre of contemporary distinction, have the lives been often diversified with many singular events, with great deliverances, or surprising vicissitudes. Their days have been quietly busied in producing those effects which only have made their histories worth enquiring after, effects for which it was necessary that their habits should be retired and uniform. Nor can we wonder therefore that whoever undertakes the biography of a scholar or a theologian, has ordinarily but little to relate which is certain, and less which is interesting or extraordinary.

In some respects indeed the fate of Jeremy Taylor was distinguished from the general lot of men of letters. So far from his life being retired or monotonous, he seems to have passed much of it in a crowd; and it is one of the circumstances which lead us most to wonder at the fertility and force of his genius, not only that in so few years he wrote so many books, but that these books were many of them composed under circumstances the least favourable to research or abstraction.

It was his fortune at an early age to attract the notice of those whose patronage, however favourable to his interests or his renown, had a natural tendency to withdraw him from the usual scenes of literary or parochial labour. He was favoured by Laud in the zenith of his power, and trusted by king Charles when he had become the more venerable from adversity. During the usurpation, though esteemed and pitied even by his enemies, he was destined to encounter a more than usual share of confiscation and imprisonment; and at the resto-

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ration of the royal family, and while yet in the full vigour of his years and his abilities, he was raised to the highest honours which lie within the compass of his profession. But during the calamities which agitated an empire, the escapes and sufferings of a private individual were too insignificant to attract much contemporary fame; and Taylor's sufferings were of the kind which, by impoverishing their victim, removes him still more from the notice and knowledge of the world. His subsequent promotion, though it fixed him in the country where he had found his best asylum, was in itself a banishment from the society of public men and the theatre of national politics; and his latter days were spent in the alternate and unobtrusive labours of the pulpit and the closet, in preparing himself and others for that heaven whither his desires had been from his earliest years directed.

It will not then be expected that after the lapse of almost two centuries I shall have been able to supply many interesting details of a life thus spent and thus concluded, or that many important gleanings remain which had escaped the almost contemporary enquiries of Wood, or the accurate industry and zealous researches of Mr. Bonney. Yet the time is not long passed since unusually abundant stores of information existed, and since those stores were in the possession of a person eminently qualified to employ them to the best advantage. The late William Todd Jones, of Homra, in the county of Down, esquire, Taylor's lineal descendant in the fifth degree, and who inherited no small portion of his talents and characteristic eloquence, was employed at one period of his life in collecting and arranging materials for the biography of his distinguished ancestor. Mr. Jones possessed, among many other interesting documents, a series of autograph letters to and from the bishop; and a 'family-book,' also in his own hand-writing, giving an account of his parentage and the principal events of his life, with comments on many of the public transactions in which he himself, or those connected with him, had borne a share.

But in the ardour of Mr. Jones's political pursuits, and the frequent pecuniary embarrassments to which those pursuits exposed him, his biographical labours appear to have been often interrupted; and his sudden death, by the overturn of a carriage in the year 1818, cut short all the hopes which his talents and his materials justified. The greater part of his family papers he had, on the sale of Homra to the marquess of Downshire, deposited at Montalto, under the care of the late John earl of Moira. Their subsequent fate has unfortunately not been ascertained. At Donnington, whither all the papers found at Montalto are said to have been transferred, no traces of them remain; and there appears but too much reason to apprehend that they were consumed, together with some other packages belonging to the marquess of Hastings, in the fire which destroyed the London Custom-house. All which the family yet retain consists of some extracts made by Mr. Jones from these documents with a view to his intended work;

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the marriage settlement of Taylor's youngest daughter; and some traditions respecting himself and his descendants, which have been liberally communicated to me by Mr. Jones's sisters, Mrs. Wray and Mrs. Mary Jones.

Small as these remains are, the few facts which they disclose are perhaps among the most interesting hitherto recovered concerning bishop Taylor's private concerns. From other quarters indeed very little was to be gathered which was new, but I have not knowingly neglected any. The rev. Mr. Bonney, with a kindness to which I am deeply indebted, and which I had the less reason to expect as I was personally unknown to him, has permitted me to make use of an interleaved copy of his able and interesting Life of Taylor, enriched with many valuable manuscript notes and references. To the active and judicious friendship of the honourable and reverend J. C. Talbot I am indebted, not only for my introduction to bishop Taylor's descendants in Ireland, but for whatever other gleanings of information or tradition respecting him remained in that kingdom. The archives of All Souls were examined by the kindness of the bishop of Oxford, and my friend Clement Cartwright, Esq.: and the publishers of this edition have been enabled to procure for me, from the Evelyn Papers, the British Museum, and other sources, seventeen manuscript letters of Taylor, fourteen of which are now first printed. But it cannot be concealed that notwithstanding these advantages, I have still to lament the scantiness and imperfection of my materials; and that in this as in most other instances, the biography of an author must consist in the account of his writings rather than his actions or adventures.

JEREMY, third son of Nathaniel and Mary Taylor[a], was born in Trinity parish, Cambridge, and baptized on the 15th of August, 1613. His father was a barber; an occupation which, united as it generally was with the practice of surgery and pharmacy, was in the days of our ancestors somewhat less humble than at present, but which was at no time likely to raise its professor or his children to wealth or eminence. The family however had originally held a respectable rank among the smaller gentry of Gloucestershire, where they had possessed for many generations an estate in the parish of Frampton on Severn; and Nathaniel was the lineal descendant of Dr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadleigh, in the county of Suffolk, and chaplain to archbishop Cranmer[b].

Of Rowland Taylor neither the name nor the misfortunes are obscure. He was distinguished among the divines of the Reformation for his abilities, his learning, and piety; and he suffered death at the stake on Aldham common, near Hadleigh, in the third year of queen Mary, amid the blessings and lamentations of his parishioners, and

[a] See note (A.)

[b] Letter from Lady Wray to William Todd, Esq., of Castlemartin, dated May 31, 1732, quoted in the MS. of Mr. Todd Jones.

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with a courageous and kindly cheerfulness which has scarcely its parallel even in those days of religious heroism.

Dr. Taylor was of sufficient consequence as an advocate of the new religion, to have excited against himself, without any additional or private motives, the fiercest hostility of the Romish prelates. We are told however that Gardiner, by whose warrant as lord chancellor he was first apprehended, was stimulated in this instance by feelings of avarice as well as bigotry; that he was desirous of appropriating to himself the family estate at Frampton; that, I know not on what pretence, he succeeded in his object after Dr. Taylor's death, and that he had begun to build a mansion on the property, which at his own decease he left unfinished.

The family of the martyr were thus reduced to poverty, from which they had the less prospect of emerging by any help or favour of government, inasmuch as, in common with many of those who had most severely felt the iron hand of the Romish hierarchy, they were suspected during the reigns of Elizabeth and James the first of an inclination to the rising sect of the Puritans. Yet their poverty cannot have been excessive, since we find Nathaniel Taylor serving as churchwarden; an office which in most parishes is filled by the wealthiest and most respectable in the middle ranks of life. And it may be mentioned to their honour that after two generations of comparative distress, the father of Jeremy Taylor was spoken of by his son, in a letter to his old tutor Bachcroft, as "reasonably learned," and as having himself "solely grounded his children in grammar and the mathematics[c]."

I have already taken notice of the unfortunate loss of the documents on which this account chiefly depends. For the fact of their having once existed, the authority of Mr. Jones is sufficient; and though the testimony of Lady Wray is exposed to that degree of doubt which almost always attaches to family tradition, it is as satisfactory a voucher as could be looked for under similar circumstances, and more than sufficient to obtain belief for an account which in itself is far from improbable. That Jeremy Taylor had indeed some pretensions to gentle blood, may be to a certain extent inferred from the armorial bearings which, in an age when such distinctions were less boldly assumed than at present, and when the Heralds' College still retained some vestiges of their ancient authority, were engraved on his seal, still preserved by the Marsh family, and which (with some degree of harmless ostentation) are almost uniformly appended to his portraits[d]. In his works nothing occurs which can either confirm or disprove the traditions of his descendants; though he speaks of Rowland Taylor with deserved commendation in one of his polemical writings[e], and appeals to his authority in behalf of the

[c] Mr. Jones's MS.
[d] Note (B.) [and p. xxxv. below.]
[e] Preface to the Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy, vol. v. p. 248, of this edition.

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Book of Common Prayer with something like a filial fondness. I am aware indeed that the question is after all of no great importance, and that the character of bishop Taylor could derive no additional lustre from a pedigree far more distinguished than that which I have assigned him. But the natural prejudices of mankind incline them to attach a certain degree of weight to the inheritance of talents and virtues; and I was not sorry to discover that the author of the Liberty of Prophesying was a descendant of one whose character and sufferings I had long been accustomed to contemplate with veneration.

There is nothing indeed more beautiful in the whole beautiful Book of Martyrs than the account which Fox has given of Rowland Taylor, whether in the discharge of his duty as a parish priest, or in the more arduous moments when he was called on to bear his cross in the cause of religion. His warmth of heart, his simplicity of manners, the total absence of the false stimulants of enthusiasm or pride, and the abundant overflow of better and holier feelings, are delineated, no less than his courage in death, and the buoyant cheerfulness with which he encountered it, with a spirit only inferior to the eloquence and dignity of the *Phædon*. Something indeed must be allowed for the manners of the age, before we can be reconciled to the coarse vigour of his pleasantry, his jocose menace to Bonner, and his jests with the sheriff on his own stature and corpulency. But nothing can be more delightfully told than his refusal to fly from the lord chancellor's officers, his dignified yet modest determination to await death in the discharge of his duty, and his affectionate and courageous parting with his wife and children. His recollection, when led to the stake, of 'the blind man and woman,' his pensioners, is of the same delightful character; nor has Plato any thing more touching than the lamentation of his parishioners over his dishonoured head and long white beard, and his own meek rebuke to the wretch who drew blood from that venerable countenance. Let not my readers blame me for this digression: they will have cause to thank me, if it induces them to refer to a history which few men have ever read without its making them 'sadder and better[f].'

At three years of age, Jeremy Taylor is said to have been sent to the grammar school then recently founded in Cambridge under the will of Dr. Stephen Perse, and kept by one Lovering[g]. The profit however which he derived from Lovering's instructions cannot have been great, if, as Taylor himself wrote to the head of Caius, he was 'solely grounded in grammar and mathematics' by his father. And it is so unusual a thing in his class of life, or indeed in any class, to send an infant of three years old to a public grammar school, that I am tempted exceedingly to doubt a fact[h] which rests on a single,

[f] Note (C.)

[g] Bonney, Life, p. 3.

[h] [We have no record of the time of Taylor's birth, but only of his baptism; and it has been suggested, that several difficulties in the history of his childhood and youth will be removed, if we suppose his baptism to have been in some measure delayed, and that he was born as far back as 1611.]

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and, as it appears in another instance, an inaccurate memorandum in the admission book of Caius. If, which is certainly not improbable, he attended Lovering's school at all, he can hardly have remained at it so long as he is there stated to have done[i].

When thirteen years old, on the 18th of August 1626, he was entered at Caius College as a sizar, or poor scholar; an order of students who then were what the 'servitors' still continue to be in some colleges in Oxford, and what the 'lay brethren' are in the convents of the Romish church. This was an institution which, however it may be now at variance with the feelings and manners of the world, was in its original very far from deserving the reprobation which has been sometimes cast on it, and owed indeed its beginning to a zeal for the education of the poor, as well directed as it was humane and christian. In the time of our ancestors, the interval between the domestics and the other members of a family was by no means so great, nor fenced with so harsh and impenetrable a barrier, as in the present days of luxury and excessive refinement. As the highest rank of subjects was elevated then at a greater height than they now are above the most considerable private gentry, so the latter constituted a far more efficient link in the great chain of society, and a far easier gradation existed between the nobles and that class of men from whom their own domestics were taken. There was in those days no supposed humiliation in offices which are now accounted menial, but which the peer then received as a matter of course from 'the gentlemen of his household;' and which were paid to the knight or gentleman by domestics chosen in the families of his own most respectable tenants; while in the humbler ranks of middle life it was the uniform and recognized duty of the wife to wait on her husband, the child on his parents, the youngest of the family on his elder brothers or sisters[k]. But while the subordination of service was thus perfect and universal, this very universality softened its rigours. The well-born and well-educated retainers of a noble family were admitted by its head to that confidence and familiarity which their rank and attainments justified. The servants of the manor-house were usually the humble friends of the master and mistress, whose playmates they had been during childhood, and under whose protection they hoped to grow old. We have been most of us impressed with the tone of equality assumed by the valets of the old French comedy; and the jovial familiarity of Furnace, Amble, and Order, in Massinger's 'New Way to pay Old Debts,' is a well known and probably an accurate portrait of that species of graduated intercourse which once connected the aristocracy, and the throne itself, with the humblest orders of society, and in the abolition of which it may be reasonably doubted whether all parties are not rather losers than gainers.

But it is evident that, as with such habits and feelings the mere fact of servitude did not in itself degrade, so there was nothing to

[i] Note (D.) [k] Note (E.)

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prevent well-educated youths from attending their richer neighbours in a menial capacity to Oxford or Cambridge; while there was every possible motive of wisdom and humanity to induce the founders and governors of colleges to admit young men thus situated to a share in the instruction afforded by the place, and in the rewards which were held out to the genius or diligence of other scholars. It is easy to declaim against the indecorum and illiberality of depressing the poorer students into servants; but it would be more candid, and more consistent with truth, to say that our ancestors elevated their servants to the rank of students; softening as much as possible every invidious distinction, and rendering the convenience of the wealthy a means of extending the benefits of education to those whose poverty must otherwise have shut them out from the springs of knowledge. And the very distinction of dress which has been so often complained of,—the very nature of those duties which have been esteemed degrading,—were of use in preventing the intrusion of the higher classes into situations intended only for the benefit of the poor; while, by separating these last from the familiar society of the wealthier students, they prevented that dangerous emulation of expense which has in more modern times almost excluded them from the university. The institution is now fading fast away, and even where it exists is altered from its original character. But the difficulties are proportionably increased which oppose the rise of such men as Taylor from the lowest to the highest ranks of society; and the want of such a frugal and humble order of students is already felt by the church of England, as it eventually may be felt by the nation at large.

At the time of Taylor's entrance at college, he had already, as I have observed, been introduced by his father to an elementary knowledge of the mathematics. Then, as now, if Glanville be believed, (who with all his voracious credulity, both Platonic, chymical, and spectral, was no inconsiderable person among the scholars and philosophers of the seventeenth century,) a knowledge of the exact sciences was that by which Cambridge was chiefly distinguished, and the surest avenue through which her honours and emoluments were accessible[l].

But no evidence remains that Taylor pursued the mathematics to any considerable length, or that he made any progress in that new method of philosophizing to which the world has since been so greatly indebted. Mr. Bonney indeed apprehends that many of his peculiar merits as a writer may be traced to an acquaintance with Bacon's illustrious treatise on the 'Advancement of Knowledge.' That he had read Bacon I can well believe; for with what work of contemporary genius was Jeremy Taylor likely to be unacquainted? But though there are abundant proofs in his writings of that familiarity with the Aristotelic logic which Lloyd ascribes to him[m], I have

[l] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii. col. 1244. Ed. Bliss.
[m] Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 702.

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not been able to discover a single allusion to those principles which Bacon first laid down, and on which alone the discovery of any new truth is possible. The powers of Taylor's mind were not devoted to the investigation of fresh fields of science, or to enlarge the compass of the human intellect by ascertaining its legitimate boundaries. He was busied through life in defending truths already received, or in clearing away errors by which those ancient truths had been disfigured. His philosophy was almost entirely casuistical. They were not falsehoods, but fallacious reasonings, against which he had to contend; and for this species of dialectic warfare his weapons were to be sought after, not in the new, but in the ancient organon, and among the elder divines and schoolmen. It is no disparagement to Bacon, nor is it inconsistent with the admiration which Taylor may well have felt for him, that he did not apply Bacon's discoveries to an use for which Bacon himself did not intend them.

Whether he received any emolument or honorary distinction from Cambridge, is doubtful. Rust, his friend, and, though not his contemporary, educated at the same university, asserts that after taking his degree of bachelor of arts in the year 1630-1, he was chosen fellow of Caius College. But we learn from Mr. Bonney that no evidence of this fact exists (where, if true, it surely must have been recorded) in the archives of the college and the university. And a further reason will be shortly given for supposing that Rust was mistaken in this particular[n], or that he was less anxious to discover the truth than to relate whatever reports were likely to raise the character of his hero. The period however was now approaching which introduced the talents and learning of Taylor to a patron well qualified to appreciate and reward them.

Shortly after his becoming master of arts, in 1633, having already been admitted into holy orders[o], he was employed by one Risden, who had been, according to the academical habits of the time, his chamber-fellow, and who was now lecturer in S. Paul's cathedral, to supply his place for a short time in that pulpit, where his graceful person and elocution, together with the varied richness of his style and argument, and perhaps the singularity of a theological lecturer of twenty years of age, very soon obtained him friends and admirers. He was spoken of in high terms to Laud, who had then recently left the see of London for that of Canterbury, and who with all his faults

[n] [Mr. Willmott, in his elegant and engaging biography of Jeremy Taylor, observes that 'this statement,' which Heber rejects, concerning the fellowship at Caius, 'yet comes from one singularly well qualified to make it; from a member of the same university, the friend and companion of Taylor's latter years.' 'Nor is the statement itself,' he adds, 'without support; there being a MS. history of Caius college, considered authentic, in which Taylor is mentioned as having obtained a Perse fellowship in the beginning of 1635; his official connexion with the society is also recognized by the absence-book, in which a record is kept of the coming and going of all scholars and fellows whose stipend partly depends on their time of residence.']

[o] Comber, Discourse on the Offices of Ordination, quoted by Bonney, Life, p. 6, note.

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of temper and judgment (exaggerated as those faults have been beyond all bounds by the bitterness of the party whom he first persecuted, and who afterwards hunted him to death) must ever deserve the thanks of posterity as a liberal and judicious patron of that learning and piety, which he himself possessed in no ordinary degree. He sent for Taylor to preach before him at Lambeth, commended his performance highly, and only expressed an objection to the continuance of so young a preacher in London. Taylor with youthful vivacity "humbly begged his grace to pardon that fault," and promised that "if he lived he would amend it[p]." Laud however, as Rust informs us, "thought it for the advantage of the world that such mighty parts should be afforded better opportunities of study and improvement than a course of constant preaching would allow of; and to that purpose he placed him in his own college of All Souls, in Oxford."

Here again the eulogium of bishop Rust may be charged with abundant inaccuracy and inconsistency. All Souls was not Laud's own college, inasmuch as he had passed his whole academical life at S. John's, the presidency of which society he relinquished when raised to the bishopric of S. David's. Nor had he any further control over, or any closer connexion with All Souls, than that which subsists between every college and its visitor. The reason too which is given for Taylor's removal from Cambridge to another seat of learning, is plainly at variance with Rust's own previous assertion that he was already a fellow of Caius. Had this been the case, Rust, himself a Cambridge man, would hardly have denied that a residence in his own university would have afforded him sufficient 'opportunities of study and improvement:' nor could Laud have reasonably expected or counselled Taylor to abandon a maintenance which he already possessed, in order to qualify himself for another situation of the same sort, and little, if at all, more lucrative. But if Taylor were then, as is most probable, a mere scholar of fortune, and unable through poverty to prolong his residence in his own university, it was only natural that his patron should be anxious to remove him to Oxford, where his rank as chancellor, and visitor of several colleges, gave him abundant opportunities of providing for the object of his favour.

When it was that Laud adopted this plan of befriending Taylor, or what became of the latter in the meantime, it is now too late to discover. If the interview which has been related took place soon after his arrival in London, it may seem that, however anxious Laud might be to remove him from thence, a considerable time elapsed before he took any successful steps in his favour at Oxford. During this time perhaps it was that he pursued his studies, according to a tradition current in that neighbourhood, at Maidley Hall, near Tam-

[p] Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 702.

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worth[p]. But be this as it may, it was not till the 20th of October 1635, that Taylor was admitted to the same rank of master of arts in University college[q] as he had previously held at Cambridge; and three days after that, the archbishop wrote a strong letter in his favour to the warden and fellows of All Souls. He there states that a Mr. Osborn, one of their number, being about to "give over his fellowship," had offered him the nomination of a scholar to succeed him; that he, "being willing to recommend such an one as they should thank him for," was "resolved to pitch on Mr. Jeremiah Taylor;" and that he "heartily prayed them to give him all furtherance at the next election, not doubting that he would approve himself a worthy and learned member of their society."

What authority Mr. Osborn can have had to dispose in this manner of the nomination to a fellowship which he was himself about to resign, or how he could undertake to influence an election in which he was to have no voice, is not very easy to conjecture, unless we suppose him to have spoken the sentiments of some others among his brethren who may have desired to pay their visitor the unusual compliment of asking his opinion in the choice of a new member of the society. The recommendation however, forcible as it must have been, was not received with implicit deference, inasmuch as a reasonable doubt existed whether Taylor was strictly eligible. Wood indeed is wrong in saying that he was above the age at which he might be chosen; but the statutes are express in requiring candidates to be of three years' standing in the university, whereas ten days had, at the time of the election, barely elapsed since Taylor had been incorporated into Oxford. It is true that Laud seems to have supposed that his admission *ad eundem*, as it entitled him to all the privileges of a master of arts, entitled him to whatever advantages were conferred by that standing in the university which he must have had in order to take his degree there regularly. And a very great majority of the fellows, either convinced by this argument, or desirous of straining a point in favour of a candidate so deserving and so powerfully recommended, appear to have espoused his cause, and to have voted in the first instance for his admission. Sheldon however, the warden, (afterwards himself archbishop of Canterbury, and a munificent benefactor to the university,) less pliant, or more scrupulous, refused to concur in the election. Under these circumstances, the fellows persisting in their choice, no election at all took place, but the nomination devolved in due course to the archbishop as visitor of the college, who thus ac-

[p] Gentleman's Magazine, A.D. 1783, p. 144. [Mr. Willmott has called attention to a later letter in the Gent. Mag. Feb. 1792, p. 109, the writer of which, 'having searched for this place ('Maidley-Hill,' whereas the original letter had 'Maidley Hall') in vain in the vicinity of Tamworth, suspects there must be a mistake as to the situation of Maidley Hill, and that it is either confounded with Madeley, in the north part of the county, or Tamworth with Tanworth in Warwickshire.']

[q] [See note (E *)]

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quired the right of appointing Taylor by his sole authority to the vacant situation, on the 14th of January 1636.

This appears to be the true statement of a transaction which Wood has considerably misrepresented, as if Laud had by an irregular and unwarrantable exercise of authority intruded Taylor into a college, which was neither disposed, nor statutably able, to receive him. It is plain however from documents of which Wood had no knowledge, that (whatever may be thought of the propriety of Osborn's conduct, or the validity of Sheldon's objection) the archbishop had at least a plausible excuse for his recommendation of a candidate; and a ground, whether tenable or not, which might justify his recommendation of Taylor. It is plain that a candidate whom the fellows almost unanimously approved of, was not personally disagreeable to them; while (the fellows and warden being at variance on the interpretation of a statute) the decision must naturally and legally have rested with the visitor only. The conduct of Sheldon throughout the affair appears to have been at once spirited and conscientious; but it may have been marked by some degree of personal harshness towards Taylor, since we find that for some years after a coolness subsisted between them, till the generous conduct of the warden produced, as will be seen, a sincere and lasting reconciliation[r].

Taylor was now in possession of those advantages which his patron had esteemed so necessary for his improvement; a dignified retirement, a decent maintenance, and a free access to books and learned conversation. And we are told by his biographer how much he profited by these opportunities, and how much he was admired by the university for his "excellent casuistical preaching[s]." Unfortunately however it appears by the college books, that during the four years of his remaining a fellow he was by no means a regular resident; while of his existing sermons there are few which can be reckoned casuistical, and only one the composition of which we have any reason to refer to the time of his Oxford studies[t]. I have not been able to learn at what date he was made one of the archbishop's chaplains, an office which would naturally draw him a good deal away from the scene which he was so well adapted to ornament; but he was on the 23d of March 163⅞, presented by Juxon, bishop of London (probably through the interest of his steady friend the archbishop) to the rectory of Uppingham[u] in Rutlandshire, which, though tenable with his fellowship was a still better reason than

[r] Note (F.)

[s] Wood, ubi supra. Lloyd, ubi supra.

[t] [It was perhaps during Taylor's residence at All Souls that he wrote the tract which appears in vol. v. of this edition, 'On the reverence due to the altar.' For the full evidence of the genuineness of that tract the reader is referred to the preface, and notes, with which it was set forth, 4to. Oxford, 1848; where it is shewn, from the superscription of the tract, the hands that it came through, the hand-writing, the doctrine, the quotations that occur in it, the language of particular sentences, &c. that it is probably Taylor's. It may be added, for the information of those who desire to pursue the enquiry, that some additional notes in proof of its genuineness will be found in MS. in the copy of the tract which is in the Bodleian Library.]

[u] [or Uphingham.]

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his chaplaincy for making his residence in All Souls occasional only[v].

During this time he is said by Wood to have first become the object of a suspicion, which, however undeserved, continued through life to haunt him, of a concealed attachment to the Romish communion[w]. Such a report was almost sure to be raised at the expense of any man whom Laud esteemed and promoted. And if Taylor had already adopted his ascetic notions of piety, his profound veneration for antiquity, and his attachment to the picturesque and poetical features of religion, he would be only the more likely to incur a charge, which in a more advanced period of his life, and while contending against the errors of popery, he solemnly declared to have been always unfounded and slanderous[x]. And if, as Wood assures us, and as is certainly not improbable, he lived at this time on terms of intimate intercourse with a learned Franciscan friar, known by the name of Francis a Sancta Clara, such a friendship, however innocent and creditable to both parties, was in those days of bitterness and jealousy sufficient to give confirmation to any rumours of the kind which might be propagated or believed, not only by the puritans, but by the same party among the papists who tempted Laud with a cardinal's hat, and who seem to have flattered themselves that all the more learned and moderate protestants of the age were secretly 'tending towards *Latium*.'

This Franciscan, whose real name was Christopher Davenport, but who was also known by the name of Hunt, was in his time an extraordinary person. He was born of protestant parents, and, with his brother John, entered at an early age, in the year 1613, as 'battler,' or 'poor scholar,' of Merton College. The brothers as they grew up fell into almost opposite religious opinions. John became first a violent puritan, and at length an Independent. Christopher, two years after his entrance at Merton, being then only seventeen years old, fled to Douay with a Romish priest, and took the vows of Francis of Assisi. He rambled for some years through the universities of the Low Countries and Spain; became reader of divinity at Douay, and obtained the degree of doctor. At length he appeared as a missionary in England, where he was appointed one of

[v] Bonney, pp. 14, 17.

[w] [In the autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A., published by the Cheetham Society, 1852, vol. ii. p. 312, is the following;—

"Some account of the two Turners.

These two Turners, Edward and Anthony, were sons to old Mr. Edward Turner, parson of Little Dalby in Leicestershire. His wife, to his great grief, was perverted, and became a papist several years before she died. Edward, the elder, hath said she told him that Dr. Jer. Taylor, then of Uphingham, did enjoin her penance, and that she saw in his study a little altar with a crucifix upon it. This Edward was admitted in St. John's, Cambridge, anno 1643."

But Taylor may have enjoined her 'penance,' in his own sense of the word (*Unum Necess.*, ch. x.) without any leaning to popish doctrine or practice.]

[x] First Letter to one tempted to the Romish Church, vol. vi. p. 667. [Gifford's statement (note to 'Memoirs of Ben Jonson') that Taylor 'was a convert to popery for a short time,' is probably a mere error of memory.]

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queen Henrietta's chaplains, and during more than fifty years secretly laboured in the cause of his religion. An intimacy with him was one of the charges brought against Laud on his trial; when it appeared that in fact he had been introduced to the archbishop by his chaplain, Dr. Augustine Lindsell, as a person engaged in a work on the Operation of God's Grace, and a Defence of Episcopacy[y]. Laud seems to have paid him but little attention; but Wood informs us that he was much esteemed "by many great and worthy persons;" and he appears to have been a man of sufficient learning and moderation to have given alarm to many of the bigots of his own persuasion, and of sufficient zeal and talent to have served the interests of that persuasion in the most effectual manner. His works, of which a long list is given by Wood, are marked on the whole with a conciliatory spirit; and he met with so much of the usual fortune of conciliators as to have his book, entitled *Deus, Natura, Gratia*, put into the *Index expurgationis* in Spain, and all but committed publicly to the flames in Italy. His merits however towards his own church were at length acknowledged by his being made principal chaplain to the queen of Charles the second, and chosen for many years in succession provincial of his own order in England. His conversation is described by Wood as free and lively; and he found many friends, and a frequent asylum, at Oxford, where it was his desire to be buried in the church of S. Ebba, formerly belonging to the Franciscans. He was however interred in London, where he died at a great age in 1680[z].

The friendship of such a man as this could not disgrace Taylor; but when Davenport, as Wood assures us, ascribed to Taylor a regularly formed resolution of being reconciled to the church of Rome, which only failed through the indignation of their party at certain expressions in a sermon preached by him on the fifth of November 1638, it is most reasonable, as well as most charitable, to impute the assertion to a failure of memory, not unnatural to one so far advanced in years as he must have been when Wood conversed with him.

Thus he tells us that Taylor being appointed to preach before the university on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason, the then vice-chancellor insisted on his inserting many things so offensive to the Roman catholics, that his friendship was afterwards rejected by them with scorn, notwithstanding his expressions of regret and penitence for the sentiments which he had been constrained to utter[a].

If however, as Mr. Bonney well observes, "the vice-chancellor had done what was reported, he must have completely remodelled the whole discourse;" which, instead of bearing any marks of such interpolation, is nothing else from beginning to end but a connected and consistent chain of argument against the principles of the Roman

[y] Note (G.)

[z] Wood, Athen. Oxon., vol. iii. col. 1223. Church History of England, vol. iii. p. 103. Brussels, 1744.

[a] Wood, ubi supra.

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catholics, as what must in their nature conduct to such effects as the conspiracy of Digby and his associates. Of invective (which a violent person, or one who desired the preacher to sacrifice to the angry feelings of the time, was most likely to introduce into the discourse of another) there is absolutely no appearance. And as Taylor was not a likely man to compromise his high reputation, or his rank in the university and in the church, by adopting against his own opinion the sentiments or language of another; so what he had once said and published he was still less likely to retract in the manner which Wood, on the authority of Davenport, imputes to him. I may add, that there is little in the sermon itself which could have shocked or surprised the Roman catholics, as proceeding from a professed member of the Protestant church, and master of arts in an English university. Nor is it likely that they, who were not deterred by Laud's controversy with Fisher from expecting the conversion of that prelate, or from persecuting him through life with their fatal friendship, would on so much slighter an offence have given up whatever hold of intimacy or influence they had acquired over such a mind as that of Jeremy Taylor.

It has been said that ne was appointed to preach the sermon in question by his patron the archbishop. If this were true, it would be still more improbable that, thus appointed, he would submit his composition to the censure of the vice-chancellor. But of this designation there is in truth no appearance. The appointment of preachers on such occasions is usually exercised by the vice-chancellor, not the chancellor himself; and the author, in his dedication to Laud, plainly gives us to understand that the 'superior' in obedience to whose commands he embarked in the work, was not the same with him to whom he inscribed it when published. "It pleased some," he says, "who had the power to command me, to wish me to the publication of these my short and sudden meditations, that if it were possible even this way I might express my duty to God and the king. Being thus far encouraged, I resolved to go somewhat further, even to the boldness of a dedication to your grace, that since I had no merit of my own to move me to the confidence of a public view, yet I might dare to venture under the protection of your grace's favour." And he goes on to allege several different reasons for the propriety of inscribing such a work to the archbishop, without once mentioning (what if it were true would have been the best reason of all) that it was by Laud's own command that he had undertaken the discussion of the subject.

Of this earliest production of Taylor's genius, the defects and merits may be the subject of future investigation. I will here merely observe that the former are those of the time at which he lived, and are themselves chiefly defects as being out of their place, and as less proper for a solemn discourse than a popular harangue or a polemical pamphlet. The latter are almost exclusively his own; and if we

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have less of that splendid strain of eloquence which in his later works has left him without a rival, it will not be denied that in his earliest sermons are many blossoms of genuine power and beauty, which continued meditation and longer practice might be reasonably expected to ripen into fruits worthy of Paradise.

Ascetic as Taylor was in many of his opinions, celibacy appears to have formed no part of his plan of life; nor does he seem to have attached so much value to the learned leisure of an university, as to have been inclined to linger there after a new and important scene of action and duty was elsewhere opened to him. I have already observed that from the date of his institution at Uppingham, he was but little resident in All Souls; and he now, at an earlier age than is usual with literary men, took a step which was to separate him from his fellowship entirely.

On the 27th of May 1639, being then in the twenty-sixth year of his age, he married, at Uppingham, Phœbe Landisdale, or Langsdale, of whose family little else is known than that her brother was a physician, established first at Gainsborough, and afterwards at Leeds, where he was buried January the 7th, 1683[b]. Of Phœbe's mother, though not of her father, mention is made in one of Taylor's letters; and from this circumstance, as well as the daughter's being married at Uppingham, it is probable that she was a widow residing in that parish.

By Phœbe Langsdale, Taylor had three sons, one of whom, William, (so named in all probability after his great patron Laud) was buried at Uppingham on the 28th of May, 1642; nor did the mother long survive her infant[c]. The other boys grew up to manhood, and their melancholy deaths were among the last and most grievous trials of Taylor's eventful pilgrimage.

This year, 1642, was marked however by many public as well as private sorrows; and in the great struggle which was now begun, he ably and courageously contended on the side both of episcopacy and monarchy. He appears to have been among the first to join the king at Oxford[d], where shortly after he published, "by his Majesty's command," his treatise of 'Episcopacy asserted against the Acephali and Aërians, new and old;' "encouraged," as Heylin tells us, "by many petitions" to the same effect "to his majesty and both houses of parliament[e]." But though it was natural that the outrageous proceedings of the presbyterian party should have produced a considerable revulsion in the national feeling, and though the work itself is well adapted to profit by and strengthen such a disposition, it is probable that men's minds were by this time too generally made

[b] Bonney's MS. note.
[c] Jones's MS. Bonney, p. 18.
[d] [Of the little volume said to have been composed by king Charles in his troubles, the Icon Basilike, the name is said to have been suggested by Taylor. Hollingworth, p. 14. Wordsworth, p. 410.]
[e] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 465.

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up to leave them inclination or leisure for the study of controversy; and the fact that the treatise remained without an attempt at reply from the other party, is a probable argument that it was less read than it well deserved to be.

To such rewards however as the king and church had to bestow, Taylor had no common pretensions; and we find him admitted, on the first of November in the same year, with many other eminent loyalists, by the royal mandate, to the degree of doctor of divinity. The distinction however was considerably lessened by the indiscriminate manner in which similar honours were then bestowed; inasmuch as the unfortunate monarch, having few other ways in his power of rewarding the services of his adherents, created about the same time his doctors and masters of arts with so much profusion, as to call forth a remonstrance from the heads of houses against a practice which threatened to destroy the discipline, the dignity, and even the revenues of the university[e].

The Presbyterians had more power to hurt than Charles to reward; and it was probably about this time that the rectory of Uppingham was sequestered; a fact which is certain from the joint authority of Walker and Lloyd, no less than from all which is known of Taylor's subsequent poverty. The date of his deprivation however, or the name of his intrusive successor, I am not able to supply[f]. Neither Walker, Calamy, nor Clarke, throw any light on the subject; and though the bishop of Peterborough has with much kindness examined for me the register's office of that diocese, no information appears there, or in the parish books of Uppingham, which can add any thing to the facts already collected by Mr. Bonney. Of course neither Taylor, nor any of the deprived clergy, relinquished their claim to the livings of which they were despoiled; but as their places were in every instance filled up without loss of time by the ruling party, it is something remarkable that no record remains of the institution of the intruder, his incumbency, or his expulsion on the return of monarchy and episcopacy. The name of Daniel Swift only once occurs (on the 20th of April 1652) as choosing a churchwarden, and signing himself *Pastor de Uppingham;* and there is not the smallest appearance, during the following years of Taylor's life, that he received any part of that pittance which the clergy presented to livings by the parliamentary commissioners were enjoined to pay to their expelled predecessors[g].

He had obtained however a wealthy and powerful patron in Christopher Hatton, esq., afterwards lord Hatton of Kirby, who had been his neighbour at Uppingham, and to whom his Defence of Episcopacy, as well as many other of his earlier works, are dedicated; "a person," Clarendon tells us, "who when he was appointed con-

[e] Note (H.)

[f] [Taylor was deprived early in May, 1644. His successor was named Isaac Massey. See Mercur. Aulicus of May 6, and Merc. Britann. of May 27, 1644.]

[g] Bonney, p. 31, note.

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troller of the king's household possessed a great reputation, which in a few years he found a way to diminish[h]."

It is always difficult to determine the real character of a public man, between the widely varying statements of his friends on one side, and his enemies or rivals on the other. The same lord Hervey who was the Sporus of Pope's tremendous satire, is extolled by Middleton, in all the exuberance of elegant flattery, as the last of the Romans, the bravest, the best, and most eloquent of mankind. Nor is it easy to find a more splendid character in history, than is ascribed by the hope or gratitude of Taylor to the nobleman of whom the historian speaks thus slightingly. It was not indeed till the present age that men of letters appear to have completely broken through that debasing custom which made excessive *eulogium* and affected humility essentials in the addresses of authors to the great and wealthy. Yet Hatton cannot have been destitute of learning or of talents, since in him Taylor found opinions congenial to his own on the subject of toleration, and since it was at his suggestion, and with his assistance, that Dugdale undertook his *Monasticon*[i].

Of Taylor's history during the remainder of the civil war we are very imperfectly informed. Wood speaks of him as a frequent preacher before the court at Oxford, and as following the royal army in the capacity of chaplain[k], till on the decline of the king's cause he sought an asylum in Carmarthensire. The following letter however represents him at the close of the year 1643, living, for a time at least, with his mother-in-law and children, and oppressed, as should seem from some of his expressions, by those pecuniary difficulties which during by far the greater part of his life continued to pursue and harass him. The silence observed respecting his wife confirms lady Wray's statement, that he had buried her before he quitted Uppingham. For the rest, it serves to shew how constantly his attention was directed to the spiritual welfare and improvement of those with whom he was connected. The original letter is in the British Museum.—

"Deare Brother.—Thy letter was most welcome to me, bringing the happy news of thy recovery. I had notice of thy danger, but watched for this happy relation, and had layd wayte with Royston to enquire of Mr. Rumbould. I hope I shall not neede to bid thee be carefull for the perfecting thy health, and to be fearful of a relapse. Though I am very much, yet thou thyself art more concerned in it. But this I will remind thee of, that thou be infinitely [careful] to

[h] [.. "a way utterly to lose," M.S. see Hist. Rebell. ed. 1826. vol. iii. p. 551.]

[i] Note (I.)

[k] [Mr. Willmott notices the vividness and number of the martial images in Taylor's writings: which he thinks may be traced to his familiarity with camps and engagements. He calls attention also to the prayer appended to the third chapter of the 'Holy Living,' and which was composed probably about this time, 'Place a guard of angels about the person of the king,' &c.]

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perform to God those holy promises which I suppose thou didst make in thy sicknesse; and remember what thoughts thou hadst then, and beare them along upon thy spirit all thy life-time. For that which was true then is so still, and the world is really as vain a thing as thou didst then suppose it. I durst not tell thy mother of thy danger (though I heard of it) till at the same time I told her of thy recovery. Poore woman! she was troubled and pleased at the same time, but your letter did determine her. I take it kindly that thou hast writt to Bowman. If I had been in condition you should not have beene troubled with it; but, as it is, both thou and I must be content. Thy mother sends her blessing to thee and her little Mally. So doe I, and my prayers to God for you both. Your little cozens are your servants; and I am

thy most affectionate and endeared brother,

November 24, 1643. JER. TAYLOR.

To my very dear Brother, D. LANGSDALE, at his Apothecary's House in Gainsborough."

This letter is without any mention of the place whence it was written; but the notice which occurs of Royston, who was a bookseller and printer in Ivy Lane, and who published most of Taylor's later works, would naturally lead us to suspect that its writer was then in London. This is however altogether at variance with Wood's statement, unless we suppose that, for some reason which cannot now be discovered, he discontinued his attendance on the royal person at a far earlier period than "the decline of the royal cause." Next year however we find him in Wales, and again attached to a portion of the army, since Whitelock mentions a Dr. Taylor (and Jeremy Taylor is the only person of that name and degree whom I have been able to discover among the royalists) as a conspicuous prisoner (the only one indeed whose name he notices) in the victory gained by the parliamentary troops over colonel Charles Gerard, before the castle of Cardigan, on the 4th of February 1644[1]. And I am inclined to suspect, that the cause which drew him away from the royal army was love; that he had formed an attachment to the lady who afterwards became his second[m] wife, during the first visit of king Charles to Wales; and that he married her, and retired to her property, soon after the date of his letter to Dr. Langsdale, though the evils of war, extending themselves into the most remote and peaceful districts, again in a very short space of time involved him in their vortex. Something of this kind is plainly intimated in the dedication to his Liberty of Prophesying; and the passage itself is worth transcribing, not only for the spirit of poetry which it

[1] Whitelock, Memor., p. 130. For my knowledge of this curious passage, I am indebted to a MS. note of Mr. Bonney.

[m] [See p. xxxv. below.]

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breathes, but as giving us almost all the information which remains as to the troubles of Jeremy Taylor.

In it he tells his patron, lord Hatton, that, "in the great storm which dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, he had been cast on the coast of Wales; and in a little boat thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which in England, in a far greater, he could not hope for. Here," he continues, "I cast anchor; and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor. And here again I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people, had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy. Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι παρεῖχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῖν· ἀνάψαντες γὰρ πυρὰν προσελάβοντο πάντας ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα, καὶ διὰ τὸ ψῦχος[n]."

That a voluntary retreat from the more busy scenes of war and politics; that a subsequent exposure to the same interruptions, with more than their usual share of attendant misfortune: that the help of friends, and the forbearance of enemies, are here spoken of, is sufficiently evident. But the Greek quotation from the Acts of the Apostles (for which, by the way, those generous enemies whom he praises, had they understood it, would have scarcely thanked him) implies at least that he had many fellow-sufferers in that particular danger to which he alludes. Nor can I find any defeat of the loyalists in the neighbourhood of his Welch retirement which so well tallies with these different circumstances, as that which Whitelock has recorded. The Liberty of Prophesying was indeed not published till 1647; but, for the probable duration of his imprisonment, the time necessary to collect his books, and, in the midst of those avocations on which his livelihood depended, to prepare for the press such an essay as that to which he chiefly owes his fame, would account for a far longer interval between his becoming a prisoner and the date of that work, than the hypothesis on which I have ventured supposes.

Nor can I consider it as inconsistent with this opinion, that during this same year 1644 there appeared at Oxford his edition of the Psalter[o], with collects affixed to each psalm; and that a Defence of the Liturgy, which he afterwards improved into a larger work[p], was also published, and honoured by the approbation of king Charles. On the contrary, the supposition of his being at this time in the

[n] [Acts xxviii. 1.]

[o] [The Psalter is not retained in the present edition of Taylor's works. See additions to note (J.)]

[p] See Dedication to Apology for Auth. and Set Forms of Liturgy, vol. v. p. 229.

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enemy's hands, will account for that which is otherwise not easy to explain, why, contrary to his usual practice, the latter of these came out anonymously, and the former under the name of Hatton. If this last measure were intended to gratify his patron's vanity, it would be a trick discreditable to both sides; though to Taylor, in his deep poverty and burdened with a family, much might be forgiven. But while yet a prisoner, there might be some reason for his abstaining from publishing any thing in his own name, though even this would hardly justify Hatton in appropriating to himself the work of another[p].

How long Taylor remained a prisoner, and on what terms and by whose interest he was released, there are now small hopes of discovering. I would gladly have recorded with some degree of certainty the names of those generous enemies from whom he received so much unexpected kindness. All which is known on this subject is that colonel Laugharn, governor of Pembroke castle, was the chief parliamentary officer about this time in South Wales; and that colonel Broughton, colonel Stephens, Mr. Catching of Trelleck, and Mr. Jones of Uske, are named by Rushworth as the committee for that district. It is to these gentlemen therefore, or to some among them, that the christian world is indebted for their humanity to one of its brightest ornaments. Such instances of individual gentleness and forbearance occur like bright and insulated spots in the gloomy annals of most civil wars; but an Englishman may recollect with gratitude, and some degree of honest pride in his own nation and ancestors, that more such are perhaps to be found in the records of our own troubles than in those of any other contest of equal length, and embittered by so many different circumstances of religious and popular hatred.

When Taylor was once in Wales, it was not likely he would rejoin the royal army, even supposing him released from his confinement or his parole, before the success of that army became desperate by the secession of the king, and his surrender of himself to the Scottish forces. I am not however of opinion that he had now taken a last leave of his unfortunate master. In August 1647 the chaplains of the imprisoned monarch were again allowed for a time free access to him; and it appears that at a late period of Charles's misfortunes, Taylor had an interview with him, and received from him, in token of his regard, his watch, and a few pearls and rubies which had ornamented the ebony case in which he kept his Bible[q].

Being now deprived of all church preferment, he supported himself by keeping a school, which he carried on in partnership with William Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyat, who subsequently obtained the rank of prebendary of Lincoln. Their success, considering their remote situation and the distresses of the times, appears to have been not inconsiderable. Newton Hall,

[p] Note (J.)

[q] Mr. Jones's MS. Mr. Bonney's do.

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a house in the parish of Llanfihangel which they jointly rented, is dignified by Wyat, in his Latin epistle to lord Hatton which will be shortly noticed, with the title of *Collegium Newtoniense:* and Wood tells us of "several youths most loyally educated there, and afterwards sent to the universities."

Of their scholars however none are now remembered but Judge Powell, who bore a distinguished part on the trial of the seven bishops; Richard Peers, an Irishman of mean extraction, but who is mentioned by Wood among the list of Oxford writers; and a certain Griffin Lloyd, esq., of Cwmgwilly, who has thought it worth while, as Judge Powell has also done, to record on his tomb that he was educated under Taylor and Nicholson[r]. Nor have I been able to ascertain how long their partnership continued, though it certainly was dissolved long before the restoration of the royal family, and even before Taylor's departure from Wales.

Of this establishment accordingly the most remarkable fruit with which we are acquainted is 'A New and Easy Institution of Grammar,' which appeared in 1647; to which are prefixed two epistles dedicatory, the one by Wyat, in Latin, which has been already noticed as addressed to lord Hatton; the other in English, by Taylor himself, to Christopher Hatton, his patron's eldest son, then a youth of fifteen, afterwards raised by Charles the second to the dignity of a viscount, and made governor of Guernsey. This address is in the usual style of his writings, devout, affectionate, and eloquent. The work which it introduces (though pompously panegyrized in a copy of Latin verses by a certain F. Gregory, who appears to have been an undermaster at Westminster) was probably the work of Wyat rather than of Taylor, and though well adapted to its purpose, is not of a nature to add materially to the reputation of either.

It was followed shortly after by the most curious, and perhaps the ablest of all his compositions, his admirable 'Liberty of Prophesying;' composed, as he tells his patron lord Hatton in the epistle dedicatory, under a host of grievous disadvantages; in adversity and want; without books or leisure; and with no other resources than those which were supplied by a long familiarity with the sacred volume, and a powerful mind imbued with all the learning of past ages.

Of the work thus produced an account will be given hereafter. Of its importance and value at the time of its first appearance, some opinion may be formed by recollecting that it is the first attempt on record to conciliate the minds of Christians to the reception of a doctrine which, though now the rule of action professed by all christian sects, was then by every sect alike regarded as a perilous and portentous novelty.

There is abundant proof indeed in the history of the times in which Taylor lived, and of those which immediately preceded him, that (much as every religious party in its turn had suffered from

[r] Note (K.)

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persecution, and loudly and bitterly as each had in its own particular instance complained of the severities exercised against its members) no party had yet been found to perceive the great wickedness of persecution in the abstract, or the moral unfitness of temporal punishment as an engine of religious controversy. Even the sects who were themselves under oppression exclaimed against their rulers, not as being persecutors at all, but as persecuting those who professed 'the truth;' and each sect, as it obtained the power to wield the secular weapon, esteemed it also a duty as well as a privilege, 'not to bear the sword in vain.'

Under such circumstances it was absolutely necessary for Taylor to guard against misrepresentation or misconception; to admit, as he has done in his epistle to lord Hatton, repeatedly and expressly, the expedience of suppressing even by force such religious opinions (if any such there were) as taught sedition or immorality, and to prove that the exclusion of the secular weapon from our christian warfare was not inconsistent with the employment of all peaceable and charitable means of refuting error, and of bringing back, by fair argument and good example, to the sheepfold of our divine Master, our deceived or deceiving brethren.

But notwithstanding this eloquent apology, the Liberty of Prophesying inculcated a doctrine too entirely at variance with the practice and prejudices of Taylor's age to escape the animadversions of his contemporaries. A copy of the first edition which now lies before me, has its margin almost covered with manuscript notes, expressive of doubt or disapprobation; and the commentator, whoever he was, has subjoined at the end of the volume *Taceo metu*, and *Vobis dico non omnibus*. His arguments more particularly in behalf of the Anabaptists, were regarded as too strenuous and unqualified; and the opinions of the author himself having consequently fallen into suspicion, he in a subsequent edition added a powerful and satisfactory explanation of his previous language, and an answer to the considerations which he had himself advanced in apology for the opinions of those sectaries.

That Taylor was most sincere in his belief of the propriety and efficacy of infant baptism, he has shewn in the sixth and seventh discourses of his 'Great Exemplar,' which he in the first instance published separately, in the year 1655, as a corrective to the mischief which he was supposed to have done by his previous admissions; accompanied by a preface, in which he refers the reader for fuller satisfaction to the labours of his friend Dr. Hammond on the same subject.

Hammond indeed had himself, though with much courtesy and kindness of expression, undertaken to answer the precise arguments employed by Taylor, in his 'Letter of Resolution to six Quæres of present use with the Church of England.' He there, under the head of the Baptizing of Infants, describes the collection of pre-

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sumptions against pædo-baptism contained in the Liberty of Prophesying, as "the most diligent he had met with," and as "so impartially enforcing the arguments of his adversaries, that he knew not where to furnish himself with so exact a scheme, and that therefore on that one account he should choose to follow the path which his friend had traced before him[s]."

Hammond and Taylor well knew each other's worth. They were, for a few years at least, fellow-students. They together, in the worst of times, obtained by unshaken loyalty and piety unimpeached the respect of their political and religious opponents; and they were so perfectly trusted by the loyalists, that they were made the joint channels for dispensing those contributions which were privately raised, to a large amount, for the persecuted clergy of the church of England[t].

How well Hammond, in his controversy with Tombes, as well as in the work already noticed, performed his part as advocate for pædo-baptism, it is unnecessary here to notice. Of Taylor's exertions in the same good cause I can give no better proof than the weight which is ascribed to his testimony by a writer[u] who has discussed those unfortunate controversies which have recently arisen on baptismal regeneration, with a wisdom, a discrimination, and a conciliatory temper, which can hardly be surpassed, and which have been too little imitated.

Of those who in Taylor's own day attacked the leading principle on which the Liberty of Prophesying was founded, the most considerable, and the only one whose name has descended to the present times, though rather as the mark of one of Milton's satirical arrows, than for any of those particulars which excited the respect and deference of his Calvinistic contemporaries, was Samuel Rutherford, professor of divinity in the university of S. Andrew's. He produced in 1649 'A Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience,' which Taylor never noticed so far as to answer, but which appears to have been one at least of the causes which led Milton, who is said to have always admired Taylor, and whose zeal for toleration was as unlimited and as consistent as Taylor's was[v], to insert the name of Rutherford in the contemptuous diatribe to which I have alluded[x].

An attack of a different kind has in later times been made on the Liberty of Prophesying, arraigning not the principles of the work, but the motives and sincerity of the author in maintaining them. He has been represented as arguing, not from his own personal conviction, but as an advocate, and to serve the temporary ends of his party; since, though a churchman, he was a dissenter when the Liberty of Prophesying was written. "He was then," proceeds the

[s] Hammond's Works, vol. i. p. 451.

[t] Life of Hammond. Wordsworth's Eccles. Biogr. vol. v. pp. 375, 6, and note. [See correspondence between Robert Rich and Taylor, printed p. lxxiii. below.]

[u] [Davison] Quart. Rev. vol. xv. p. 491.

[v] [See appendix, p. cccxxviii. below.]

[x] Note (L.)

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writer from whose work this charge is taken, "pleading for toleration to episcopacy. He must either have written what he did not himself fully believe, or in a few years his opinion must have undergone a wonderful change. With the return of monarchy, Taylor emerged from obscurity; wrote no more on the 'Liberty of Prophesying;' and was a member of the privy council of Charles the second, from which all the persecuting edicts against the poor non-conformists proceeded. It deserves to be viewed therefore as the special pleading of a party counsellor, or the production of Jeremy Taylor, deprived of his benefice and the privileges of his profession, imploring relief; of which bishop Taylor, enlightened by the elevation of his episcopate, and enjoying, with the party, security and abundance, became ashamed, and, in his own conduct, published the most effectual recantation of his former opinions or sincerity[y]." And on this supposed tergiversation of Taylor the writer proceeds to ground the sweeping censure, that "it is vain to look for liberality or forbearance from the members of an establishment."

With the logical accuracy of the vulgar maxim, *Ex uno disce omnes*, or with the degree of christian candour which the above application of it exhibits, I have at present no concern; though it is possible that Mr. Orme would be displeased, and I am sure he would have sufficient right to be so, if I had reasoned like him, from the faults or inconsistency of any single individual to the prejudice of all the other members of the Independent persuasion. But I am only concerned with his charges against Jeremy Taylor; and am anxious therefore to inform him—what he might easily have learned for himself, and what it was his duty to have enquired into before he brought such a charge as persecution against the fair fame of any man—that though bishop Taylor was a nominal member of the 'Irish' privy council[z], there is no reason whatever to suppose that he took a part in the measures of any administration; that the administration of Ireland did not in fact during the reign of Charles the second persecute the dissenters; that Taylor had not even an opportunity of concurring in the severe measures of the English government; and that no action of his life is known which can justly expose him to the suspicion of having been a persecutor himself, or having approved of persecution in others. That he did not write 'any more about Liberty of Prophesying,' while his former work was in every body's hands, and while its principles remained unanswered, is no very serious charge against a man whose time was in many other ways abundantly occupied. But that he was not ashamed of his former treatise on this subject[a], is apparent from the fact, that it appears in a promi-

[y] Orme's life of Owen, London, 1820, p. 102.

[z] [See p. xcix. below.]

[a] [This is not altogether undisputed. In Nichols' Illustrations of Lit. Hist., vol. vii. p. 464, is the following extract from a letter of Dr. Lort to bp. Percy. "I have a MS. anecdote of your predecessor, Jeremy Taylor, of which I wish the truth could be ascertained; that finding a very improper use had been made of his famous book, 'The Liberty of Pro-

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nent situation in the successive editions of his controversial tracts, of which one, the second, was published when he was actually bishop, and amid the recent triumph of his party. Nor, though there are unquestionably some passages in the Liberty of Prophesying where Taylor speaks, rather as urging what may be said in behalf of the more obnoxious creeds, than as expressing his own opinion, can I conceive that an intelligent and candid reader will find any difficulty in distinguishing between such passages and those where he pleads (with every appearance of the deepest and most conscientious conviction) the common cause of all christian sects under persecution. That in so doing he might be animated with the greater zeal by the circumstance that his own sect was thus unhappily situated, I am neither obliged nor inclined to deny. Nor do I conceive that this circumstance alone would lead a candid mind to suspect his sincere belief of those general principles on which he proceeds; or his anxiety that not the church of England alone, but all other christian communions, should be partakers in the benefit of his arguments. Had it been otherwise indeed, he would rather, as an artful advocate, have applied himself to the palliation of the particular differences existing between the episcopalians and the presbyterians, than have offended the prejudices of these last, in the pride of their new-blown success, by advancing principles which they were so little prepared to receive, and encumbering his cause with the patronage of those sects who were the objects of still greater abhorrence and alarm than his own persecuted communion.

The truth is however, that if we consider the moment at which the Liberty of Prophesying appeared, and consider also not only the spirit of mutual concession which it breathes, but the principles on which it rests, and the natural consequences which flow from them, we shall perceive that the presbyterians were not the only party for whose instruction it was designed, and that its object was to induce not only an abatement of the claims which they were then urging on the king, but a disposition on the king's part, and on the part of his advisers among the episcopal clergy, to concede somewhat more to those demands than their principles had as yet permitted them. The circumstances of the times in 1647 were such indeed as to offer a greater probability than at any former period of the war that moderate counsels would prevail, and that an arrangement of mutual toleration might be adopted which would preserve the kingly government, and heal in a certain degree the religious feuds of the nation. King Charles was removed from the custody of the parliamentary commissioners to what were supposed the more indulgent hands of

phesying,' he sent his chaplain over from Ireland to buy up all the copies he could find; and having brought them to Dromore, the bishop set a day apart for fasting and praying, and then in the evening caused a fire to be made in his court-yard, and burnt these books. The chaplain's name was Lewis, a Norfolk man." Of king Charles's feeling about the treatise, see note (L 1) below.]

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Cromwell and the army. His person was treated with far greater respect than formerly. His chaplains were allowed to officiate in his presence according to the English service book: and all parties were so situated that it seemed the interest of all to court him. The parliament and the army were at open variance; and the two prevailing sects, the Presbyterians and Independents, were scarcely less incensed with each other than with the episcopal clergy. Even these last were not yet universally ejected from their benefices; and the force of private character, the fame of extensive learning, and perhaps the ties of blood and friendship, were of sufficient weight, till this year, to protect Hall in his episcopal palace at Norwich, and Sanderson and Hammond in their public situations at Oxford[a]. All which seemed wanting to an accommodation, was to convince the several parties that the points in question were those on which they might conscientiously give way to the opinions or prejudices of their brethren; and that so far from being bound to destroy each other's persons, they might meet in the same places of worship, and conform to that government and those rites (whichever of the contending parties should be most favoured in them) which might be agreed on by the king and parliament[b].

That this was Taylor's own opinion, and that he desired his arguments to take effect on all the different parties of the nation, is apparent, I think, from the fact of his having dedicated this work to so strenuous a high-churchman as Hatton, as well as from the anxiety which he expresses, not only that persecution for religious opinions might cease, but that contention about them might be suspended; that the churches of Christ should be distinguished by no other names than those of the nations in which they were established; and that each church might receive to its bosom men of various opinions, even as that heaven of which the christian church ought to be the living image. And it is evident that if his arguments had produced their due effect on both sides, the main obstacle would have been removed to a treaty between the king and his people; a grievous dissension healed in the churches; and not only the episcopalians relieved from their immediate oppressions, but the opposite party preserved from those severities which on the restoration of kingly power were most unwisely exercised against them. Meanwhile (and the observation will be found of some importance to justify Taylor's consistency) it plainly followed from his principles, that in points of themselves indifferent, even granting that it might be tyranny to impose a rule, it was causeless rebellion to resist a rule already imposed; and it followed also (which was still more important under the peculiar circumstances of the times) that concession and moderation were to be expected at least as much from

[a] Hume, ch. lix. and note (C.) Bp. Hall, Hard Measure. Wordsworth's Biography, vol. v. p. 316 sqq. 363, 439.

[b] [See note (L 2) below.]

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those who desired a change, as from those who were content with the forms and institutions of their ancestors.

Of Taylor's domestic concerns during this interval we know very little[c]. I have already expressed my suspicions that a second[d] marriage was the cause of his withdrawing from the king's service; and it is certain that this event must have taken place before the period of which I am writing, since of his three daughters the youngest was married (as appears by the settlement) in 1668.

This second wife was a Mrs. Joanna Bridges, who was possessed of a competent estate at Mandinam, in the parish of Llanguedor, and county of Carmarthen. Her mother's family is unknown; but she was generally believed to be a natural daughter of Charles the first, when prince of Wales, and under the guidance of the dissipated and licentious Buckingham. That the martyr's habits of life at that time

v. Sanderson Sp. marriage 2:252 note.

[c] [To this period of Taylor's life belongs the interesting anecdote of his intercourse with lord Herbert of Cherbury; and which gave occasion to his writing the celebrated 'Moral Demonstration,' &c. in the Ductor Dubitantium; see the particulars, vol. ix. p. 156 sq.]

[d] [In Hamper's Life of Dugdale, Taylor writing to Dugdale, in the spring of 1651, says, 'I have but lately buried my dear wife;' and this event may seem to be alluded to when he writes to lord Carbery in the same year, in the dedication to the 'Holy Dying,' 'Both your lordship and myself have lately seen and felt such sorrows of death, and such sad departure of dearest friends,' &c. This looks as though there had been a third intermediate marriage, if (as is alleged) Taylor's first wife died in or about 1642. His last wife certainly survived him.

The letter to Dugdale will perhaps be read, even in its mutilated form, with interest. (Hamper, as above, p. 250.)

. . olden grove, April 1, 1651.
. . . . uch pleased to see a letter from you, it was some
. . . . . ls for I have but lately buiried my deare wife.
. . . . tion of writing a tract in defence of the baptisme
. . . . say this; That I am sorry any evil men should by
. . ies of peace strengthen themselves to an unreasonable warre
. . . . . great Concernment) and I would desire those
. . . . true Sons of the Church, to answer the arguments
. . . . ts made use of, out of my booke; In the meane
. . . can be ready. For if they be answerable, why doe not
. . . . elry are they troubled that I furnished their enemies
. . . . justifiable; but if they cannot answer them, how
. . . . an I write a tract concerning it. However to put
. . . . doe purpose by God's grace to write a discourse
. . . . Ancient custome upon its proper grounds, which
. . . . oes not yet consider, they give advantage to these
. . . . . the weaknesse of their own discoursings, than
. . . . the enemies cause. I have some things now in
. . . . preparing, The Rule of Holy Dying; I have
. . . . ow transcribing it; and afford like time to doe
. . . . esse, to adde to the life of Christ which is to be
. . . . summer; then if God sends mee life and health I
. . . pectation, and serve the needs of the Church, and of this
. . . . esent my service to my L. Hatton; I am troubled
. . . . he will not honour mee with a letter. If I have
. . . . es upon the New Testament, which I intend to be a
. . [P.S.] I pray send mee word what the Crest is to this Coate. Three Scallops upon a chiefe indented, powdered wth Ermins; it is bor. . . . Taylors of Cumberland and Northumberland, and I am going to ha. . . . . .]

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were extremely different from those which enabled him after a twenty years' marriage to exult, while approaching the scaffold, that during all that time he had never even in thought swerved from the fidelity which he owed to his beloved Henrietta Maria, there is abundant reason to believe; nor are the facts by any means incompatible. The former indeed rests chiefly on the authority of Mr. Jones's papers; but the circumstances which he mentions are in part corroborated by the marriage settlement of bishop Taylor's third daughter, now lying before me, in which Joanna Taylor the elder, described as his widow and executrix, settles on her daughter the reversion of the Mandinam property; while the existence of such a property and mansion is confirmed to me by the testimony of my kind and amiable friend, archdeacon Beynon. I regret to state however that from the mutilated condition of the parish register at Llanguedor, and from the present circumstances of the Mandinam property, his exertions have failed to procure me any further information as to Joanna Bridges, or her maternal ancestors. She is said in lady Wray's letter to have been brought up in much privacy by some relations in Glamorganshire; to have possessed a very fine person (of which indeed her portrait yet preserved by the family is a sufficient evidence) and both in countenance and disposition to have displayed a striking resemblance to her unfortunate father.

But notwithstanding the splendour of such an alliance, there is no reason to believe that it added materially to Taylor's income. We have seen him, after his first imprisonment, compelled to keep school for his subsistence. From the manner in which, when writing both to Evelyn and Hatton, he speaks of his 'shipwreck,' it is probable that he was not released from the consequences of his enterprize at Cardigan without a heavy amercement of his wife's estate; and as his school seems to have been broken up by his repeated imprisonments, his chief support must have been his literary labours, and the kindness of his numerous friends.

Of these the most eminent in rank was Richard Vaughan, earl of Carbery, whose seat at Golden Grove was in the same parish where Taylor's lot was thrown, and whose bounty and hospitality during several years appear to have been his chief dependence and comfort. Though now chiefly remembered as Taylor's patron, Vaughan was a man of abilities, and in his day of high reputation. He had served with distinction in the Irish wars, for his conduct in which he had received the order of the Bath: he had been the principal military commander on the king's side in South Wales[e]; and he received after the restoration the English title of lord Vaughan of Emlyn, together with the appointment of lord president of Wales and privy councillor. His character seems to have been mild and moderate; and though a loyalist, he had many friends among the opposite party. In consequence, after the fatal battle of Marston Moor, he was easily

[e] Rushworth, ubi supra, p. 303.

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admitted to compound for his estates by the parliamentary commissioners; and was thus in a situation which enabled him to befriend more effectually such persons of his side as had been less favourably dealt with. He married twice. The first wife was Frances, daughter of sir John Altham of Orbey, a woman of whom Taylor has drawn in her funeral sermon a picture which, making all allowance for the occasion on which it was preached, and the gratitude of the preacher, belongs rather to an angelic than a human character. The second was Alice, eleventh daughter of John Egerton, first earl of Bridgewater, and remarkable as being both the subject of much elegant eulogium from Taylor, and the original of the 'lady' in Milton's Comus[f]. In the friendship of this family Taylor found a happy asylum; and it was within their walls, and to their family and immediate neighbourhood, that, when the churches were closed against his ministry, he delivered his yearly course of sermons.

The next in succession of his literary labours was the 'Apology for authorized and set forms of liturgy, against the pretence of the Spirit;' the appearance of which, in its first and imperfect state, has been already noticed, and which was followed in a very few months, by a work of greater bulk, and far more extensive popularity (the first perhaps of his writings which was speedily and widely popular) 'The life of Christ, or the Great Exemplar.'

Of the three parts into which this splendid work is divided, each has a separate dedication; an engine of harmless flattery which Taylor was too grateful, or too poor, to omit any fair opportunity of employing. The first is inscribed to his friend lord Hatton, and the second to Mary countess of Northampton; whose husband Spencer Compton earl of Northampton had, as it appears from some of Taylor's expressions, been engaged at the time of his death (which took place in the battle at Hopton Heath, on the royal side) in a work of a similar character. The third, in the first edition, was dedicated to Frances lady Carbery; and after her death another dedication was added, in the third edition, to her successor the lady Alice Egerton.

All these dedications are in Taylor's characteristic manner. The last was perhaps the most difficult to compose; and he has contrived in it, with great and singular felicity, to offer at the same time his congratulations to the living lady Carbery, and to express his regrets for her deceased predecessor. While he compliments his present patroness on her own personal advantages, he calls her attention, in a solemn and affecting manner, to the duties of her new situation; and he avows with courteous frankness that her chief claim, thus early in their acquaintance, on his own affection and prayers, was her being 'in the affections of her noblest lord, successor to a very dear and most excellent person; designed to fill

[f] Note (M.)

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those offices of piety to her dear pledges, which the haste which God made to glorify and secure her would not permit her to finish;' and 'to bring new blessings to that family, which was so honourable in itself, and for so many reasons dear to him.'

In the dedication to Hatton, the duty of obedience to the 'king' is mentioned in a manner which has led Mr. Bonney to believe that the Great Exemplar must have been written, though not published, before 1648, while Charles the first was yet alive. He forgets that the king of England never dies, and that a loyalist like Taylor regarded Charles the second as his sovereign, though at the time under adversity and in exile.

There is however another expression in this dedication by which I am myself considerably perplexed. Taylor at the end entreats lord Hatton to 'account him in the number of his relatives.' Does this mean merely his friends or dependents, or is it to be understood in the usual sense of the word, and as Taylor in other places employed it, to denote an alliance by blood or marriage? An alliance by blood we can hardly suppose; but one by marriage is not impossible. But to ascertain the fact, it would be previously necessary to ascertain the maternal relations of Taylor's second wife, who of the two is most likely to have been connected with the Hattons[g].

The extensive popularity of the Great Exemplar appears to have co-operated with Taylor's natural averseness from controversy, to determine the character of his next publications.

His works, during three successive years, were entirely of a devotional or practical character; consisting of a Sermon on the Death of the Excellent Lady Carbery; to which is subjoined a long Latin inscription, probably not intended for her monument, but to be affixed, as usual in those days, to her coffin, while lying in state;—a short Catechism for Children;—his xxvii. Sermons for the Summer half-year;—and his Holy Living and Dying;—the two last of which had been composed at the desire and for the use of his late patroness, and are inscribed to her afflicted husband.

Controversy however was not entirely to be avoided; and in 1654 the insulting triumph of some Roman catholics over the fallen condition of the English church provoked him to re-examine the leading points of difference between the two communions, and produced the 'Real presence and spiritual of Christ in the blessed sacrament, proved against the doctrine of Transubstantiation[h];' and dedicated to

[g] [There is no difficulty in the word 'relatives;' which Taylor constantly uses without implying any connection either by blood or marriage.]

[h] [The work was already finished in the spring of 1653, as appears from the following letter to Sheldon (Tanner MSS. 52.) of April 11, 1653.

"Honoured and deare Sir,

I have given Royston order together with this to present you with a copy of my second volume of sermons, for ye winter half year, and the Life of Christ in a fairer character and with some enlargement and advantages. Sir, I have had so great, so many testimonies of your charity, that I am now growne confident that upon the stock of friendship you will fairly interpret even my weakest and all my addresses to you. I do not send

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Warner, bishop of Rochester, a worthy and a wise man, who even in the times of general distress continued from his scanty means to assist the still deeper poverty of Taylor, and by whose counsels, as will hereafter appear, it had been well in one instance if the latter had been more implicitly guided.

The church of Rome might be offended with impunity; but Taylor's zeal for episcopacy about this time involved him with a more formidable adversary. He had during this year expanded his 'Catechism for Children,' already noticed, into the beautiful manual which, in honour of the hospitable mansion of lord Carbery, he has entitled 'The Golden Grove.' This he now published, with a preface, which though ostensibly calculated (and perhaps intended) to conciliate the Protector in favour of the persecuted church of England, as friendly to established governments, and more particularly to 'monarchy,' contained many expressions which were likely to provoke to the utmost extent both the Presbyterian and Independent clergy, and some which Cromwell himself might reasonably conceive insidious or insulting. He was accordingly committed to prison; in what month, or at what place, I have not been able to ascertain. Our whole knowledge of the fact is indeed derived from a letter from the amiable John Evelyn, of Sayes Court, dated February 9, 1654; in which, while the writer expresses the anxiety which he had felt on the news of his friend's calamity, he congratulates him on being again at liberty[i].

When, and under what circumstances, his acquaintance with Evelyn had commenced, does not appear. The latter speaks of himself as one of his auditors in a church in the city, on the 15th of April 1654, but with no indication that he was at that time particularly interested in him. During this spring however the acquaintance was improved into a nearer and more confidential intimacy. Taylor having visited London, we find Evelyn, on the 18th of March, one of a congregation of episcopalians to whom he preached a sermon on sins of infirmity and their remedy; and on the 31st of

these to you because they are fitt to be sent, but because I have no better. Sir, I received your most affectionate and charitable letter and acquittance, and am satisfied, because you are pleased to be so, resolving to take up the remaining portion of the debt at the great Audit and accounts of charity: but, S^r^, though (as I have reason for it) I am highly sensible of this great favour, yet I do more value it that you are pleased to give me a portion in your prayers.

S^r^, I have now sent to the presse, but first to my L. Bp. of Salisbury to be perused, a discourse of the Real Presence, occasioned by my conference with a Jesuit in these parts. It hath pass'd all the Welch censure I could well obtaine for it, and I have put as much care and industry upon the Qu. as I could; it's greatest infelicity is, it cannot find your leisure and opportunity to peruse; but when it is out, I am confident it will find your charity, because I know your charity to mee hath a great part in your censures concerning mee and mine. Deare S^r^, I am in all the deepest resentments of the world and for the greatest reasons

Yeur most obliged
and most affectionate friend
and hearty servant,
JER. TAYLOR.

To my worthiest friend
D^r^. Gilbert Sheldon
p^r^sent these, with speed."]

[i] Note (M.*)

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the same month Evelyn paid him a visit, 'to confer with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as his ghostly father[k].' His friendship indeed, and his liberality, were from this time among the chief sources of Taylor's happiness; since besides the remarkable agreement which Evelyn expressed with all Taylor's religious sentiments, and the countenance and comfort which the latter derived from the support of one so distinguished for station, loyalty, and piety, his wealth appears to have been administered with no sparing hand for the support of his confessor and his family.

Taylor's troubles however were not yet concluded. On the 18th of May there is another letter from Evelyn, written in great and evident distress of mind, and under the apprehension of an approaching persecution, in which he pretty plainly intimates that the person whom he addresses was again in custody, and in which he urges him to publish something for the comfort and guidance of the devout laity, who by the loss of their faithful and orthodox teachers, were deprived of all outward means of grace, not only in the case of preaching and the common prayer, but of the orderly administration of the sacraments[l]. This letter did not reach Taylor, to all appearance, for several months after it was written. It certainly was not answered by him till the January following; and had probably the same fate with other letters which passed at the same time through Royston's hands, being detained by him under the impression that a captive would not be allowed to receive it.

Of this second confinement the scene was, I apprehend, in Chepstow castle. Its cause does not appear. It can hardly have arisen from the same publication which had already been visited on him with a similar sentence; and Mr. Bonney's conjecture that he was suspected of being engaged in the unfortunate and ill-contrived insurrection of Penruddock and Groves in 1654, as it rests on no authority, is rendered improbable by the fact that subsequent to the suppression and punishment of those unfortunate gentlemen, he was, as we have seen, at large, and exercising his ministerial functions in London. To some supposed connexion with their enterprize the previous imprisonment which I have noticed, and which, till the publication of Evelyn's memoirs, was unknown and unsuspected, might be with greater likelihood ascribed. And it is certainly not improbable, that though the ground alleged, and perhaps the immediate occasion of that severity, might be the expressions in his Golden Grove, yet the usurping government may have been led to notice such expressions, contrary to Cromwell's usual and courageous neglect of 'paper pallets[m],' by the dangers of the times, and the character of Taylor as an able and distinguished loyalist. It is however tolerably certain, that either no connexion existed between him and the insurgents at Salisbury, or that none such was discovered by the

[k] Note (N.) [l] Note (O.) [m] [See vol. vii. p. 359.]

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government, since he would in that case hardly have escaped so well as with a few months' confinement.

Even his second imprisonment at Chepstow was neither severe nor long. In the letter to Warner, published with his *Deus justificatus*, he says, "I now have that liberty that I can receive any letters, and send any; for the gentlemen under whose custody I am, as they are careful of their charges, so they are civil to my person[n]." His amiable manners, no less than his high reputation for talents and piety, seem at all times to have impressed and softened those who were from political and polemical considerations most opposed to him. And there is also room to suspect that the estate of his wife was again drawn on largely to conciliate the ruling powers; and that these last were content to grant some degree of freedom to a learned and holy man, whom they had reduced to almost abject poverty.

Neither imprisonment nor poverty however had power to cramp the fertility of Taylor's genius, or to deter him from the expression of his sentiments, though at the risk of offending those whose good opinion was most valuable to him. Besides completing his 'Ενιαυτὸς, or Series of Sermons for the whole year, by the addition of the twenty-five discourses which, though last published, stand first in the volume, he produced at the beginning of the present year his '*Unum Necessarium*: or, the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance; describing the necessity and measures of a strict, a holy, and a christian life, and rescued from popular errors.'

In this work he had, as its title implies, expressed himself concerning the nature of original sin, and the extent of man's corruption, in a manner, if not unprecedented and unwarrantable, at least at variance with the opinion of Christians in general, and more particularly of the protestant churches; and he appears to have felt, and not without reason, considerable anxiety as to the manner in which his work would be received by them. From the Calvinists he neither expected nor wished for approbation; but in order to conciliate the favour, or soften the opposition of the members of his own communion, a single dedication did not appear sufficient. Besides an epistle to lord Carbery, he has introduced his treatise with a preface inscribed to the bishops of Salisbury and Rochester, and the rest of the clergy of the church of England, in which he strenuously, though with many expressions of humility and submission to his spiritual superiors, exculpates himself from the charge of heresy, or of holding language inconsistent with the liturgy and articles of religion[o].

The apology thus made was not however thought sufficient. The letters from Evelyn already referred to, though they prove that Evelyn himself was a convert to his friend's opinions, prove also that a considerable alarm was excited among the orthodox clergy, not only by

[n] Answer to a letter touching Original Sin, vol. vii. p. 541.

[o] Preface to the clergy of England, vol. vii. p. 17.

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the supposed danger of the doctrine thus advanced, but by the scandal to which their persecuted church would be exposed if the charge of Pelagianism, so often brought against it, should receive support from the writings of one of its most distinguished champions. Warner addressed him in a private letter of expostulation and argument, of which we now know nothing except through the answer[p]. The vener-

[p] [Duppa bp. of Salisbury also wrote to Taylor, expressing strong disapprobation of his statements; as appears by the following letter (Tanner MSS. 52) of Duppa to his friend Dr. Rd. Bayly, president of St. John's college, and dean of Salisbury; bearing date Oct. 26, 1655.

"Sir,

"Though your friendship to me hath been of a long date (for it began early, and I have no reason to think but it will continue to the last) yet I know no particular wherein you have expressed it more than in that honest jealousy which you have over me lest I should suffer in reputation of my integrity towards the church of England, which is dearer to me than my life. But that you may the better clear me whensoever you hear this scandal put upon me, you may first desire them to consider whether my name prefixed to the preface may more entitle me or my brother of Rochester to any error asserted in the book, than it doth the whole religious clergy of England, who are joined with us in the same inscription. Had I encouraged him to the venting of any such conclusions as are directly contrary to the articles of the church, which we have all subscribed to; or had I known or could have had but the least inkling that he was about such an unhappy argument, and that my name should have been in the front of it, and I by my silence should have given way to it, I should have been highly guilty, and deservedly lost myself in the opinion of all good men. But that you may the better know the truth of the carriage of this business, I shall give you a faithful and a short narrative of it.

"About some two or three years past, having upon several occasions some converse with Dr. Taylor by letters, he acquainted me that he had a design to draw up a body of Cases of Conscience, which there was so much the more need of because it hath not only been done very lamely by those of the Reformed party, but because the Romanists themselves, who arrogate more power over the conscience than any other sect doth, fill up their great volumes more with the censures of their church in relation to their power and jurisdiction, than to that which more particularly related to the perplexed consciences of men, which in every accident of their life, without a rule to proceed by, might very much distract them. To this proposal of his I not only assented, but having signified to him of how great weight I conceived this business was, and what a measure of judgment, rather than of wit, was required for it, I desired him to proceed seriously and soberly in it, and I should pray for a blessing on his undertakings.

"Since that time and before his book was in the press (as I remember about March last) he found me out at London, where I then casually was, where I had some transient discourse with him concerning the work he was about, wherein he was pleased to let me know that in lieu of that body of particular cases of conscience which he intended to begin with, he had found it necessary by way of introduction to that work to premit in a more general way the doctrine and practise of repentance. And this I did very well approve of, as being not only more easy to be done, but as giving more time to him for the better digesting of that which I did foresee might be of far more difficulty to him. For to propose general rules of the duties of repentance is no uneasy thing to a rational soul that may be heightened by the light which it receives from scripture, but when we come to draw lines from those generalities to the many intricate and various passages of our lives, there is need of a prudence more than ordinary, and such as the greater our wit and fancy is, the more we are in danger of failing in it. And thus much I took upon me in a fatherly confidence to impart to him. But of this business of original sin I did not so much as dream that he would fall upon it (nor do I yet conceive how his argument was really concerned in it) nor did he open the least glimpse to me by which I might discover what his intents in this particular were.

"In this ignorance I remained, till about some two or three months past, his book (it

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able Sanderson too (who, though honoured and courted by the ruling party, had relinquished for conscience sake the chair of regius professor of divinity in Oxford) though he had by this time abandoned the high Calvinistic interpretation of the articles which in his earlier life he had defended, is said[q] to have deplored with much warmth, and even with tears, this departure from the cautious and scriptural decision of the church of England; and to have bewailed the misery of the times, which did not admit of suppressing by authority so perilous and unseasonable novelties.

The good old man had perhaps never read—it may be thought at least that he had not greatly profited by the perusal of—the 'Liberty of Prophesying.' But it would be putting too harsh a construction on his words to apprehend that by the 'authority' which he invoked, he meant the civil sword; or that he desired to employ against Taylor any other weapons than those spiritual censures which every religious community has a right to exercise against its erring members. Be this as it may, it was fortunate for Taylor that persuasion and argu-

seems) being more than half printed, Royston (whether by his direction or by his own choice I know not) sent me some pieces without either the beginning or the ending, which I being greedy to read, presently lighted upon the sixth chapter, where I met with the *colequintida* that spoiled all the broth.

"I was very much troubled within myself as soon as I saw what he drove at, and being unwilling to believe what I saw, I went it over again, as being desirous rather to find myself in a mistake than him; but the more steadily I looked upon it, the more I found that this fell not casually from him, but was a studied error, which he resolved upon this opportunity to vent unto the world.

"Nor did I make any long delays, but as soon as I could recollect myself, I gathered up my thoughts, and freely imparted to him what my sense was in that particular, what a scandal it would bring both upon his person (who had in many other things merited so well) but upon his poor desolate mother the church, which is likely to receive a greater wound by this unwary blow of his (for I cannot but absolutely clear him from having any malicious intent in it) than by all the unreasonable acts of persecution which her malicious enemies had done against her. I wished him to consider whom he offended and whom he gratified in this, or whom he left or whom he adhered to. He left not only his particular mother the church of England, but his grandmother the whole church of Christ, which in several councils ever since S. Austin's time hath decreed against him. And whom hath he adhered to? The choice he hath is not great, for either it must be to the old Pelagians, or to the new brood that hath sprung out of their ashes, whether Socinians, or anabaptists, or any other of newer denominations.

"I am not usually sharp to my friends, but I could not forbear to write sharper things than these; and it seems he apprehended it so, for in his answer to me, he told me that he had never tasted of my severity till then. But it seems nothing could work upon him. His letter that he sent me had more of defence than excuse in it; and though I rejoined to that, I heard no further from him. In the mean time the printing of his book went on, and without any way of acquainting me with it, he was pleased to make use of my name in the very forehead of it. I have much more to say in this, but I will weary you no further. I heartily thank you for your letter, and desire very much to see you when your occasions bring you into these parts.

"You may if you please impart what is here written to my very good friends Dr. Smith and Dr. Mansell, and so I remain with my prayers for you all

your old affectionate friend,

BR. SARUM."]

[q] [A letter of Sanderson's on this subject exists among the Tanner papers in the Bodleian library, and is printed in the edition of Sanderson's works recently put forth by the regius professor of divinity in Oxford.]

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ment were the only engines in the professor's power; and these he sought for in two letters to Thomas Barlow, then fellow of Queen's college, Oxford, and librarian of the Bodleian, afterwards Sanderson's own successor in the see of Lincoln, whom he exhorted with much earnestness, though without success, to undertake the refutation of Taylor's error[r].

Taylor in the meantime was not idle in his own defence. While a prisoner at Chepstow, he produced the 'Further explication of the doctrine of Original Sin,' which now constitutes the seventh chapter of the *Unum Necessarium*, but was at first published separately, with the dedication to the bishop of Rochester which still accompanies it.

This tract indeed he in the first instance submitted to the inspection, correction, or suppression of the prelate to whom it is inscribed, in a letter hitherto unpublished, the autograph of which is now before me. Warner (as appears from an almost illegible and very imperfect draught of his answer on the back) expressed himself, perhaps with reason, still unsatisfied; and refused to revise a work which in fact was a reinforcement of the previous offensive position. The offer however is at least an evidence that if Taylor were wrong, he was not unwilling to be instructed, and that the error of his opinions was not rendered more offensive by a self-confident and dogmatical temper. With such a disposition he might 'err,' but he could hardly be an 'heretic.' The letter is as follows:—

"Right reverend father in God.

"My very good lord,—I wrote to your Lor^p about a fortnight or three weekes since, to w^h letter, although I believe an answer is upon the road, yet I thought fitt to prevent the arrival of by this addresse; together with which I send up to Royston a little tract, giving a further account of that doctrine which some of my brethren were lesse pleased with. And although I find by the letters of my friends from thence, that the storme is over, and many of the contradictors profesee themselves of my opinion, and pretend that they were so before, but thought it not fit to owne it, yet I have sent up these papers, by which (according to that counsel which your L^p in your prudence and charity was pleased to give me) I doe intend, and I hope they will effect it [to] give satisfaction to the church and to my jealous brethren: besides, possibly, they may prevent a trouble to me, if peradventure any man should be *tam otiose negotiosus* as to write against me. For I am very desirous to be permitted quietly to my studies, that I may seasonably publish the first three books of my Cases of Conscience, which I am now preparing to the presse, and by which, as I hope to serve God and the church, so I doe designe to doe some honour to your Lor^p, to whose charity and noblenesse I and my re-

[r] Barlow's Letter to Walton. Life of Sanderson. Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog., vol. v. p. 548. Kennet's Register, p. 633.

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latives are so much obliged. I have given order to Royston to consigne these papers into your Lor^{p}'s hands, to peruse, censure, acquit, or condemne, as your Lor^{p} pleases. If the written copy be too troublesome to read, your Lor^{p} may receive them from the presse, and yet suppresse them before the publication, *si minus probentur*. But if by your Lor^{p}'s letters which I suppose are coming to mee I find any permission or counsel from your Lor^{p} that may cause me to alter or adde to what is sent up, I will obey it, and give Royston order not to post so fast, but that I may overtake him before these come abroad. But I was upon any termes willing to be quit of these, that I might no longer suffer or looke upon any thing that may retard my more beloved intendment.

My lord, I humbly begge your blessing upon
your lor^{p}'s most obliged and most affectionate
and thankful servant,

Mandinam, November 17, 1655. JER. TAYLOR."

From this letter it appears that he was already released from prison, and at his wife's house of Mandinam. And since from his published answer to Warner annexed to the *Deus justificatus* it is certain that he was still in Chepstow castle about the middle of September, we may probably enough state the duration of his confinement from May to October inclusive. Nor is this the only interesting fact which this letter gives us to understand. It represents him as already considerably advanced in the composition of his *Ductor dubitantium;* and proves to us through how many years of his life, and with what a devoted earnestness, he was employed on the work to which he looked forward as the surest pledge of his future celebrity. Nor, when we recollect the far greater popularity enjoyed by his devotional works over this favourite product of his genius and industry, can we avoid some painful reflections on the short-sighted estimate often formed by the best and wisest of mankind, as to the celebrity and utility of their different labours.

The following letter to Evelyn, which has been published by Dr. Bray, was probably also written from Mandinam. The letters to which it is an answer do not appear.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

Honour'd and deare S^{r},—Not long after my coming from my prison, I met with your kind and friendly letters, of which I was very glad, not onely because they were a testimony of your kindnesse and affections to mee, but that they gave mee a most welcome account of your health, and (which now-a-dayes is a great matter) of your liberty, and of that progression in piety in which I doe really rejoyce. But there could not be given to mee a greater and more persuasive testimony of the reality of your piety and care, than that you passe to greater degrees of caution and the love of God. It is the worke of

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your life, and I perceive you betake yourselfe heartily to it. The God of heaven and earth prosper you and accept you!

"I am well pleased that you have reade over my last booke: and give God thanks that I have reason to believe that it is accepted by God and by some good men. As for the censure of unconsenting persons, I expected it, and hope that themselves will be their owne reproovers, and truth will be assisted by God, and shall prevaile, when all noises and prejudices shall be ashamed. My comfort is, that I have the honour to be an advocate for God's justice and goodnesse, and that ye consequent of my doctrine is, that men may speake honour of God, and meanly of themselves. But I have also this last weeke sent up some papers, in which I make it appeare that the doctrine which I now have published was taught by the fathers within the first four hundred years; and have vindicated it both from novelty and singularity. I have also prepared some other papers concerning this question, which I once had some thoughts to have published. But what I have already said, and now further explicated and justified, I hope may be sufficient to satisfy pious and prudent persons, who doe not love to goe *qua itur*, but *qua eundum est*[s]. S^r^, you see how good a husband I am of my paper and inke, that I make so short returns to your most friendly letters. I pray be confident that, if there be any defect here, I will make it up in my prayers for you and my great esteeme of you, which shall ever be expressed in my readinesse to serve you with all the earnestnesse and powers of,

Deare S^r^,

your most affectionate friend and servant,

November 21, 1655. JER. TAYLOR."

This is a pious and eloquent letter; but there are some parts of it which should serve as a caution to all religious disputants. Whatever may be thought of his peculiar opinions, there are few who will venture to assert that such a man as Taylor either embraced them rashly, or professed them without sincerity, or was negligent in his applications to the Throne of Grace for celestial light and assistance. The doctrines however are, it will be readily allowed by most men in the present day (as it was seen and deplored by the wisest and most learned theologians of the age in which Taylor lived) irreconcilable with the articles of the church which he loved and honoured, and contrary to the plain sense of those scriptures which were his consolation and his guide. It is even probable that he would never have entertained them, had it not been for the monstrous and dangerous glosses with which the truth had been obscured by Augustine and his followers[t]; by which our nature, instead of being 'very far

[s] [See vol. iv. p. 529.]

[t] [Taylor was a reader and admirer of Grotius; and this had more to do probably in forming his views of original sin, than any dislike of S. Augustine. Heber's censure of that father is per-

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gone from original righteousness,' is represented as become utterly diabolical, and the gracious remedy provided for the disease of all mankind is confined to a few favoured individuals.

Yet these doctrines which appear to most of us, as they doubtless appeared to Taylor, so offensive to reason, and so unworthy of the Deity, were maintained by men as wise perhaps, and certainly as holy as Taylor himself; who on their parts regarded with horror his denial of absolute predestination, and of the doctrine that infants unbaptized were immediate objects of God's anger. Such considerations should not only lead us to think charitably of the persons with whom we differ, but should warn us against a too hasty condemnation of their opinions. They should warn us against supposing the reverse of wrong to be right; and should endear to us still more the moderation, the discretion, and the humility, with which, on these awful and most mysterious subjects, our own excellent and apostolic church has expressed herself. There is yet one caution more. Taylor, as the reader will have seen, was confident in the truth of his hypothesis, from the persuasion that it manifested the goodness and justice of God, and taught men to 'speake honour of God, and meanly of themselves.' It is probable that on these very same grounds the most vehement of his adversaries were prejudiced in favour of Calvinism. The inference is plain, that though it be sufficient cause to reconsider most diligently and most jealously whatever opinion appears to us or to others to militate against our natural notions of fitness and general analogy of divine perfections, yet is it wise in all such cases to suspect that our own perceptions may be erroneous, our own reasoning inconsequent; and that it becomes us to believe of God not so much what we may think worthy of Him, as what He has Himself revealed concerning His nature and His actions.—As a commentator on scripture, as a guide to the interpretation of scripture, our reason is most useful and most necessary; but scripture, and scripture only, is the rule of faith; and this is the perfection of reason, which leads us to adhere most closely to the only guide which in all necessary points of belief is infallible.

It appears that Evelyn during the early part of the winter renewed his application to Taylor that he should undertake some work adapted to the use of Christians when deprived of regular ministry, and the sacraments, which a regular ministry alone can ordinarily dispense with efficacy. It appears indeed that the former letter had been overlooked by Taylor in the pressure of his troubles and his studies, till now a second time recalled to his mind, since 'the distich of the departed saint' is plainly that which is given in Evelyn's letter of May 1655.

haps too sweeping; but it was a prejudice which he had imbibed early in life. "The more I read of the Scriptures," he wrote in 1807,—the year he entered into holy orders,—"the more I am convinced that John Calvin and his master S. Augustine were miserable theologians."—Letter to Thornton.]

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Some other correspondence, besides that which has been already noticed, and to which Taylor alludes, as containing the 'vile distich of the departed saint,' must at all events have passed, since Taylor in the following letter speaks of Evelyn's apologies for troubling him, and his offers of pecuniary assistance. The Birkenhead whose repartee he mentions was probably John Birkenhead, author of the *Mercurius aulicus*. The letter is now first given to the public.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

St. Paul's Convers. 5ß.

Deare Sr,—I perceive by your symptoms how the spirits of pious men are affected in this sad *catalysis;* it is an evil time, and we ought not to hold our peace; but now the question is, who shall speake? Yet I am highly persuaded that to good men and wise a persecution is nothing but a changing the circumstance of religion, and the manner of the formes and appendages of divine worship. Publike or private is all one: the first hath the advantage of society, the second of love. There is a warmth and light in that; there is a heate and zeale in this; and if every person that can, will but consider concerning the essentials of religion, and retaine them severally, and immure them as well as he can with the same or equivalent ceremonies, I know no difference in the thing, but that he shall have the exercise, and consequently the reward of other graces, for which if he lives and dies in prosperous dayes he shall never be crowned. But the evills are, that some will be tempted to quit their present religion, and some to take a worse, and some to take none at all. It is a true and a sad story; but *oportet esse hæreses*, for so they that are faithful shall be knowne; and I am sure He that hath promised to bring good out of evil, and that all things shall co-operate to the good of them that feare God, will verify it concerning persecution. But concerning a discourse upon the present state of things in relation to soules and our present duty, I agree with you that it is very fitt it were done, but yet by somebody who is in London, and sees the personal necessities and circumstances of pious people. Yet I was so far persuaded to do it myselfe, that I had amassed together divers of my papers useful to the worke; but my Cases of Conscience call upon me so earnestly, that I found myselfe not able to bear the cries of a clamorous conference. Sr, I thank you for imparting to me the vile distich of the dear departed saint. I value it as I doe the picture of deformity or a devil; the art may be good, and the gift faire, though the thing be intolerable; but I remember that when the Jesuits, sneering and deriding our calamity, shewed this sarcasme to my lord Lucas, Birkenhead being present, replied as tartly, 'It is true our church wants a head now; but if you have charity as you pretend,

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you can lend us one, for your church has had two and three at a time.' S^r, I knowe not when I shall be able to come to London; for our being stripped of the little reliques of our fortune remaining after ye shipwrecke, leaves not cordage nor sailes sufficient to beare me thither. But I hope to be able to commit to the presse my first bookes of Conscience by Easter time; and then, if I be able to get up, I shall be glad to wayte upon you; of whose good I am not more sollicitous than I am joyful that you so carefully provide for it in your best interest. I shall only give you the same prayer and blessing that S. John gave to Gaius; 'Beloved, I wish that you may be in health and prosper;' and your soule prospers; for so, by the rules of the best rhetorike, the greatest affaire is put into a parenthesis, and the biggest businesse into a postscript. S^r, I thanke you for your kind expressions at the latter end of your letter: you have never troubled mee, neither can I pretend to any other returne from you but that of your love and prayers. In all things else I doe but my duty, and I hope God and you will accept it; and that by means of His own procurement He will some way or other (but how I know not yet) make provisions for mee. S^r, I am in all heartinesse of affection,

Your most affectionate friend and
minister in the Lord Jesus,
JER. TAYLOR[u]."

Taylor's poverty however was either not so great as he at this moment apprehended it would be, or the kindness of his friends enabled him to enjoy, much sooner than he had expected, the happiness of their society. His acknowledgments to Warner, in the letter already given, and the letter which now follows to Sheldon, are proofs that he had other friends besides Evelyn, both anxious, and in some degree able, to render him pecuniary assistance. Sheldon, it will be recollected, as warden of All Souls, had opposed Taylor's election to a fellowship. It is pleasing to find them now reconciled. The letter is without date; but the amount of the progress which the writer professes to have made in his *Ductor dubitantium* forbids us to place it later[v].

"TO DR. SHELDON.

Dear Sir,—I received yours, dated November 5, in which I find a continued and enlarged expression of that kindness with which you have always assisted my condition and promoted my interest. Two debts you are pleased to forgive me; one of money, the other of unkindness. I thank you for both; but this latter debt was contracted when I understood not you, and less understood myself; but I dare

[u] Evelyn Papers, ined.
[v] This letter was copied by Dr. Birch into his Collection of Letters. Brit. Mus. MSS. Donat. 4162. art. 19.

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say there was nothing in it but folly and imprudence. But I will not do it so much favour as to excuse it. If it was displeasing to you then, it is much more to mee now that I know of it.

Sir, I will be sure, by the grace of God assisting me, that Mr. Royston shall pay in ten pounds to your nephew, Mr. Joseph Sheldon, before Candlemas. If you please in the interim to send to him the bond, or any other power to discharge me, you will much oblige me. But Sir, I desire that, by a letter from you to me, you will be pleased, on receipt of that money, to disoblige and free my duty and conscience, for that is the favour and the peace I desire in this particular. Sir, I am to thank you for the prudent and friendly advice you were pleased to give me in your other letter relating to my great undertaking in Cases of Conscience. I have only finished the first part yet; the *præcognita* and the generals. But in that and the remaining parts I will strictly observe your caution. Sir, though it hath always been my fortune to be an obliged person to you, and [I] now have less hope than ever of being free from the great variety of your endearments, yet I beg of you to add this favour, to think that I am all that to you which you can wish, save only that I cannot express how much I love and how much I honour you. Sir, I beg also your prayers, and the continuance of your kind affection to,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR."

From whatever quarter he obtained the means of his journey, it is certain however that Taylor visited London; for on the 12th of April he dined with Evelyn at Sayes Court, in company with Berkeley, Boyle, and Wilkins, and occupied with them in the discussion and examination of philosophical and mechanical subjects[y]. Of this visit he four days after speaks with lively and natural delight in the following letter; in which however, as will be observed, while complimenting the taste of his friend, he does not forget to mingle christian caution and rebuke with his felicitations.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

April 16, 1656.

Honour'd and Deare S^r^,—I hope your servant brought my apology with him, and that I already am pardoned, or excused in your thoughts, that I did not returne an answer yesterday to your friendly letter. S^r^, I did believe myselfe so very much bounde to you for your so kind, so friendly reception of mee in your *Tusculanum*, that I had some little wonder upon mee when I saw you making excuses that it was no better. S^r^, I came to see you and your lady, and am

[y] See below, note (P.)

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highly pleased that I did so, and found all your circumstances to be an heape and union of blessings. But I have not either so great a fancy and opinion of the prettinesse of your aboad, or so low an opinion of your prudence and piety, as to thinke you can be any wayes transported with them. I know the pleasure of them is gone off from their height before one month's possession; and that strangers and seldome seers feele the beauty of them more than you who dwell with them. I am pleased indeed at the order and the cleannesse of all your outward things; and look upon you not onely as a person, by way of thankfulnesse to God for His mercies and goodnesse to you, specially obliged to a great measure of piety, but also as one who, being freed in great degrees from secular cares and impediments, can without excuse and allay wholly intend what you so passionately desire, the service of God. But now I am considering yours, and enumerating my owne pleasures, I cannot but adde that though I could not choose but be delighted by seeing all about you, yet my delices were really in seeing you severe and unconcerned in these things, and now in finding your affections wholly a stranger to them, and to communicate with them no portion of your passion but such as is necessary to him that uses them or receives their ministries. S^r, I long truly to converse with you; for I do not doubt but in those liberties we shall both goe bettered from each other. For your 'Lucretius,' I perceive you have suffered the importunity of your too kind friends to prevaile with you. I will not say to you that your Lucretius is as far distant from the severity of a Christian as the faire Ethiopian was from the duty of B^p. Heliodorus[z]; for indeede it is nothing but what may become the labours of a christian gentleman, those things onely abated which our evil age needes not; for which also I hope you either have by notes, or will by preface prepare a sufficient antidote: but since you are ingag'd in it, doe not neglect to adorne it, and take what care of it it can require or neede; for that neglect will be a reproofe of your own act, and looke as if you did it with an unsatisfied mind, and then you may make that to be wholly a sin, from which onely by prudence and charity you could before be advised to abstain. But S^r, if you will give me leave I will impose such a penance upon you for your publication of Lucretius, as shall neither displease God nor you; and since you are buisy in that which may minister directly to learning, and indirectly to error or the confidences of men, who of themselves are apt enough to hide their vices in irreligion, I know you will be willing and will suffer your selfe to be intreated to imploy the same pen in the glorifications

[z] [... Ἡλιόδωρος ἐκεῖνος, Τρίκης ἐπίσκοπος, οὗ πονήματα (sic) ἐρωτικὰ εἰσέτι νῦν περιφέρεται, ἃ νέος ὢν συνετάξατο, Αἰθιοπικὰ προσαγορεύσας αὐτά· νῦν δὲ καλοῦσι ταῦτα Χαρίκλειαν· δι' ἃ καὶ τὴν ἐπισκόπην ἀφῃρέθη· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοῖς τῶν νέων κινδυνεύειν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπῆει, ἢ ἐγχώριος προσέταττε σύνοδος, ἢ τὰς βίβλους ἀφανίζειν καὶ πυρὶ δαπανᾷν ὑπαναπτούσας τὸν ἔρωτα, ἢ μὴ χρῆναι ἱερᾶσθαι τοιαῦτα συνθέμενον· τὸν δὲ μᾶλλον ἕλεσθαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην λιπεῖν, ἢ ἐκ μέσου τιθέναι τὸ σύγγραμμα.—Niceph. H. E. xii. 34.—Cf. vol. x. p. 496.]

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of God, and the ministeries of eucharist and prayer. S^r^, if you have *Mr Silhon de l'immortalité de l'áme*, I desire you to lend it mee for a weeke; and believe that I am in great heartiness and dearnesse of affection,

Deare S^r^,

Your obliged and most affectionate friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR[a]."

On the sixth and seventh of the following month, we find Evelyn bringing to Taylor a young Frenchman, a proselyte to the English church and a candidate for orders, for his examination and recommendation to a bishop. Taylor, being well satisfied with him, did accordingly recommend him to some Irish prelate whom Evelyn calls the bishop of Meath, then living in abject distress in London, and to whom the fees paid by Evelyn were a matter of charity. "To that necessity," he naturally exclaims, "were our clergy reduced[b]!"

Long after this Taylor does not appear to have remained in London. His next letter is from Wales, and obviously in answer to one now lost, in which the same friend to whose regard he was so much indebted appears to have offered him, on the part of Mr. Thurland, an asylum in the neighbourhood of London. Mr. afterwards sir Edward Thurland, and one of the barons of the Exchequer, was an eminent lawyer, and author of a work on Prayer; on which Evelyn sent him a letter, published in the interesting collection to which I have so often had occasion to refer. His offer, whatever it were, seems to have been a liberal one, since Taylor speaks of it as rendering a change of residence not impossible to him. The letter is interesting in itself, as displaying Taylor's character and sentiments under the pressure of a heavy affliction; and it also seems to fix pretty accurately the appearance of his *Deus justificatus*.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

July 19, 1656.

Deare S^r^,—I perceive the greatness of y^r^ affections by your diligence to inquire after and to make use of any opportunity [which] is offered whereby you may oblige mee. Truly, S^r^, I doe continue in my desires to settle about London, and am only hindered by my *res angusta domi;* but hope in God's goodnesse that He will create to mee such advantages as may make it possible; and when I am there, I shall expect the daily issues of the Divine Providence to make all things else well; because I am much persuaded that by my abode in ye voisinage of London, I may receive advantages of society and bookes to enable mee better to serve God and the interest of soules. I have no other designe but it, and I hope God will second it with his blessing. S^r^, I desire you to present my

[a] Evelyn Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 102. [b] Note (P.)

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thankes and service to Mr. Thurland; his society were argument enough to make mee desire a dwelling thereabouts, but his other kindnesses will also make it possible. I would not be troublesome; serviceable I would faine be, usefull, and desirable; and I will endeavour it if I come. S^r^, I shall, besides what I have already said to you, at present make no other returne to Mr. Thurland; till a little thing of mine be publike, which is now in Royston's hands, of Original Sin; the evils of which doctrine I have now laid especially at ye Presbyterian doore, and discours'd it accordingly, in a missive to ye countesse dowager of Devonshire. When that is abroad, I meane to present one to Mr. Thurland; and send a letter with it. I thanke you for your Lucretius. I wished it with mee sooner; for, in my letter to ye countesse of Devonshire, I quote some things out of Lucretius, w^h^ for her sake I was forced to English in very bad verse[c], because I had not your version by mee to make use of it. Royston hath not sent it mee downe, but I have sent for it: and though it be no kindness to you to reade it for its owne sake and for the worthinesse of the worke, because it deserves more; yet when I tell you that I shall, besides the worth of the thing, value it for the worthy author's sake, I intend to represent to you not onely the esteeme I have of your worthinesse, but the love also I doe and ever shall beare to y^r^ person. Deare Sir, I am in some little disorder by reason of the death of a little child of mine, a boy that lately made us very glad: but now he rejoyces in his little orbe, while we thinke, and sigh, and long to be as safe as he is. S^r^, when your Lucretius comes into my hands, I shall be able to give you a better account of it. In ye mean time I pray for blessings to you and your deare and excellent lady: and am,

Deare Sir,

Your most affectionate and endeared friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR[d]."

The following letter touches on a deficiency in the public service of the English church, which has been often lamented, but is easier to lament than repair. Taylor himself, to judge from the few specimens which he has given of religious poetry in a metrical form —for in a more enlarged sense of the term, all his devotional writings are poetry—would have fallen into the errors, as well as rivalled the beauties, of Cowley. Evelyn, though of genius far inferior (indeed with all his virtues and accomplishments, genius can hardly be said to have entered into his character) would perhaps have been more fortunate. His ear for music was good, and highly cultivated; he was sincerely pious; and the general simplicity of his style would

[c] [vol. vii. p. 587.]

[d] Evelyn Papers, ined.

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have been in his favour, in an undertaking where, by a singular fatality, Addison has succeeded better than either Pope, Dryden, or Milton. The praises of Evelyn's Lucretius which follow may perhaps appear exaggerated. But some allowance must be made for the partiality of friendship, and the gratitude of one who had just received a present from his patron. Evelyn's translation however is by no means a contemptible work; and he is fairly entitled to the credit of having transfused the sense, if not all the spirit, of his original, into harmonious English verses.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

Deare Sir,—At last I have got possession of that favour you long since designed to me; your Lucretius. Sir, shall I tell you really how I am surprised? I did believe (and you will say I had some reason) that Lucretius could not be well translated. I thought you would doe it as well as any one, but I knew the difficulty, *ex parte rei*, was almost insuperable. But Sir, I rejoyce that I find myself deceived: and am pleased you have so wittily reprov'd my too hasty censure. Mee thinkes now, Lucretius is an easy and smooth poet, and that it is possible for the same hand to turn Aristotle into smooth verse. But Sir, I pray tell mee why you did so grudge your annotations to the publike? I am sure you neede not blush at them; but you may well chide yourself for offering to conceale them. Sir, you know I was not apt to counsel the publication of this first booke: but I should not repine (so the labour of it were over) that it were all done by the same hand, so perfectly doe I find myselfe confuted by your most ingenious pen. I was once bold with you; I would faine be so once more. It is a thousand pitties but our English tongue should be enriched with a translation of all the sacred hymnes which are respersed in all the rituals and church-bookes. I was thinking to have beg'd of you a translation of that well-knowne hymne,

Dies iræ, dies illa,
Solvet sæclum in favilla;

which, if it were a little changed, would be an excellent divine song: but I am not willing to bring trouble to you: onely it is a thousand times to be lamented that the *beaux esprits* of England doe not think divine things to be worthy subjects for their poesy* and spare houres. I have commanded Royston to present to you two copyes of a little letter of mine to ye C. dowager of Devon: of which if you please to

* [Mr. Willmott observes that while Taylor was thus complaining, one great mind was bending itself to the task which he recommended; the Paradise Lost having been commenced (as is thought) in this year.]

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accept one, and present the other from mee to your friend Mr. Thurland, you will very much oblige mee, who already am,

Deare S[r],

Your most affectionate and endeared

August 23,—56. JER. TAYLOR[f]."

TO THE SAME.

"Honoured and deare S[r],

In the midst of all the discouragements which I meet withall in an ignorant and obstinate age, it is a great comfort to mee, and I receive new degrees of confidence, when I find that yourselfe[g] are not only patient of truth, and love it better than prejudice and prepossessions, but are so ingenuous as to dare to owne it in despite of the contradicting voices of error and unjust partiality. I have lately received from a learned person beyond sea certaine extracts of the Easterne and Southerne Antiquities, which very much confirme my opinion and doctrine; for the learned man was pleased to expresse great pleasure in the reasonablenesse of it and my discourses concerning it. S[r], I could not but smile at my owne weaknesses, and very much love the candor and sweetnesse of your nature, that you were pleased to endure my English poetry: but I could not be removed from my certaine knowledge of my owne greatest weaknesses in it: but if I could have had your Lucretius when I had occasion to use those extractions out of it, I should never have asked any man's pardon for my weake version of them; for I would have us'd none but yours, and then I had beene beyond censure, and could not have needed a pardon. But S[r], the last papers of mine have a fate like your Lucretius: I meane, so many *errata*'s made by the printers, that because I had not any confidence by the matter of my discourse and the well-handling it, as you had by the happy reddition of your Lucretius, I have reason to beg your pardon for the imperfection of the copy. But I hope the printer will make amends in my Rule of Conscience, which I find hitherto he does with more care. But S[r], give me leave to aske why you will suffer yourselfe to be discouraged in the finishing Lucretius? They who can receive hurt by the fourthe booke understand the Latin of it; and I hope they who will be delighted with your English, will also be secur'd by your learned and pious annotations, which I am sure you will give us along with your rich version. S[r], I humbly desire my service and great regards to be presented by you to worthy Mr. Thurland: and that you will not faile to remember mee when you are upon your knees. I am very desirous to receive the *Dies iræ*,

[f] Evelyn Papers, ined.

[g] ['that yourselfe and such other ingenious and learned persons as yourselfe,' in the original MS., which has been seen by the present editor.]

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dies illa, of your translation; and if you have not yet found it, upon notice of it from you I will transmit a copy of it. S^r^, I pray God continue your health and His blessinges to you and your deare lady and pretty babies; for which I am daily obliged to pray; and to use all opportunities by which I can signify that I am,

Deare Sir,

Your most affectionate and endear'd servant,

9^ber^ 15, 1656. JER. TAYLOR[h]."

In all these letters it may be observed with how much anxiety and uneasiness he contemplated the opposition made to his doctrine of original sin, and the remonstrances addressed to him on the subject by the most eminent persons in his own communion[i]. The same

[h] Evelyn Papers, ined.

[i] [One more letter (Tanner MSS. 52) has come to light on this subject, viz., from Taylor to Sheldon; who was as little satisfied with the chapter on 'Original Sin,' as Duppa, Warner, or Sanderson; it is as follows;—

"Sir,—When I received your former letter which you were pleased to dispatch to me upon the receipt of my last book, and perceived you had read the preface, and understood what I had done in the question of Original Sin, and yet found no signs of displeasure in you, I thought myself on that side secure from a storm; but I perceive some friend of mine has been blowing the coals, and hath stirred up you also against me; but how undeservedly be yourself the judge. When I had undertaken to rescind the principles of evil life, I found the usual doctrines of original sin to be one, and resolved to do my endeavour to right it. I was indeed so wholly employed in the thoughts of what I had undertaken, that I went only straight forward and looked on neither hand. I could not but know, if I had asked the sense of my lords the bishops, they must openly deny to countenance this question, though possibly they had persuasions in the thing itself more favourable. I did not ask them, for it was not so fit to tempt any man who had or might have some prudential fears that possibly might be too wary. But yet when I had passed through it, I met with my first opportunity of propounding the question; I found some objections and civil oppositions against it, I found indeed what I ought to have expected, but for any desires that I should not publish it, much less importunate desires from them both, least of all any commands from either, that I wonder why any man who knew nothing of it should tell you anything at all of it, or why any man that did know how it was, should tell you this.

—Galeatum sero duelli
Pœnitet,

—was the first thing that my lord of Salisbury wrote to me in it, and 'he could have wished it had been shewn to him before:' and truly so do I, for he is a wise man and a good man. Since this time I have had letter after letter from him, and the lord bishop of Rochester, who hath been pleased to report to me those objections he meets with against the doctrine. They are such indeed as I could not but have considered before, but yet I was to obey him in giving satisfaction to them, and endeavouring by a just and ingenious explication of the ninth article to make my firmest adherence to the church of England visible and manifest; though I am to take it ill that any man should question it, or abridge me of that just liberty which they approved under their hands to Mr. Chillingworth, who in answer to N.N. before his book declares what is meant by 'subscribing the articles.' Sir, I cannot now descend to particulars; I am wearied out by answering so often, but I wish you had a sight of those letters I wrote to the bp. of Salisbury; those which I wrote to my lord bp. of Rochester will be published.

But now, Sir, to your last advice, that I would either recant what I have written, or fairly explicate, or if I will not do the first, or cannot do the latter, yet that I would write no more in this question. For the last, I would most gladly have followed your counsel, if they had

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feeling is betrayed in the dedication of the *Deus justificatus*, already so frequently alluded to; and which, together with a letter addressed to himself by Warner in the course of the preceding year, and two letters in answer to that learned prelate, he published a short time before the date of his last letter to Evelyn. He there enlarges with some asperity on the unfavourable reception which his former work on Repentance had met with, not only from the Presbyterians, but from some of those "to whom he gave and designed his labours, and for whose sake he was willing to suffer the persecution of a suspected truth." The opposition which he had met with, he complains, was not open, inasmuch as no man had as yet appeared in public against his doctrine, but that there were many who "entered into the houses of the rich and honourable, and whispered secret oppositions and accusations rather than arguments."

"Madam," he continues, "I know the arts of these men; and they often put me in mind of what was told me by Mr. Sackvill, the late earl of Dorset's uncle, that the cunning sects of the world (he named the Jesuits and the Presbyterians) did more prevail by

not commanded otherwise whom you already chide me because you are told I did not obey. For the second, an ingenious explication, I have done what I can, and what is fit: and yourself will speedily be a witness and a judge. But for the first, to recall what I have written, I think you would pity and despise my weakness if I should. Is it true or no, that I have written? If not true, let it be reproved upon that account; I am easily able to defend it, for I am sure the proposition is both highly reasonable and very pious. But if it be true, why should so good, so wise a man as yourself advise me to recal it? I may do weakly, but I cannot do unhandsome things, neither do I think if I should in secret ask you whether I ought to recal it, that you would wish I should; I know your reason and your religion to be greater; and until some one or other can tell me how substantially to confute the Sublapsarians, without overthrowing their great *φαινόμενον* of original sins as they discourse it, I do think that both you and myself are bound upon my grounds to arm ourselves against the horrible doctrine of absolute reprobation. It is sufficient to me that my doctrine is on that side where God's justice and goodness stand apparently, and no man can drive me from that hold, and it is *causa Dei*, and as I ought not to be reproved in it, so I will not be discouraged, but as I pray earnestly that God would preserve unity and charity amongst us, so I resolve I will never strike against any of my brethren an offensive blow, and unless there be a great necessity, I will not so much as defend myself. What I am now publishing is in obedience to those two RR. prelates, to whom I had thought I had not needed to give satisfaction for doing that which I intended as an honour to them. But I shall by that time I am ready to die, and shall have little use of it, learn to be more prudent. You are a happy person, private and unharmed; my folly and forwardness hath wrought my trouble; but yet there was zeal in it, and I thought there was much reason, and I am sure I intended piously, and there are very many that do still think so. But Sir, I hope to have an opportunity of coming into Nottinghamshire for a fortnight. If I do I shall wait upon you, and discourse those things which I must not write concerning this trifling affair. I am used ill, and I yet think that truth and piety are discouraged even now that they ought not. But I will complain of no man, I only will beg your pardon for my tedious letter, and that you will continue to love and pray for

Dear Sir,
Your most affectionate and obliged
friend to serve and honour you,
JER. TAYLOR.

Jan. 19, 58.

To my worthiest friend
Dr. Sheldon, hasten these."]

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whispering to ladies, than all the church of England and the more sober Protestants could do by fine force and strength of argument."

The man who writes thus (however he may profess, as he does in another part of the same dedication, that "if any man differed from him in opinion, he is not troubled at it," and that men "ought to love alike, though they do not understand alike,") is evidently suffering under contradiction which he did not expect, and which he has not learned very well to bear. But Taylor was poor and persecuted; neither of them circumstances which improve the temper. He was moreover at this time under the pressure of a severe domestic affliction; and we may easily forgive to the afflicted parent a peevishness, which is less excusable in a practised disputant, and one who by the promulgation of an unusual opinion had as if by choice laid himself open to contradiction[k].

The *Deus justificatus* is the only work which was published in this year with Taylor's name, or which can be ascertained with any degree of certainty to be his composition. As I have however had the misfortune to find myself opposed to the judgment of some of my ablest and most valued friends, in refusing to the 'Treatise on Artificial Handsomeness' a place in the present collection, it is at least my duty to give some account of that work, and of the sort of evidence on which it has been generally attributed to Jeremy Taylor.

It first appeared in 1656, in a small volume printed by Royston, Taylor's usual publisher, without the author's name, and, whimsically enough, adorned with the same frontispice of a woman, with a sun on her breast, pointing upwards to heaven, and trampling on a whole toilet of ornaments, mirrors, and patches, which is prefixed to the first edition of 'The Ladies' Calling.' There are even some peculiarities in the method of employing italics, which correspond with the general practice observed throughout that work, and some slight

[k] [To this period belongs the following letter to Dugdale, acknowledging the present of his history of Warwickshire; —

"Good Mr. Dugdale,

I confesse I was greedy to see and to reade y^r booke; and if I had knowne so much of it as now I doe, I should have beene more greedy of it: for if I have any skill in any thing, it is by very much the best of any thing that ever I saw in that kind: but that which pleases me in this, is that which I would faine have had to be in the Monasticon, things of use and pleasure relating to civil and church affaires in publike, or that may be us'd beyond the direct subject of the booke. S^r, I wish from my heart that your booke may find that reward and just praise which it deserves. It wants nothing but good times and princes to reward it. S^r, I beg of you to accept my thankes for your so freindly present; and I hope it will not be long before I shall give you testimony that if I had a present fitt to requite this of yours, I would not be wanting in giving you the most real testimony of my value both of your affection and your booke.

S^r, I am,

Your most thankful and affectionate freind and servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

9^ber 22, 1656.

To my very worthy Friend Mr. William Dugdale at the Heralds office neere Doctors Commons, hasten these."

Endorsed by Dugdale,

"Doctor Taylor's Letter 22 Novembris upon the receipt of my Booke of Warwickshire."]

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similarities of style, though by no means sufficient to lead us to attribute the two works to the same author. The preface indeed of the 'Artificial Handsomeness' expressly assures us that this last was not only occasioned, but chiefly composed, by a lady; an assertion which has been thought to be belied by the style of the composition, and the learning which it displays. The latter, I confess, does not appear to me extraordinary, or in that learned age such as might not very probably have been attained by many well-educated females. It chiefly displays itself in a readiness in quoting the scriptures; in a familiarity with the popular ascetic writers of the day; and in a few references to ancient fathers, to which (it may be observed) the fair disputant was guided by the very arguments of those English divines whom she endeavours to prove mistaken. Still however it has not the appearance of a woman's composition; though I must repeat that a far less extent of learning than was possessed by Jeremy Taylor was competent to all the authorities and illustrations on which so much stress has been laid, and which have been supposed so plainly to designate him as the author.

In 1662 however, while Taylor was yet alive, another edition appeared, with the initials on the title-page, 'J.T. D.D.,' which Kennet (whose critical acumen is indeed good for nothing, but who is a competent evidence as to the general opinion which prevailed in his time) supposes to stand for 'Jeremy Taylor, Doctor of Divinity[1];' and it is also certain that Taylor employed the same signature in the title-page to the first edition of his beautiful Essay on Friendship.

Lastly; in the epistle dedicatory prefixed to the third edition in 1701, it is described as the work of 'a late learned bishop;' while Anthony Wood, who, though like Kennet utterly without taste or critical discrimination, was still more than him, a diligent collector and careful examiner of literary history, has inserted it without any apparent scruple in his list of Taylor's writings. And many considerable modern critics have been induced by these reasons and by the supposed striking similarity of its style to that of his acknowledged works, to support his claim to it with a confidence and zeal which under other circumstances I should hardly have thought myself justified in opposing.

On the other hand it may be observed, that it was by no means an unexampled deception in the booksellers of the seventeenth century to affix, without sufficient authority, or even against their better knowledge, the names of eminent persons to works of which those persons were altogether guiltless. Though Taylor was alive in 1662, he was then in Ireland, and little likely to interest himself in the refutation of a charge which, if he ever heard it, he perhaps would think ridiculous.

Wood is not consistent with himself in placing this work among his writings, since he elsewhere with equal confidence ascribes it to

[1] Kennet's Register, 787.

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Gauden; and my friend Mr. Bliss, whose authority is deservedly eminent on all such questions, is disposed to take the credit, such as it is, away from both, and to class it among the productions of Obadiah Walker[m].

On the resemblance or dissimilarity of style, when the subject is so different from those which in other instances have employed Taylor's genius, it would be unsafe to give a positive opinion. The whole treatise is undoubtedly an ingenious piece of special pleading in a bad and foolish cause; and it is distinguished by a vivacity of diction and illustration which, though it is in some degree a characteristic of all the satirical writings of that age, may not unfrequently remind the reader of the language of Taylor's controversial treatises. But, for the occasional bursts of passion and sublimity which in his avowed works flow from him as if in spite of himself: for the ardent piety which was inherent in his hourly thoughts and lightest expressions; for the strains of affecting eloquence with which he is ever anxious to draw men from questions of less importance to practical devotion and holiness; we may search throughout the 'Artificial Handsomeness' in vain. Nor are these the strongest arguments against supposing him its author. That which with me weighs most of all is found in the subject of the work itself, which is a formal defence of painting the face, a practice obviously inconsistent with the ascetic opinions to which he was through life inclined, and one which he himself, with perhaps too great severity, has classed in his 'Holy Living[n]' in the same category with "singular and affected walking, proud, nice and ridiculous gestures of the body, lascivious dressings," and the other least equivocal arguments of a worldly and immodest character. "Menander in his comedy," he elsewhere[o] observes, "brings in a man turning his wife from his house because she stained her hair yellow, which was then the beauty;

νῦν δ' ἔρπ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδε· τὴν γυναῖκα γὰρ
τὴν σώφρον' οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποιεῖν

'A wise woman should not paint.' A studious gallantry in clothes cannot make a wise man love his wife the better;

Εἰς τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς χρήσιμ', οὐκ εἰς τὸν βίον,

said the comedy, 'Such gaieties are fit for tragedies, but not for the uses of life.' . . . Indeed the outward ornament is fit to take fools, but they are not worth the taking; but she that hath a wise husband must entice him to an eternal dearness by the veil of modesty and the grave robes of chastity, the ornament of meekness, and the jewels of faith and charity. She must have no *fucus* but blushings, her brightness must be purity, and she must shine round about with sweet-

[m] Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, vol. iii. col. 790.

[n] [chap. ii. sect. 5. vol. iii. p. 83.]

[o] Sermon on the Marriage ring, part ii. [vol. iv. p. 231 sq.]

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nesses and friendship, and she shall be pleasant while she lives, and desired when she dies. If not,

——— κατθανοῦσα δὲ κείσεαι,
οὐδὲ τις μνημοσύνα σέθεν ἔσεται,
οὐ γὰρ μετέχεις ῥόδων τῶν ἐκ Πιερίης·

'her grave shall be full of rottenness and dishonour, and her memory shall be worse after she is dead." Who will after this believe that Jeremy Taylor can have become the patron of ceruse and antimony[p]?

On the whole however, as a report certainly began to prevail in his life-time that he was the author of this whimsical treatise, I am inclined to account for this report by ascribing its composition to some one whose intimacy with him was such as to render it likely that he had seen and revised it in the manuscript, or even that he had been an agent in transmitting it to the printer. Nor can I fix on any hypothesis more likely, or which accords so well with the declaration prefixed to the first edition, as that it was the work of Katherine Philips, who was, as will be hereafter[q] shewn, the 'Orinda' of Taylor's friendship, and who had sufficient opportunity of studying his style to produce even a better imitation than appears to me to be afforded by the dialogue under consideration. To say the truth, I little care who may have written it, provided it does not pass for Taylor's[r].

The chastening hand of providence was not yet withdrawn from Taylor's domestic comforts, as appears from an affecting letter which, though the copy in the British Museum has no superscription, I am strongly inclined, from the internal evidence which it displays of intimacy between the parties, no less than the mention of Mr. Thurland which occurs in it, to consider as also addressed to Evelyn.

"Deare Sir,—I know you will either excuse or acquit, or at least pardon mee that I have so long seemingly neglected to make a returne to your so kind and friendly letter; when I shall tell you that I have passed through a great cloud which hath wetted mee deeper than the skin. It hath pleased God to send the small poxe and feavers among my children; and I have, since I received your last, buried two sweet, hopeful boyes[s]; and have now but one sonne left, whom I intend, if it please God, to bring up to London before

[p] [There is another strong passage to the same effect in the Ductor Dubitantium, book iii. ch. 2. rule 5. qu. 4. vol. x. p. 129.

It may be added to the arguments adduced above against the book being Taylor's, that in a list of advertisements at the time (e. g. at the end of Taylor's answer to Warner, 12mo. Royston, 1656) Taylor's books having been first enumerated, then in another list of 'books newly published,' occurs the 'Discourse of Artificial Handsomeness.'

On reading the work, the present editor cannot believe it to be from the pen of Jeremy Taylor.

The expression itself 'artificial handsomeness' perhaps became familiar from the publication of the book; it is used by Taylor, Duct. Dubit., book ii. ch. 3. rule 6. vol. ix. p. 524.]

[q] [p. lxxiii. below.]

[r] Note (Q.)

[s] [See vol. v. p. 566; which was written while Taylor was grieving under the loss which is here mentioned.]

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Easter, and then I hope to waite upon you, and by your sweet conversation and other divertisements, if not to alleviate my sorrow, yet at least to entertain myself and keep me from too intense and actual thinkings of my trouble. Dear S^r^, will you doe so much for mee as to beg my pardon of Mr. Thurland, that I have yet made no returne to him for his so friendly letter and expressions. S^r^, you see there is too much matter to make excuse; my sorrow will at least render me an object of every good man's pity and commiseration. But for myself, I bless God I have observed and felt so much mercy in this angry dispensation of God, that I am almost transported, I am sure highly pleased with thinking how infinitely sweet His mercies are when His judgments are so gracious. S^r^, there are many particulars in your letter which I would faine have answered; but still my little sadnesses intervene, and will yet suffer me to write nothing else: but that I beg your prayers, and that you will still own me to be,

"Deare and honoured Sir,

your very affectionate friend and hearty servant,

Feb. 22, 165[illegible]. JER. TAYLOR[t]."

In this letter, the style and sentiments of which are so characteristic that there can be no doubt of its authenticity, there are some particulars which call for further notice. The two children whom he here mentions as taken from him 'by small pox and fevers,' must in all probability have died since the former whose loss he deplored in his letter to Evelyn of July 19, inasmuch as in that letter he does not mention (what he would probably have done had the disease been the small pox) the infection, or danger of infection of any other person of his family. The tradition likewise of the neighbourhood of Golden Grove (as I am assured by archdeacon Beynon) concurs with the express statement of Rust in his funeral sermon, in stating that Taylor before his departure from Wales, lost 'three' children in the course of a few months. It is however not a little perplexing that Taylor here speaks of himself as having 'only one son left,' while on the other hand the letter from his grand-daughter lady Wray to which I have already more than once referred, states positively that she had 'two uncles,' who were the sons of her grandfather by his first marriage, and that both of them lived till manhood; while she is equally positive in stating that their mother died at Uppingham. These are points in which she could hardly have been mistaken, and I know no better or more probable way of reconciling them to this letter, than by supposing that the two sons by his first wife were at this time separated from him and with their mother's family, and that the children whose death he laments, as well as the surviving son whom he purposes to bring to London,

[t] Brit. Mus. MSS. Donat. 4274. art. 51.

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and who appears to have been afterwards buried at Lisburn in Ireland, were the fruits of his second marriage. It is strange, however, that he speaks of the son who was with him as his 'only' one; and it is strange, whichever hypothesis we adopt, that he does not say any thing of his daughters, and that, in none of the letters which are preserved, is any direct mention made of either of his wives, though there is an allusion of this sort where he tells Evelyn that the little child whom he had lost, 'lately made us here very glad.' That he was a cold or indifferent husband or father, I cannot believe, since his works abound in allusions to domestic happiness which could have occurred to none who had not felt that happiness, and been worthy of it.

"Nothing," he tells us in his 'Marriage Ring,' "can sweeten felicity itself but love; but when a man dwells in love, then the breasts of his wife are pleasant as the droppings upon the hill of Hermon, her eyes are fair as the light of heaven, she is a fountain sealed, and he can quench his thirst, and ease his cares, and lay his sorrows down upon her lap, and can retire home as to his sanctuary and refectory, and his gardens of sweetness and chaste refreshments. No man can tell but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents make a man's heart dance in the pretty conversation of those dear pledges: their childishness, their stammering, their little angers, their innocence, their imperfections, their necessities, are so many little emanations of joy and comfort to him that delights in their persons and society: but he that loves not his wife and children, feeds a lioness at home, and broods a nest of sorrows; and blessing itself cannot make him happy; so that all the commandments of God enjoining a man to 'love his wife,' are nothing but so many necessities and capacities of joy. She that is loved, is safe; and he that loves is joyful. Love is a union of all things excellent; it contains in it proportion and satisfaction, and rest and confidence; and I wish that this were so much proceeded in, that the heathens themselves could not go beyond us in this virtue, and its proper and its appendent happiness. Tiberius Gracchus chose to die for the safety of his wife; and yet methinks to a Christian to do so should be no hard thing; for many servants will die for their masters, and many gentlemen will die for their friend; but the examples are not so many of those that are ready to do it for their dearest relatives, and yet some there have been: Baptist Fregosa tells of a Neapolitan that gave himself a slave to the Moors that he might follow his wife; and Dominicus Catalusius, the prince of Lesbos, kept company with his lady when she was a leper; and these are greater things than to die."

The traditionary accounts of Taylor which are yet to be recovered in South Wales, agree with Anthony Wood in relating that after the distressing visitation which his letter records, he left his residence near Golden Grove, and officiated in a small and private congregation

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of Episcopalians in London. He appears in fact from Evelyn's diary to have been in London some part of this year; since on the 25th of March, he shewed Evelyn his manuscript of the Cases of Conscience, now fitted for the press; and on June the seventh we find him officiating in the drawing-room at Sayes Court, in the baptism of Evelyn's fourth son. By his recommendation too (though whether that recommendation was conveyed by letter, or in a personal interview, we are not informed) Evelyn on the 16th of July used his interest with the patron of the living of Eltham, in behalf a young man named Moody[n].

But if Taylor had really fixed himself at this time in London, it is remarkable that his visits to Sayes Court, considering the nature of the friendship between him and Evelyn, are not more frequently mentioned; and it is stranger still, if he were officiating regularly in a small congregation of loyalists, that Evelyn has not recorded his own occasional journeys to attend the ministry of the man whom he calls his spiritual father. And notwithstanding Wood's assertion, I am greatly inclined to doubt that he ever permanently settled in the metropolis, though his annual visits thither may have easily given rise to the opinion.

It is certain at least that in the letter which relates the death of his children, he speaks of his intended journey to London in terms which imply a relaxation and temporary escape from afflicting thoughts, rather than a permanent change of residence, or the undertaking of fresh duties and a new sphere of usefulness. Be this as it may, his poverty was now alleviated by the generous grant of a yearly pension from Evelyn, which he acknowledges in a letter of most eloquent gratitude, dated the fifteenth of May; but, as usual, without mention of the place whence he wrote it.

TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"Honour'd and deare Sir,—A stranger came two nights since from you with a letter, and a token; full of humanity and sweetnesse that was, and this of charity. I know it is more blessed to give than to receive; and yet as I no ways repine at the Providence that forces me to receive, so neither can I envy that felicity of yours, not onely that you can, but that you doe give; and as I rejoyce in that mercy which daily makes decrees in heaven for my support and comfort, soe I doe most thankfully adore the goodnesse of God to you, whom he consignes to greater glories by the ministeries of these graces. But Sir, what am I, or what can I doe, or what have I done, that you thinke I have or can oblige you? Sir, you are too kinde to mee; and oblige me not onely beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I onely can love you, and honour you, and pray for you: and in all this I cannot say but that I am behind hand with you, for I have

[n] Note (R.)

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found so great effluxes of all your worthinesse and charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of your heart. Sir, though you are beyond the reach of my returnes, and my services are very short of touching you, yet if it were possible for me to receive any commands the obeying of which might signify my great regards of you, I could with some more confidence converse with a person so obliging; but I am oblig'd and asham'd, and unable to say so much as I should doe to represent myselfe to be

Honour'd and deare Sir,

Your most affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

May 15, 1657. JER. TAYLOR[x]."

The favour which Evelyn, as alluded to in the above letter, had spoken of as in the power of Taylor to confer on him, he explained in a subsequent note to be one, to request which was in itself a pleasing mark of friendship and high opinion, that he would come to christen his son. The answer shews that Taylor was at that time occupied in his beautiful essay on Friendship, and that he had communicated his plan to Evelyn.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

Honoured and deare Sir,—Your messenger prevented mine but an houre. But I am much pleased at the repetition of the divine favour to you in the like instances; that God hath given you another testimony of His love to your person, and care of your family; it is an engagement to you of new degrees of duty, which you cannot but superadde to the former, because the principle is genuine and prolific, and all the emanations of grace are univocal and alike. Sir, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crown'd my innocent endeavours in my descriptions of Friendship, that I perceive there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, and a real material worthinesse beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas: and I know now where to make my booke perfect, and by an appendix to outdoe the first essay; for when any thing shall be observed to be wanting in my character, I can tell them where to see the substance, much more beauteous than the picture, and by sending the readers of my booke to be spectators of your life and worthinesse, they shall see what I would faine have taught them, by what you really are. Sir, I know it is usual among civil persons to say kind things when they have received kind expressions; but I now go upon another account: you have forced me to say what I have long thought and spoken to others: even so much as to your modesty may seem excessive, but that which to the merit of your person and friendship is

[x] Evelyn Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 119.

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very much too little[y]. Sir, I shall, by the grace of God, wait upon you to-morrow, and doe the office you require; and shall hope that your little one may receive blessings according to the heartinesse of the prayers which I shall then and after make for him; that then also I shall wayte upon your worthy brothers, I see it is a designe both of your kindnesse and of the divine Providence.

Sir,

I am your most affectionate and most faithful friend and servant,

June 9, 1657. JER. TAYLOR[z]."

The following letter was probably written from Mandinam. It sufficiently indicates the nature of that to which it was an answer. It is singular that Evelyn should have been harassed by doubts of this kind, and still more curious and interesting to see the manner in which Jeremy Taylor attempted to solve them.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

Aug. 29, 57.

Sir,—I am very glad that your good nature hath overcome your modesty, and that you have suffered yourself to be persuaded to benefit the world rather than humor your owne retirednesse. I have many reasons to incourage you, and the onely one objection which is the leaven of your author, *De providentia*[a], you have so well answered, that I am confident, in imitation of your great Master, you will bring good out of evil; and like those wise physicians who, giving ἀλεξίκακα, doe not onely expell the poyson but strengthen the stomach, I doubt not but you will take all opportunities, and give all advantages, to the reputation and great name of God; and will be glad and rejoyce to imploy your pen for Him who gave you fingers to write, and will [*quære* 'witt?' R. H.] to dictate.

"But Sir, that which you check at is the immortality of the soule; that is, its being in the interval before the day of judgment; which

[y] ['Sir, I know . . little,' omitted in 'Evelyn memoirs.' The original was seen by the present editor and collated.]

[z] Evelyn Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 118 sqq.

[a] [Three months before, Taylor had written the following letter (Tanner MSS. 52; no superscription.)

"Sir,—Concerning the usefulness of a discourse *De providentia* I am wholly at concord with you, I do every day perceive and deplore the too great necessity of it.

Mr. Gunning declines it.

I secretly wish that he would be less censorious and apt to discourage those who refuse no labour to serve God and obey their superiors; he is a good man and able man, but when he is a writer he will be more sparing in finding faults.

I have caused Mr. Royston to deliver for you my collection of discourses, which he hath printed in folio. There are some new things with it and additions to the old; esp. the Liberty of Prophesying, in which I have answered all the arguments for the anabaptists.

June 2, 1657. JER. TAYLOR."]

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you conceive is not agreeable to the apostles' creed, or current of scriptures, assigning (as you suppose) the felicity of Christians to the resurrection. Before I speake to the thing, I must note this, that the parts which you oppose to each other may both be true. For the soule may be immortal, and yet not beatified till the resurrection. For to be, and to be happy or miserable, are not immediate or necessary consequents to each other. For the soule may be alive, and yet not feele; as it may be alive and not understand; so our soule, when we are fast asleepe, and so Nebuchadnezzar's soule, when he had his lycanthropy. And the Socinians, that say the soule sleepes, doe not suppose that she is mortal; but for want of her instrument, cannot doe any acts of life. The soule returns to God, and that in no sense is death. And I thinke the death of the soule cannot be defined; and there is no death to spirits but annihilation. I am sure there is none that we know of or can understand. For if ceasing from its operations be death, then it dies sooner than the body: for oftentimes it does not worke any of its nobler operations: in our sleepe we neither feele nor understand. If you answer and say, it animates the body, and that is a sufficient indication of life: I reply, that if one act alone is sufficient to shew the soule to be alive, then the soule cannot die; for in philosophy it is affirmed that the soule desires to be re-united; and that which is dead desires not: besides, that the soule can understand without the body is so certaine (if there be any certainty in mystic theology) and so evident in actions which are reflected upon themselves, as a desire to desire, a will to will, a remembering that I did remember; that if one act be enough to prove the soule to be alive, the state of separation cannot be a state of death to the soule: because she then can desire to be re-united, and she can understand: for nothing can hinder from doing those actions which depend not upon the body, and in which the operations of the soule are not organical.

"But to the thing. That the felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment, I doe believe next to an article of my creed; and so far I consent with you: but then I cannot allow your consequent, that the soul is mortal. That the soule is a complete [*qu.* complex?] substance, I am willing enough to allow in disputation; though, indeed, I believe the contrary; but I am sure no philosophy and no divinity can prove its being to be wholly relative and incomplete. But suppose it: it will not follow that therefore it cannot live in separation. For the flame of a candle, which is your owne similitude, will give light enough to this enquiry. The flame of a candle can consist or subsist, though the matter be extinct. I will not instance Licetus[b] his lampes, whose flame had stood still fifteen hundred years, viz. in Tullie's wife's vault. For if it had spent any matter, the matter would have been exhaust long before that: if it spends none, it is all one as if it had none; for what need is there of

[b] [See vol. iv. p. 481.]

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it, if there be no use for it, and what use if no feeding the flame, and how can it feed but by spending itselfe? But the reason why the flame goes out when the matter is exhaust, is because the litle particle of fire is soon overcome by the circumflant aire and scattered, when it wants matter to keepe it in union and closenesse: but then as the flame continues not in the relation of a candle's flame, when the matter is exhaust, yet fire can abide without matter to feed it: for itselfe is matter; it is a substance. And so is the soule: and as the element of fire, and the celestial globes of fire, eat nothing, but live of themselves; so can the soule when it is divested of its relative, and so would the candle's flame, if it could get to the regions of fire, as the soule does to the region of spirits.

"The places of scripture you are pleased to urge, I shall reserve for our meeting or another letter; for they require particular scrutiny. But one thing only, because the answer is short, I shall reply to; why the apostle, preaching Jesus and the resurrection, said nothing of the immortality of the soule? I answer, because the resurrection of the body included and supposed that. 2. And if it had not, yet what need he preach that to them which in Athens was believed by almost all their schooles of learning? For besides that the immortality of the soule was believed by the Gymnosophists in India, by Trismegist in Egypt, by Job in Chaldea, by his friends in the east, it was also confessed by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Thales Milesius, and by Aristotle, as I am sure I can prove. I say nothing of Cicero and all the Latins; and nothing of all the christian schools of philosophy that ever were. But when you see it in scripture, I know you will no way refuse it. To this purpose are those words of St. Paul, speaking of his rapture into heaven; he purposely and by designe twice says, 'whether in the body or out of the body I know not:' by which he plainly says, that it was no ways unlikely that his rapture was out of the body; and therefore it is very agreeable to the nature of the soule to operate in separation from the body.

"Sir, for your other question, how it appeares that God made all things of nothing? I answer; it is demonstratively certaine; or else there is no God. For if there be a God, He is the one principle: but if He did not make the first thing, then there is something besides Him that was never made; and then there are two eternals: now if God made the first thing, He made it of nothing. But Sir, if I may have the honour to see your annotations before you publish them, I will give all the faithful and most friendly assistances that are in the power of,

Deare Sir,

Your most obliged and affectionate servant,

JER. TAYLOR [c]."

[c] Evelyn papers, inedit.

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This letter undoubtedly displays in every part of it a vigorous and richly cultivated mind; and those arguments which the writer has taken from scripture, or from his own natural acuteness, are sufficient in almost every instance to establish the solemn truths for which he is contending. Where he fails, he fails from a reliance on an unsound philosophy; from taking those things for granted which it is impossible to prove, or which are now universally abandoned as fabulous.

Thus if Evelyn had enquired from what philosophical presumption he learned that the disembodied soul 'desires to be re-united,' he would have been only able to urge the *dicta* of men as ignorant as himself, or who reasoned from their present perceptions to what their perceptions should be in a different state of existence, the very fact of which was first to be shewn before that probability could be determined which he here assumes as proof of the premises. The fable of the sepulchral lamp he indeed hardly ventures to rely on, though he instances it in a manner which would lead us to suspect he believed it. But that the flame of a candle might, but for the accident of the circumfluant[d] air, continue to burn without its fuel, absurd as it now sounds, is to be laid at the door of that division of the four elements which no man, before the last century, called in question; though had a sturdy reasoner demanded proofs of 'the region of fire,' of the self-nourished flame of the sun and stars, and the other gratuitous assumptions of the ancient systems, the philosopher must have been content to hold his peace, or to quote (what indeed was reckoned sufficient) the mere authority of Aristotle or the schoolmen.

His reasons why S. Paul, in preaching Jesus and the resurrection to the Athenians, omitted all mention of the soul's immortality, are however abundantly satisfactory. And though far stronger texts might be alleged in support of the doctrine than that in which the same apostle is speaking of his heavenly journey, the probability certainly is, even from that text alone, that the apostle himself took the separate existence of the soul for granted, and believed it extremely possible for a man to be, and think, and even to acquire new ideas, without the assistance of the body.

The argument by which he attempts to prove that God created all things out of nothing, is tainted in some degree with the fault which I have already noticed, of reasoning from propositions as if they were axioms. He assumes it as a necessary definition of God, that He is the one principle of all things, the only Eternal; he then argues justly, that if there were any thing which God did not make, there would be more Eternals than one; and concludes that in such case neither of those Eternals could be God. Surely this is running on too fast; and if Evelyn had been a Manichee to assert the existence of two principles, or if with Aristotle he had esteemed God as the

[d] [This word is certainly wrong, and was probably a misprint; 'circumflant' is the word used in the letter as printed in the preceding page.]

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first Mover only, not the Creator; if in short, on whatever plea, he had denied his friend's definition, a very different and much longer process must have been necessary to shew the reasonableness of believing that all things, as they depend on God for their being, must have in the first instance derived that being from His will.

These are not the only points in which Taylor has to all appearance forgotten himself in the preceding letter. He professes with much earnestness to believe, 'next to an article of his creed, that the felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment.' If he said their 'complete' felicity, he would have said no more than we are led to believe by the very fact that we are not till then to rejoin our bodies, or than the scriptures imply in passages too numerous to be cited. But by deferring all enjoyment till that time, he defers all sensation also, and may be suspected of adopting the old Socinian doctrine of the sleep of the soul; a doctrine certainly not inconsistent with its immortality, and far less revolting to reason and christianity than the materialism which that sect has since embraced; but which is at variance with all the actions and habits of the soul, so far as they fall under our present observation, and is plainly contradicted by the most ancient traditionary religion of mankind; by the expectation of S. Paul that on his departure he was to be with Christ; by the expressions of Christ himself in His parable of Lazarus; and by His promise to the penitent robber at His crucifixion.

It is after all by a reference to the law and the testimony that the immortality of the soul is most satisfactorily established. Reason indeed may tell us that the extinction of the soul does not necessarily follow the destruction of the body; that, as Taylor himself has well observed, it has functions of its own which it may separately exercise, and that it may still be conscious of its own existence, may still recollect the past, still expect the future, though deprived of those bodily organs by which alone new ideas are to be acquired or old ones communicated. But what philosophy holds out as possible or probable, revelation alone has rendered certain, and the circumstances and employment of departed spirits, in that region whence no traveller returns, can only be gathered from His assurances to whom all things are known, but by whom those things only are communicated to men which are necessary to their virtue and consolation.

The controversy which Taylor had excited by his opinions on Original Sin, was as yet by no means at an end. The episcopalian clergy seem, indeed, to have been content with the sort of official disclaimer of such doctrines on the part of the church, which the letters of Warner afforded. But there were others who conceived themselves bound to animadvert on the error of so eminent a person, and the chief of these were two presbyterian clergymen, Henry Jeanes, minister of Chedzoy in Somersetshire, and John Gaule, of Staughton in Huntingdonshire.

Of Gaule I know nothing but the interminable title of his book,

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to which Taylor never paid any attention[e]. Henry Jeanes, however, was an adversary not unworthy of his powers. He was a man of considerable talent, described by Wood as "an excellent philosopher, a noted mathematician, and well-grounded in polemical divinity." He had been Taylor's contemporary at Oxford, where he was celebrated as a powerful disputant, a learned preacher, and zealous against the doctrines of the Puritans. Of those doctrines however, when their professors became prosperous and powerful, he, whether conscientiously or no, yet certainly at a time not very favourable to his character for disinterestedness, adopted a more advantageous opinion; and in 1641 became distinguished as a Calvinist and presbyterian. Unlike most renegadoes, he continued to speak and act with moderation towards the party whom he had abandoned; and was, through life, not more remarkable for his talents, than for his freedom from that sanctimonious austerity which was the usual characteristic of his new friends[f].

His attack on Taylor's work was not in the first instance intended for publication. In the 'advertisement to the unprejudiced reader' prefixed to his letters, Jeanes accounts for it in the following manner:—

"One Mr. T. C. [Thomas Cartwright[g]] of Bridgewater, being at my house, brake out into extraordinary (that I say not excessive and hyperbolical) praises of Dr. Jeremy Taylor. I expressed my concurrence with him in great part: nay, I came nothing behind him in the just commendations of his admirable wit, great parts, quick and elegant pen, his abilities in critical learning, and his profound skill in antiquity: but notwithstanding all this, I professed my dissent from some of his opinions which I judged to be erroneous; and I instanced in his 'Doctrine of Original Sin.' Now his 'Further Explication' of this then lay casually in the window (as I take it) which hereupon I took up, and turned unto the passage now under debate, and shewed unto Mr. T. C. that therein were gross nonsense and blasphemy. He for his own part, with a great deal of modesty, forthwith declined all further dispute of the business, but withal he told me that he would, if I so pleased, give doctor Taylor notice of what I said; whereunto I agreed, and in a short time he brought me from the doctor a fair and civil invitation to send him my exceptions, and with it a promise of a candid reception of them; whereupon I drew them up in a letter to Mr. T. C., the copy whereof followeth."

The controversy thus begun was, like most others of the kind, till the parties grew warm, carried on with considerable courtesy[h]. But

[e] Sapientia Justificata, or a Vindication of the Fifth Chapter of the Romans, and therein of the Glory of the Divine Attributes; and that in the case of Original Sin, against any way of erroneous understanding it, whether old or new: more especially in answer to Dr. Jer. Taylor's 'Deus Justificatus.' By John Gaule, &c. &c. Lond. 1657.

[f] Wood, Athen. iii. col. 590, ed. Bliss.

[g] [See vol. vii. p. 572.]

[h] [See the correspondence, in vol. vii.]

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the disputants, who addressed each other in the first instance through the medium of their common friend Mr. Cartwright, began, as is usual in such cases, to lose their tempers at the second replication. Each accused the other of unfairness and intemperance, and I regret to say that of the two Jeremy Taylor was the most captious and personal. Yet he had some reason to complain that his opponent's whole battery was directed not against the general principle of his book, but against a detached and single expression;—and that his apparent, and in fact his avowed object, was not so much to refute the pelagianism of Taylor, as to derogate from his reputation in the mind of one of his friends and admirers[h].

While Taylor was yet in London[i], he had shewn to Evelyn his *Ductor dubitantium* in a state of considerable forwardness. Many years however were to elapse before he actually finished the printing. The importance which he attached to it, not only as the chief pillar of his fame, but as the best evidence of his activity in God's service, seems to have rendered him more cautious and timid in this than in any other of his literary enterprises, and he thought no pains too great, no consideration too minute, to bestow on its principles, arrangement, and execution. During this year however he published his Σύμβολον Ἠθικο-πολεμικὸν, a reprint of several of his former

[h] [See note (E *) below.]

[i] [The following letter to Sheldon (Tanner MSS. 52.) bearing date Dec. 19, 1657, seems to have been written from London;—

"Sir,—I have sent to you the book newly come forth against Dr. Hammond, of which I shall say nothing because it is to fall under your eye, which will quickly pierce through and see the bottom. I wish to Dr. Hammond health and leisure that himself alone may 'dispatch' this adversary, for he is more than sufficient for him, and S. W. is not only *prior in causa* but *minor in persona*. I do not know whether we shall have cause to fear this parliament or no: for I suppose we shall be suppressed before the Parl. shall sit; we are every day threatened, we are fiercely petitioned against by the presbyterians, we are agitated at the Council Table; only we yet go on, and shall till we can go on no longer. If we be permitted (which yet is *sub judice*) the common prayer book is certainly voted to be suppressed.

The man you met with in the 'Mercurius' is so wholly forgotten, and another like * fellow that came out before him, and a third that came out after him, only by way of analysis of part of the fifth chapter to the Romans; that I should very much long for trouble, and confess I did not know how to spend my time, if I should trouble myself with any of them; for indeed they are totally inconsiderable. Unless I be reasonably and handsomely provoked, you are like to have truce on that unwelcome question. I have some thoughts of retiring from noise and company, and going to my studies in a far distant solitude, but not to Wales. This place is expensive of my no money and my little time, concerning both which I am constrained to take some more care. But why do I trouble you with my impertinent affairs? I humbly desire your prayers and the continuance of your good opinion if it shall be deserved by

Your most obliged and affectionate friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

To the honoured my worthiest friend Dr. Sheldon, these, with a parcel."

The 'S. W.' of the letter is John (or William) Serjeant (see vol. vi. pp. 285, 289) who became engaged in a controversy with Hammond arising out of Hammond's tract 'Of schism.' One of his books is called 'Schism dispatched,' &c. to which Hammond replied in a volume entitled 'The Dispatcher dispatch'd.']

* [or 'litle,' i. e. little: the MS. is doubtful.]

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works in folio (amongst which was his 'Liberty of Prophesying,' with the additional arguments against the anabaptists[k], and the parable of Abraham) and with which now appeared, for the first time, the 'Discourse of Friendship[l].' This last work was addressed to the Mrs. Katherine Philips already[m] mentioned, the wife of a gentleman in Cardiganshire, and author of different poems and prose works, who having possessed the advantages of an easy fortune, an amiable manner, an agreeable person, and a certain skill in stringing together rhymes and compliments, has been handed down to our times with commendations more profuse than any thing which is to be found in her published works will in the present age be thought to warrant. In any age indeed she would have been a 'blue-stocking' of distinguished celebrity. But the authors of the seventeenth century were habitually lavish of their praise on the wealthy and the fair; and 'the matchless Orinda' (as she was called, from having assumed that name in a long romantic correspondence with sir Charles Cotterel) had reason to esteem herself fortunate in having her translations of Corneille corrected by Buckhurst and Waller, and her virtues and genius eulogized, when living, by Taylor, and after her death by Cowley[n]. Orinda however was not usually ungrateful; and among her published poems is one to the noble Palæmon, on his incomparable 'Discourse of Friendship,' which has been generally, but too hastily, apprehended to refer to Taylor. Unfortunately however we learn from another of her compositions, in the title to which Palæmon is designated by his real appellation as well as his *nom de guerre*, that he was not Taylor but Mr. Francis Finch, an accomplished gentleman, author of several small poems, and who, as well as Taylor, appears to have written a 'Discourse on Friendship[o].'

At the beginning of 1658[p] we find him again in London, though

[k] [In reading which, it will be interesting to bear in mind the events which had lately taken place in Taylor's family; see p. lxi. above.]

[l] [It appeared first in a 12mo. 1657.]

[m] [p. lxi. above.]

[n] Granger, vol. iii. p. 103. Bonney, Life of Taylor, p. 259.

[o] Note (T.)

[p] [To this period belong the following two letters, concerning a remittance made to Taylor (compare p. xxxi. above) to be distributed among the persecuted members of the church of England; they are found in a volume entitled, 'Abstracts of some letters written by Mr. Robert Rich', &c. 4to. London, 1680. (Bodl. 'Robert Rich.') and will more than repay the trouble of perusal.

"Mr. Rich's letter to Dr. Taylor, of the 9th of Feb. 1657. Together with the doctor's answer.

Sir,—Being in my heart persuaded that there are many of late years which have suffered much in their persons, estates, and good names, of those people called 'malignants,' especially some that were in the ministry, that were not only put out of their livings, but by an act made incapable of that employment their education best fitted them for, viz., the keeping of schools; and although perhaps some might suffer justly for their offences, yet I do believe many of them did suffer for the testimony of a good conscience, not daring to make shipwreck of it, nor to act against that light or knowledge which to them was made manifest from the Lord to be just and right: towards such have I great love, notwithstanding the different dispensations, manifestations, operations, and administrations wherein we are cast, knowing the root and ground to be from the one Spirit, and that in my Father's house there are many mansions, in which as every one

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whether his visit were in the first instance by choice or compulsion we must probably remain uninformed. Certain it is that the first place where we hear of him is the Tower, where he was confined on account of the indiscretion of his bookseller Royston, who had prefixed to his 'Collection of Offices' a print of Christ in the attitude of prayer. Such representations were then termed scandalous and tending to idolatry, and an act had lately passed inflicting on those guilty of publishing them the penalty of fine and imprisonment. Evelyn however, whose influence was almost equal with all parties in the state, applied through a friend to the lieutenant of the Tower, insisting on the greatness of those services which Taylor had rendered to the cause of protestantism, and soliciting permission that 'his learned and pious friend' might be admitted to an explanation of his conduct[q].

This application appears to have been successful. On the seventeenth of the following February there is a letter from Taylor to Evelyn, condoling with him on the death of his sons Richard and George, in which he promises to come and see him; a promise which implies at least an expectation of being shortly at liberty; and

abides to act and do the things that are just and right, they are accepted with Him, of what nation, kindred, or people soever, whether Jew or gentile, they are all one in Christ Jesus, God's talent and gift to the world, who doth enlighten every one freely by His grace, both to will and to do of His good pleasure. And therefore as a testimony of that love the Lord hath begot in my heart to all men, especially to them that improve my Lord's talent, and who are of His household, and abide in the faith (that keeps clean the heart) which is held in a pure conscience, have I by this bearer sent unto you ten pounds to bestow amongst them you know to be in want, under that form called 'episcopal.' And this I feel to be well-pleasing to God (and hath a reward from Him) although it should be condemned by man. So desiring you in this thing to act, as truth in the inward parts shall direct, I commit you to the grace and love of God, where I rest

Your friend and servant,

R. R.

THE DOCTOR'S ANSWER.

Sir,—I received from you (by the hands of your nephew) a letter, and ten pounds, to be given to such godly ministers of the episcopal persuasion who are in want, and suffer for the testimony of their consciences. Sir, I do in their behalf return my humble thanks to God, who hath put it into your heart to do so good, so charitable an action, for the relief of His afflicted servants. And I return hearty thanks to you also, and do very much rejoice in that piety and godly sincerity of your spirit, by which you endeavour, by your love unto the brethren, to testify your love and duty to our dearest Lord. I see you are no respecter of persons, nor opinions, but that you enquire after the power of godliness; and I am very much delighted to consider that you make a charitable judgment of your brethren who are under another dispensation. As long as the understandings of men differ, there will be variety of judgments; but the work of God, and of religion, goes forward, while we have but one heart and one spirit. Sir, I hope you will have great cause to rejoice, when you shall hear that God is glorified on your behalf, and that you by your liberal alms cause humble thanksgivings to be made to God. For my own particular, I shall by God's assistance do the office of a faithful steward, in the ministering of your liberality; and I pray God to accept it at your hands, and to reward it sevenfold into your bosom. Sir, I humbly take my leave, and rest

your very affectionate friend and servant in the Lord Jesus,

Feb. 13, 1657. JER. TAYLOR."]

[q] Note (U.)

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we find him in fact eight days after among the friends who visited Sayes Court, to comfort its owner under his affliction[r]. Taylor's letter on such an occasion, who is there that would forgive my omitting?

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"Deare Sir,—If dividing and sharing griefes were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you you would find your streame much abated; for I account myselfe to have a great cause of sorrow, not onely in the diminution of the numbers of your joys and hopes, but in the losse of that pretty person, your strangely hopeful boy. I cannot tell all my owne sorrowes without adding to yours; and the causes of my real sadnesse in your losse are so just and so reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you that you have very great cause to mourne: so certaine it is that griefe does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, and by joining mine to yours, I doe but encrease the flame. *Hoc me male urit*[s], is the best signification of my apprehension of your sad story. But Sir, I cannot choose but I must hold another and a brighter flame to you; it is already burning in your heart; and if I can but remove the darke side of the lanthorne, you have enoughe within you to warme yourselfe, and to shine to others. Remember, Sir, your two boyes are two bright starres, and their innocence is secured, and you shall never hear evil of them agayne[t]. Their state is safe, and heaven is given to them upon very easy termes; nothing but to be borne and die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are; and amongst other things one of the hardnesses will be, that you must overcome even this just and reasonable griefe; and indeed, though the griefe hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides that they are no loosers, but you are the person that complaines, doe but consider what you would have suffer'd for their interest; you [would] have suffered them to goe from you, to be great princes in a strange country: and if you can be content to suffer your owne inconvenience for their interest, you command [commend] your worthiest love, and the question of mourning is at an end. But you have said and done well, when you looke upon it as a rod of God; and He that so smites here will spare hereafter: and if you by patience and submission imprint the discipline upon your own flesh, you kill the cause, and make the effect very tolerable; because it is in some sense chosen, and therefore in no sense insufferable. Sir, if you doe not looke to it, time will snatch your honour from you, and reproach you for not effecting that by christian philosophy which time will doe alone[u]. And if you consider, that of the bravest men in the world we find the seldomest

[r] Note (V.)
[s] [vid. Virg. eclog. viii. 83, var. lect.]
[t] [Cf. vol. iii. p. 107 sqq.]
[u] [vid. ibid. p. 100.]

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stories of their children, and the apostles had none[u], and thousands of the worthiest persons that sound most in story, died childlesse: you will find it is a rare act of Providence so to impose upon worthy men a necessity of perpetuating their names by worthy actions and discourses, governments and reasonings[x]. If the breach be never repair'd, it is because God does not see it fitt to be; and if you will be of his mind, it will be much the better. But Sir, you will pardon my zeale and passion for your comfort, I will readily confesse that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. Sir, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces; strive to be an example and a comfort to your lady, and by your wise counsel and comfort, stand in the breaches of your owne family, and make it appeare that you are more to her than ten sons. Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God, I purpose to wait on you some time next weeke, that I may be a witnesse of your christian courage and bravery; and that I may see that God never displeases you, as long as the main stake is preserved, I meane your hopes and confidences of heaven. Sir, I shall pray for all that you can want, that is, some degrees of comfort and a present mind; and shal alwayes doe you honour, and faine also would doe you service, if it were in the power as it is in the affections and desires of

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

Feb. 17, 1657-8. JER. TAYLOR[y]."

It would be at this time, if ever, that we should expect to find him settled in London[z]. But except in one instance, on the seventh of

[u] Note (V *.)

[x] [So Bacon, essay vii. "The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to men: and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men; which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed: so the care of posterity is most in these that have no posterity."]

[y] Evelyn Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 123.

[z] [The following letter (Tanner MSS. 52) is dated from Ivy Lane (where Royston the publisher resided) March 21, 165⅞;—

"Sir,—I see here already what you said to be too true, and there is but too much necessity of stopping the progression of blasphemy and atheism, which are publicly professed by societies both here and at Oxford. Mr. Gunning and I had some discourse of it, and I suppose that you will think it fit that he should undertake it; and he may better serve God and the church of England by such an engagement, than by those numerous and less useful disputes in which he is employed.

JER. TAYLOR."

The 'disputes' in which Gunning was engaged are thus set forth by Ant. Wood. "Besides these his labours" (of public ministry) "he would on the week days look out all sorts of sectaries, and dispute with them openly in their own congregations. Nor was there any considerable sect, whether presbyterian, independent, anabaptist, quaker, brownist, socinian, &c. but that he held with them, some time or other, a set public disputation in defence of the church of England." Two of Gunning's publications which remain are accounts of such disputes, 'A contention for Truth,' and 'Schism unmasked.']

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the following March, when Evelyn speaks of himself as attending his preaching and receiving the communion from his hands in a private house, we have no instance on record of his exercising his ministerial functions. It is probable indeed that even these rare and clandestine assemblies for religious worship were abundantly hazardous to those who officiated; inasmuch as the government of Cromwell, though tolerant enough towards most sects except the quakers and the episcopalians, never ceased to treat these last with great and unmingled severity. The usurper himself was indeed, as is well known, averse to such measures, and personally well inclined not only to many individuals of the episcopal clergy, but even to their form of government. His inclinations were however obliged to give way to those of the zealots around him, and the whole history of the time evinces that, wicked and unwise as was the retaliation which a few years afterwards the episcopalians inflicted on their opponents, it was no more than retaliation after all, and what the opposite party therefore on their own principles had no right to complain of.

The friends of Taylor however were not unmindful of his interests and safety; and it was perhaps for the sake of the last, that during this spring they appear to have suggested a measure which at first sight seems extraordinary in persons to whom his ministry and his society were so dear, and to which nothing but the pressure of want or the sense of personal danger can have made Taylor look forwards with satisfaction. The well-wishers of Savage in a subsequent age were content, for the sake of maintaining their unfortunate client more cheaply, to assign him a residence in Wales. The admirers of Taylor found a proper soil for his virtues and his matchless talents in the north-eastern extremity of Ireland. This suggestion seems to have been made in the first instance to Evelyn, by Edward earl of Conway, who had ample estates and powerful connexions in the neighbourhood of Lisburn; and, as there is reason to believe, procured for Taylor the offer of an alternate lectureship in that borough, with a prospect of other advantages. Such an appointment at least, and in a distant country, is alluded to by Taylor in the following letter. It is plain from lord Conway's own correspondence preserved among the Rawdon papers, that he was induced to wish for Taylor's removal to Ireland by an anxiety that his great talents should be employed to the spiritual advantage of his neighbourhood; and as the dates of these letters shew that the negociation was at that time proceeding, it is by no means likely that that which follows refers to a different transaction. Its mutilated state is the more to be regretted, inasmuch as there are few divines of Taylor's age who would have treated the question of usury in a manner so sensible and satisfactory. He does not, it may be observed, mention the necessity of taking the covenant as one of the objections to the proposed lectureship. How this was to be got rid of, I do not know. Perhaps, as

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a lectureship is neither a cure of souls nor an appointment under government, it was not legally necessary; and where the individual was popular, and supported by powerful friends, its omission might be in some cases winked at.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

May 12, 1658.

"Honour'd Sir,—I returne you many thanks for your care of my temporal affaires: I wish I may be able to give you as good account of my watchfulnesse for your service, as you have of your diligence to doe me benefit. But concerning the thing itselfe, I am to give you this account. I like not the condition of being a lecturer under the dispose of another, nor to serve in my semi-circle, where a presbyterian and myselfe shall be like Castor and Pollux, the one up and the other downe; which methinkes is like the worshipping the sun, and making him the deity, that we may be religious halfe the yeare, and every night serve another interest. Sir, the stipend is so inconsiderable, it will not pay the charge and trouble of remooving myselfe and family. It is wholly arbitrary; for the triers may overthrow it; or the vicar may forbid it; or the subscribers may die or grow weary, or poore, or be absent. I beseech you, Sir, pay my thankes to your friend, who had so much kindnesse for mee as to intend my benefitt: I thinke myselfe no lesse obliged to him and you than if I had accepted it.

"Sir, I am well pleased with the pious meditations and the extracts of a religious spirit which I read in your excellent letter. I can say nothing at present but this: that I hope in a short progression you will be wholly immerged in the delices and joyes of religion; and as I perceive your relish and gust of the things of the world goes off continually, so you will be invested with new capacities, and entertained with new appetites: I say with new appetites; for in religion every new degree of love is a new appetite; as in the schooles we say, every single angel does make a species, and differs more than numerically from an angel of the same order[a].

"Your question concerning interest hath in it no difficulty as you have prudently stated it. For in the case, you have only made yourselfe a merchant with them; onely you take lesse, that you be secured; as you pay a fine to the Assurance Office. I am onely to adde this. You are neither directly nor collaterally to engage the debtor to pay more than is allowed by law. It is necessary that you employ youre money some way for the advantage of your family. You may lawfully buy land, or traffique, or exchange it to your profit. You may

[a] Note (W.)

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doe this by yourselfe or by another, and you may as well get something as he get more, and that as well by money as by land or goods; for one is as valuable in estimation of merchants and of all the world as any thing else can be: and mee thinkes no man should deny mony to be valuable, that remembers, every man parts with what he hath for mony: and as lands are of a price, then [when] they are sold for ever, and when they are parted with for a yeare, so is money: since the imployment of it is as apt to minister to gaine as lands are to rent. Mony and lands are equally the matter of increase: to both of them our industry must [be] applied, or else the profit will cease: now as a tenant of lands may plough for mee, so a tenant of money may goe to sea and traffique for mee***[b]."

Whatever reluctance Taylor may have felt to remove to such a distance from his English friends, was overcome however by the prospects held out in the country to which he was destined. Dr. (afterwards sir William) Petty, whose survey of Ireland by the command of government had made him abundantly and most profitably skilled in the extent and value of the forfeited lands, offered to procure him a purchase on very advantageous terms, and recommended him by letter to several persons of talent and influence in that kingdom. He had similar letters to the lord chancellor of Ireland; to the lord Pepys; to Tomlinson, the regicide general; and the lord chief baron; and (what may be regarded as an additional proof of his high estimation with all parties in the state) even Cromwell gave him a passport and protection for himself and family under his sign manual and privy signet. It would almost seem that the intrusive government were not sorry to remove to a distance from scenes where he might be dangerous, a man of so steady loyalty, and of talents so distinguished[c].

Thus furnished, he appears to have left London during the month of June, and thenceforward to have divided his residence between Lisburn and Portmore, about eight miles distant from that town. Perhaps indeed he only visited Lisburn for the discharge of his weekly lectureship, since the tradition of his descendents determines him to have chiefly, if not always, occupied a house in the immediate neighbourhood of his patron's mansion; and to have often preached to a small congregation of loyalists in the half-ruined church of Kilulta[d].

[b] Evelyn papers, inedit.

[c] Note (X.)

[d] [Rather, of Ballinderry; Killultagh, or the 'Woods of Ulster,' being the name not of a parish but of a territory, including parts of several parishes. The church alluded to is now quite a ruin.

These particulars are furnished me by the kindness of archdeacon Mant; who gives a description also of Taylor's residence and haunts, somewhat less highly coloured than Heber's. Lough Neagh, he says, is not 'studded with romantic islets,' Ram island being the only one on it. The 'smaller rock in Lough Beg,' also disappears; the spot where Taylor spent so much of his time being a small island, not a rocky one, called

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It is in this last named parish that the mansion of Portmore then stood, built after a plan by Inigo Jones, in a style of almost princely magnificence, of which the stables yet remaining are a noble though melancholy vestige. The park is washed by the great lake of Lough Neagh, and by a smaller mere called Lough Beg (or the Little Lake), each studded with romantic islets; to some of which, according to the tradition of the vicinity, it was Taylor's frequent practice to retire for the purposes of study or devotion. Ram island, in Lough Neagh, and a smaller rock in Lough Beg, are said to have been his favourites; the one a mile from Portmore, the other about half the distance. The first is distinguished by the ruins of a monastery, and by one of those tall round towers of uncertain use and origin, which are a romantic and characteristic feature of Irish scenery. The other is still more retired and tranquil; and both have been described to me as scenes where a painter, a poet, or a devout contemplatist, might alike delight to linger. Retired as the situation of Portmore was, his lectureship may have afforded an useful employment for his characteristic eloquence; and he found abundant leisure in security and comparative solitude, for the labours by which his heart was divided, his daily and hourly devotions, and the completion of his *Ductor dubitantium*.

Poor and dependent as Taylor still continued, this was probably the happiest part of his life. Both now, and when in possession of wealth and dignity, he displayed a natural attachment to the neighbourhood which had afforded him such an asylum; and there are few of his letters from Ireland which do not speak of the situation of his delightful retirement with affection, and with gratitude to the Providence who had placed him there.

Of these letters the first is from Lisnagarvy, as Lisburn was anciently called; though even in Taylor's day the appellation was nearly obsolete. Of the sect which he describes, I have been able to acquire no further information[e]. The anxiety which he expresses after literary news may be easily understood and appreciated. For the rest, I think we may perceive a tone of hilarity in his letter which bespeaks a mind at ease, and which is remarkably different from the constrained and desponding feeling by which many of his former communications are distinguished.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

Lisnagarvy, April 9, 1659.

"Honoured Sir,—I fear I am so unfortunate as that I forgot to leave with you a direction how you might, if you pleased to honour me with a letter, refresh my solitude with notice of your health and

by the people 'Sally island,' from the sallow or willow trees which grow on it; on which was a summer-house, where Taylor is said to have composed some of his works.]

[e] Note (Y.)

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that of your relatives, that I may rejoyce and give God thankes for the blessing and prosperity of my dearest and most honoured friends. I have kept close all the winter, that I might without interruption attend to the finishing of the imployment I was engaged in: which now will have no longer delay than what it meetes in the printer's hands. But Sir, I hope that by this time you have finished what you have so prosperously begun, your owne Lucretius. I desire to receive notice of it from yourselfe, and what other designes you are upon in order to the promoting or adorning learning; for I am confident you will be as useful and profitable as you can be, that by the worthiest testimonies it may by posterity be remembered that you did live. But Sir, I pray say to me something concerning the state of learning; how is any art or science likely to improove? what good bookes are lately publike? what learned men abroad or at home begin anew to fill the mouth of fame, in the places of the dead Salmasius, Vossius, Mocelin, Sirmond, Rigaltius, Des Cartes, Galileo, Peiresk, Petavius, and the excellent persons of yesterday? I perceive here that there is a new sect rising in England, the Perfectionists: for three men that wrote an Examen of the Confession of Faith of the Assembly, whereof one was Dr. Drayton, and is now dead, did starte some very odde things; but especially one, in pursuance of the doctrine of Castellio, that it is possible to give unto God perfect unsinning obedience, and to have perfection of degrees in this life. The doctrine was opposed by an obscure person, one John Tendring; but learnedly enough and wittily maintained by another of the triumvirate, W. Parker, who indeed was the worst of the three; but he takes his hint from a sermon of Dr. Drayton, which since his death Parker hath published, and endeavours to justify. I am informed by a worthy person that there are many of them who pretend to great sanctity and great revelations and skill in all Scriptures, which they expound almost wholly to spiritual and mysterious purposes. I knew nothing, or but extremely little, of them when I was in England; but further off I heare most newes. If you can informe yourselfe concerning them, I would faine be instructed concerning their designe, and the circumstances of their life and doctrine. For they live strictly, and in many things speake rationally, and in some things very confidently. They excell the Socinians in the strictnesse of their doctrine; but in my opinion fall extremely short of them in their expositions of the practical Scripture. If you inquire after the men of Dr. Gell's church, possibly you may learne much: and if I mistake not, the thing is worth inquiry. Their bookes are printed by Thos. Newcomb in London, but where is not set downe. The Examen of the Assemblie's Confession is highly worth perusing, both for the strangenesse of some of the things in it, and the learning of many of them.

"Sir, you see how I am glad to make an occasion to talke with you: though I can never want a just opportunity and title to write

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to you as long as I have the memory of those many actions of loving kindnesse by which you have obliged,

Honour'd Sir,
Your most affectionate and indeared friend
and humble servant,
JER. TAYLOR.

"Be pleased to present my humble service to your honour'd and worthy brother in Covent Garden.

"I suppose my servant will wayte on you with this letter; but if he misses you, if you please at any time to write to me, if you send it to Mr. Allestree, stationer, at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-yard, it will come to me safely[f]."

Whatever were the aids conferred on him by his new friends, of which I regret my inability to give a further account, they were not sufficient to place him above the necessity of Evelyn's yearly pension, which that excellent man continued to pay, though, as it should seem, from narrower means than before, and with some degree of inconvenience. Nor was even the solitary paradise of Portmore able to exempt him from the peculiar evils of the time, and the effects of private malice: a person named Tandy, whom Taylor calls 'a madman,' and who appears by lord Conway's letters to have been something like an agent to different noble families, out of pure jealousy that the new comer stood more in favour with his patrons than himself, and was a more welcome and frequent guest at their houses, denounced him to the Irish privy council as a dangerous and disaffected character, and more particularly as having used the sign of the cross in the ceremony of private baptism. Taylor himself does not seem to have been much alarmed, but Conway expresses himself on the subject with a degree of feeling which does him honour; and with an indignation against the informer, not unnatural in one who conceived that, in attacking his friend, that informer was treating himself with ingratitude[g]. To this vexation Taylor alludes in the following letter, in which, as will be observed, he also speaks of the Perfectionists with a degree of interest and curiosity which the sect may seem to have been of too little importance to deserve.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

Portmore, June 4, 1659.

"Honoured Sir,—I have reason to take a great pleasure that you are pleased so perfectly to retaine me in your memory and affections, as if I were still neere you, a partner of your converse, or could possibly oblige you. But I shall attribute this so wholly to your good-

[f] Evelyn Papers, ined.

[g] Note (Z.)

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nesse, your piety and candour, that I am sure nothing on my part can incite or continue the least part of those civilities and endeare-ments by which you have often, and still continue to oblige me. Sir, I received your two little bookes, and am very much pleased with the golden booke of S. Chrysostom, on which your epistle hath put a black enamel, and made a pretty monument for your dearest, strangest miracle of a boy; and when I read it, I could not choose but observe S. Paul's rule: *flebam cum flentibus.* I paid a teare at the hearse of that sweet child. Your other little *Enchiridion* is an emanation of an ingenious spirit; and there are in it observations, the like of which are seldom made by young travellers[h]; and though by the publication of these you have been civil and courteous to the commonwealth of learning, yet I hope you will proceed to oblige us in some greater instances of your owne. I am much pleased with your waye of translation; and if you would proceed in the same method, and give us in English some devout pieces of the fathers, and your own annotations upon them, you would doe profit and plea-sure to the publicke. But Sir, I cannot easily consent that you should lay aside your Lucretius, and having beene requited yourselfe by your labour, I cannot perceive why you should not give us the same re-creation, since it will be greater to us than it could be to you, to whom it was allayed by your great labour: especially you having given us so large an essay of your ability to doe it; and the world having given you an essay of their acceptation of it.

"Sir, that Pallavicini whom you mention is the author of the late history of the council of Trent, in two volumes in folio, in Italian. I have seene it, but had not leisure to peruse it so much as to give any judgment of the man by it. Besides this, he hath published two little manuals in 12mo, *Assertionum theologicarum;* but these speake but very little of the man. His History indeed is a great undertaking, and his family (for he is of the Jesuit order) use to sell the booke by crying up the man: but I thinke I saw enough of it to suspect the expectation is much bigger than the thing. It is no wonder that Baxter undervalues the gentry of England. You know what spirit he is of, but I suppose he hath met with his match: for Mr. Peirs hath attacked him: and they are joyn'd in the lists[i]. I have not seene Mr. Thorndike's booke. You make me desirous of it, because you call it elaborate: but I like not the title nor the subject, and the man is indeed a very good and a learned man, but I have not seen much prosperity in his writings: but if he have so well chosen the questions, there is no peradventure but he hath tumbled into his heape many choice materials[k]. I am much pleas'd that you promise to inquire into the way of the Perfectionists; but I thinke L. Pem-broke and Mrs. Joy, and the lady Wildgoose, are none of that num-

[h] Note (A A.) [Thorndike censures Taylor's doctrine of Original sin, Epil. ii. 10, 20.]
[i] Note (B B.) Wood, Athen. ii. 358.
[k] Note (C C.) Wood, i. 461.—

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ber. I assure you some very learned and very sober persons have given up their names to it. Castellio is their great patriarch: and his dialogue *An per Spir. S. homo possit perfecte obedire legi Dei*, is their first essay. Parker hath written something lately of it, and in Dr. Gell's last booke in folio there is much of it. Indeed, you say right that they take in Jacob Behmen, but that is upon another account, and they understand him as nurses doe their children's imperfect language; something by use, and much by fancy. I hope Sir, in your next to me (for I flatter myselfe to have the happinesse of receiving a letter from you sometimes) you will account to me of some hopes concerning some settlement, or some peace to religion. I feare my peace in Ireland is likely to be short; for a presbyterian and a madman have informed against me as a dangerous man to their religion; and for using the signe of the crosse in baptisme. The worst event of the information which I feare, is my returne into England; which although I am not desirous it should be upon these terms, yet if it be without much violence, I shall not be much troubled.

"Sir, I doe account myselfe extremely obliged to your kindnesse and charity in your continued care of me and bounty to me; it is so much the more, because I have almost from all men but yourselfe suffered some diminution of their kindnesse by reason of my absence, for as the Spaniard sayes, 'The dead and the absent have but few friends.' But Sir, I account myselfe infinitely oblig'd to you, much for your pension, but exceedingly much more for your affection, which you have so signally expressed. I pray Sir, be pleased to present my humble service to your two honoured brothers: I shall be ashamed to make any addresse, or pay my thankes in words to them, till my Rule of Conscience be publicke, and that is all the way I have to pay my debts; that and my prayers that God would[l]. Sir, Mr. Martin, bookseller, at the Bell, in S. Paul's Church-yard, is my correspondent in London, and whatsoever he receives he transmits it to me carefully; and so will Mr. Royston, though I doe not often imploy him now. Sir, I feare I have tir'd you with an impertinent letter, but I have felt your charity to be so great as to doe much more than to pardon the excesse of my affections. Sir, I hope that you and I remember one another when we are upon our knees. I doe not think of coming to London till the latter end of summer or the spring, if I can enjoy my quietnesse here; but then I doe if God permit: but beg to be in this interval refreshed by a letter from you at your leisure, for indeed in it will be a great pleasure and endearment to,

Honour'd Sir,

Your very oblig'd, most affectionate and humble servant,

JER. TAYLOR[m]."

[l] Note (D D.)

[m] Evelyn Papers, ined.

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In consequence of the information laid against Taylor, a warrant was issued to the governor of Carrickfergus by the Irish privy council to bring him before them for examination[n]. In the minutes of the council no other entry occurs relating to him, and it is therefore probable that his friends had power to obtain his speedy discharge. The journey however to Dublin, in the heart of winter, was sufficient to throw him into a severe illness, which perhaps was admitted by the government as a plea for letting him off more easily.

In the letter of lady Wray to which I have already so often referred, it is said that he about this time 'suffered much from sir Phelim O'Nial[o].' But this is evidently a circumstance respecting which her memory had deceived her, since that weak and cruel chieftain had suffered death some years before Taylor's arrival in Ireland. From his kindred and clan at this time a loyalist had nothing to apprehend, even if they had possessed the power of injuring him; and the O'Nials, as well as all the other Irish septs, had been completely crushed by the dreadful severities of Ireton and Cromwell. In 1666 however the neighbouring county of Tyrone was really infested for some time by bands of Tories and White Boys[p], and if Taylor kept a farm, as from various circumstances he appears to have done, it is possible that his cattle may on some occasion have been stolen; a circumstance which might be easily exaggerated by family tradition, till it became in the narration of his grandchild a persecution by the Roman catholics. But if it had been any thing considerable, we should have found in all probability some mention of it in his letters; and on the contrary, I am assured that the traditions of the country imply that with the peasantry of that persuasion, his amiable temper and ascetic habits rendered him an object of regard and veneration.

It was this perhaps which gave occasion to a renewal of the report of his inclination to popery, of which he complains in his 'Letters to persons changed in their Religion,' which, though not now published, appear to have been written about this time[q]. No new work of his issued from the press this year, for the 'Ephesian matron' is apprehended by Mr. Bonney to have been merely a reprint of that story as told in the Holy Dying[r]. The following letter however was published in the Θανατολογία of Dr. John Stearne, professor of philosophy in the university of Dublin; and is interesting, as being, except the interminable epitaph on lady Carbery, the only remaining

[n] Note (E E.)

[o] ['O'Neil' p. xcviii. below, and so Clarendon; 'O'Neale,' Hume.]

[p] Rawdon Papers, pp. 218, 223, &c.

[q] [The sentence referred to occurs, not in either of the two letters 'To persons changed in their religion,' but in the first of the three letters 'To one tempted to the Romish church.' But all the letters were written earlier than this. The one in question bears date Monday, Jan. 11, 1657 (i. e. 165⅞) and refers to the other two letters ('To persons changed in their religion') as 'lately published;' and the two editions of these which have been collated for the present publication bear date, both of them, A.D. 1657.]

[r] Bonney, Life, p. 274. [But see vol. iii. p. 447.]

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specimen of the author's latinity. The concluding compliment is lively and elegant. For the rest, it cannot be said that he flatters so beautifully in a learned language as in English. With the poor book which is beslavered with such deglutitious phrases I have no acquaintance.

Viro amicissimo et integerrimo Johanni Stearne,
medicinæ et philosophiæ professori doctissimo,
εὐχαίρειν.

Quam primum earum mihi facta est copia, in schedas tuas involaverunt oculi et mens, amor et acumen, et tota quanta quanta est curiositatis supellex, ut discernerem quicquid id fuit quod parturiens et ferax ingenium[r] *in lucem hodiernam destinarat bono publico. Tam recte novi ingenium tuum, Stearni doctissime, ex monumentis publicis, et privatis præclaræ tuæ eruditionis indicibus, ut difficile non fuerit hariolari quid intus lateret in Enchiridio, quod festinantius singularis tua humanitas præmiserat. Enimvero nec falsus fui. Præsensit enim animus me in hisce tabulis, ingenii cupedias et bellaria, philosophiæ inventa non vulgaria, rationis ἄκρον εὕρημα, artis medicæ quam hodie in Hiberniæ metropoli adornas, specimen non mediocre: at cum irrueram in interloquium, (placide enim et moderate tot τραγήματα adire, nec enim diffitebor, impos plane fui) me divinum sensi; et quem prægustaveram, lepide quidem vaticinatus qualem perlecturus eram libellum, eum demum aut avidius, ne totum non exhaurirem, aut pitissans, ne citius quam volueram clauderetur festum, certe mira cum ingluvie non uno modo ordinata, ingressi in animum meum: et tandem ruminans quod delibaveram, sensi clarissime (et lætatus sum) scientiæ reconditioris arcana reserata, ingenii incomparabilis ἐπιχειρήματα, veritatis illustre et ingenuum ministerium, et quæstiones nodosas satis, sed nec inutiles, quas aut solvisti dextre, aut dissecuisti strenue, in omnibus vel Aristoteli vel Alexandro suppar: adeo ut non ineptum judicaverim gratulari reipublicæ literariæ hoc novum emergens decus, imo et tibi in aurem insusurrare quam fœliciter Spartam hanc exornaveris; certe bono publico, honori academiæ Dubliniensis, usui et ornamento literatorum, saluti sedentis et desidis turbæ cogitabundorum hominum, quinimo et inclytæ famæ tuæ. Tantum est: nihil enim superest nisi ut te amem, ut legam, ut relegam, et ut (quod vovit Socrates in intuitu et speculatione mortis) ego pro tuis de morte præclaris lucubrationibus et longævitatis salutaribus documentis nunciparem gallum Æsculapio; vel potius tibi (quod Apollinis filio Heraclides constituit) ἐλαίου κρήνην χρυσῆν τοῦ ὀρόφου*[s]*. Serpentem*

[r] [Compare the high character which Taylor gives of Stearne in his letter to the marquess of Ormond, p. xcv. below.]

[s] [Fuit in Æsculapii gymnasio fons olei, aureo fornice conspicuus, quem Heraclides constituit, ἐλαίου κρήνην ἐπισκευάσας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου γυμνασίῳ χρυσῆν τοῦ ὀρόφου.—Caussin, polyhist. symbol. i. 28.]

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autem et canem in æde Æsculapii tu cave. Etenim non ita pridem sensisti mordacium animalculorum morsiunculas. Vale.

Ex amœnissimo recessu in Portmore dedit

JEREMIAS TAYLOR,
SS. Th. Professor.

What follows is of a very different character.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"Honoured and deare Sir,—Yours dated July 23d I received not till All Saints' day: it seemes it was stopp'd by the intervening troubles in England[t]: but it was lodged in a good hand, and came safely and unbroken to me. I must needes beg the favour of you that I may receive from you an account of your health and present conditions, and of your family; for I feare concerning all my friends, but especially for those few very choice ones I have, lest the present troubles may have done them any violence in their affaires or content. It is now long since that cloud passed; and though I suppose the sky is yet full of meteors and evil prognostics, yet you all have time to consider concerning your peace and your securityes. That was not God's time to relieve his church, and I cannot understand from what quarter that wind blew, and whether it was for us or against us. But God disposes all things wisely; and religion can receive no detriment or diminution but by our owne fault. I long, Sir, to come to converse with you; for I promise to myselfe that I may receive from you an excellent account of your progression in religion, and that you are entred into the experimental and secret way of it, which is that state of excellency whether [whither] good persons use to arrive after a state of repentance and caution. My retirement in this solitary place hath been, I hope, of some advantage to me as to this state of religion, in which I am yet but a novice, but by the goodness of God I see fine things before me whither I am contending. It is a great but a good worke, and I beg of you to assist me with your prayers, and to obtaine of God for me that I may arrive to that height of love and union with God, which is given to all those soules who are very deare to God. Sir, if it please God, I purpose to be in London in April next, where I hope for the comfort of conversing with you. In the mean time be pleas'd to accept my thankes for your great kindnesse in taking care of me in that token you were pleased to leave with Mr. Martin. I am sorry the evil circumstances of the times made it any way afflictive or inconvenient. I had rather you should not have been burden'd than that I should have received kindnesse on hard conditions to you. Sir, I shall not trouble your studies

[t] Note (F F.)

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now, for I suppose you are very buisy there: but I shall desire the favour that I may know what you are now doing, for you cannot separate your affaires from being of concerne to,

Deare Sir,

Your very affectionate friend and humble servant,

Portmore, Nov. 3, 1659. JER. TAYLOR[u]."

With such humility did the author of the 'Holy Living and Dying' regard his own attainments in religion, and such were his impressions of the happiness and consolation, even in this life, conferred by a pure and exalted piety. If there is something mystic in the tone which he adopts, and we are reminded, in spite of ourselves, of his previous inquiries concerning the Perfectionists, let it be remembered that his subsequent no less than his preceding writings bear testimony to his freedom from any error of the kind; and that his devotion through life appears to have continued as we have hitherto seen it, however intense, however unremitted, however (I had almost said) seraphic,—yet practical, peaceful, energetic, and orderly;—of a kind which, instead of seeking food in visions of enthusiastic rapture, or displaying itself in a fantastical adoption of new toys and instruments of theopathy, made him the better friend, the better parent, the better servant of the state, the better member and governor of that church which he had defended in her deepest adversities[x].

[u] Evelyn Papers, ined.

[x] [To this period belongs the following letter of Taylor to his friend Mr. Graham, fellow of Trinity college, Dublin. It is preserved in a common-place book of bp. Dopping, in the college library, and was published in the Irish Eccles. Journal, Jan. 1849;—

"Portmore, Jan. 13, 1659 (i.e. $16\frac{59}{60}$)

Sir,—I understand by Mr. Cowly that Mr. Sheridan is out of towne, and that causes to you this trouble of receiving the inclosed note both for him and yourselfe. It is onely the beginning of a theologicall library fitted to these purposes that you pretend to, that is, to bee wise and learned in the christian religion, as it is taught and professed in the church of England; when your purses grow large, and your designs beyond all that can bee done by the studies here described, if you please to command mee I will draw you a much larger, and such as shall bee proportioned to your utmost aims. In the meane time I desire you to take notice onely of the easiest part of this employment pointed out by the catalogue: if you spend your time and faculties in the practicall part meerly you will best of all consult with your present condition, and the greatest of your future hopes, the happinesse of eternity. If you desire it and thinke it usefull I am ready upon your first motion to designe for you a short and usefull catalogue of practicall divinity books which will not vex your understanding, but much improve your spirit: When Mr. Sheridan returns I pray commend mee kindly to him, and tell him if hee desires a larger and more perfect note of books hee may have it for calling for. I hope to bee in Dublin by the earliest spring, and then I shall bee willing to receive any of your desires, to which if I can minister, I will not refuse to doe the office of, Sir,

Your very affectionate friend
to serve you,
JER. TAYLOR.

To my worthy friend, Mr. Graham, fellow of Trinity colledg, neare Dublin. These.

Hee that would improve in the understanding of the doctrine of the church of England, so as to bee able to teach others,

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Those adversities were now drawing to an end, though Taylor could not foresee it, and, as appears from some expressions in the

must bee carefull to understand, and bee very perfect in every part of,

1. The common prayer booke, with all its rubricks, or titles of direction: The Administration of the Sacraments: The booke of ordination: and the canons made in 1572 and 1603. As auxiliaries to these I advise you reade diligently and frequently the 5th booke of Hooker's Ecclesiasticall policy; the first 4 books are also excellent, but they principally minister to other purposes.

Read also Mr. Fisher's Defence of the English liturgy, and Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Taylor his apology for liturgies, and the prefaces before his collection of offices. These are sufficient for the explicating and confirming her manner of praver and serving God.

2. You must understand and bee able to defend her government and discipline. To this purpose you may reade Dr. Hammond's dissertations against Blondell, and Dr. Taylor his Episcopacy asserted, and what passed at the isle of Wight between the King and Mr. Henderson, and the King and the London divines; to which you may adde Bp. Andrews his two epistles which are in his opuscula.

[3.] There remains now her doctrine to bee learned, that you may know what shee is *pro sensu*, as what shee is *pro cultu*; and her doctrine is contained in the common prayer booke, in the Church Catechisme, in the 39 articles, and in the booke of Homilies; for the understanding and abilities to proove and defend these, you must acquaint yourselfe with the positive and polemic discourses of such as are most eminent amongst us:

Amongst our English Divines I recommend to you for controversy between us and the Church of Rome:

Bp. Andrews Tortura Torti and Responsio ad apologiam Bellarmini.

Arch. Lawd against Ffisher.

Bp. White against Ffisher.

Ld. Ffalkland of infallibility.

Dr. Taylor of reall presence, and his two letters at the end of his Discourse of friendship.

Dr. Baron de objecto fidei, and every thing of his.

Bp. Mountague against the Gagger.

Bp. Bramhall against Militiere, and of Schisme.

Dr. Overal his defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

For forreiners the best I know are Chemnitius his examen concilij Tridentini: Gerhardi loci communes, which serve to all purposes of the whole body of Divinity, but you must pare away his two Lutheran spots, viz., of consubstantiation and ubiquity.

Moulin against Cardinal Perron in defence of King James.

Episcopius, whose whole works are excellent, and containe the whole body of orthodox religion.

Chamier is a very good writer, but you must abate his Calvinisme.

Vossii Theses, and De Sacramentorum vi et efficacia.

Causabon's [*sic*] Epistle to Ffronto Ducæus, and his Epistle to Cardinal Perron in behalf of King James.

For positive Theology, of our English you may choose

Bp. Andrews' Sermons,
Ffaringdon's Sermons,
Dr. Sanderson's Sermons,
Dr. Ffield of the Church,
Dr. Hammond's practical Catechisme,
Dr. Taylor's history of the life of the Lord Jesus, and his yeare of Sermons, rule of conscience, and his doctrine and practice of repentance.

These will serve your best purposes sufficiently, and when you are master of the learning and religion contained in these, you will bee better able to choose your studys than I shall bee to advise you.

Only be pleased to get the Bibliotheca Criticorum, which contains all the best protestant commentaries, and some others not protestants, upon the whole Bible, and is of itself an excellent library and sufficient to all your purposes.

For a little breviary or institution of divinity, I very much commend to you a little booke called Declaratio sententiæ eorum qui ex fœderato Belgio vocantur Remonstrantes, together with the Apologia they published in defence of it.

This Sir, you may please to make the beginning of your Library, and the entertainment of your first studies. It were well also if you could a little looke into the Ecclesiasticall history, to which purpose procure Eusebius, with Scaliger's admirable animadversions upon it.

The tripartite history.
Calvisius his Chronology.
Bp. Mountague's History of the Church.
Causabon's Exercitationes in Baronii

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preceding letter, was uncertain whether the aspect of the times portended good or an increase of evil. His journey to London however, which we have seen him already meditating, and which he again promises to his friend and himself in the letter which stands next in the series, was as well timed for his own prospects and future advancement, as if he had really been in the secret of Monk's intentions.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

Portmore, Feb. 10, 165[illegible].

"Honoured and deare Sir,—I received yours of December 2, in very good time, but although it came to me before Christmas, yet it pleased God about that time to lay his gentle hand upon me; for I had beene in the worst of our winter weather sent for to Dublin by our late anabaptist commissioners; and found the evil of it so great, that in my going I began to be ill: but in my return, had my ill redoubled and fixed: but it hath pleased God to restore my health, I hope *ad majorem Dei gloriam;* and now that I can easily write, I return you my very hearty thanks for your very obliging letter, and particularly for the inclosed. Sir; the apology you were pleased to send me, I read both privately and heard it read publikely with no little pleasure and satisfaction. The materials are worthy, and the dress is clean, and orderly, and beauteous: and I wish that all men in the nation were obliged to read it twice: it is impossible but it must do good to those guilty persons to whom it is not impossible to repent. Your character hath a great part of a worthy reward, that it is translated into a language in which it is likely to be read by very many *beaux esprits.* But that which I promise to myself as an

annales, and then you may be fit to read Baronius his annals without danger.

When you are pleased to looke into Schoole Divinity the best are,

Aquinas Summs; Occam in sententias; Estius in sent.; Capreolus with Ffareolus; Biel; Suarez upon Aquinas; hee is long, but, except Estius, is the best of them, and in some regards to be preferred before him.

To these if you will adde a collection of little tractats of the most eminent persons upon particular subjects, you will find much advantage by it. I name one or two by way of instance. Beverovicius his collection of Epistles de vitæ termino; Baronius de peccato mortali et veniali; but these are innumerable; if you err in the choice of these your losse is not much, for they are but of small price.

In the reading these authors I have recommended to you, pray observe what quotations they have, that thereby you may perceive what authors they make use of and especially read; for 'tis likely they are the best books; many books are not usefull: These few will doe very much for you, and when you are ready and can find time, read the fathers of the first 300 years at least, they are few, and not very voluminous, and they are the surest guides."

For information respecting (1) bp. Dopping, (2) Mr. Graham to whom the letter is addressed, and Mr. Cowly and Mr. Sheridan who are mentioned in the beginning of it, and (3) some of the works enumerated, the reader is referred to the notes with which the letter was put forth in the Irish Eccles. Journal, as above.

The letter itself may be compared with Taylor's second sermon on the 'Minister's duty' &c. in vol. viii.—The reader will not fail to observe the praise which Taylor bestows on Episcopius; and will see from this where he may have learned his doctrines respecting Original Sin.]

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excellent entertainment, is your *Elysium Britannicum*[y]. But Sir, being you intend it to the purposes of piety as well as pleasure, why do you not rather call it *Paradisus* than *Elysium;* since the word is used by the Hellenish Jewes to signify any place of spiritual and immaterial pleasure, and excludes not the material and secular. Sir; I know you are such a *curieux*, and withal so diligent and inquisitive, that not many things of the delicacy of learning, relating to your subject, can escape you; and therefore it would be great imprudence in me to offer my little mite to your already digested heape. I hope ere long to have the honour to waite on you, and to see some parts and steps of your progression: and then if I see I can bring any thing to your building, though but hair and stickes, I shall not be wanting in expressing my readinesse to serve and to honour you, and to promote such a worke, than which I thinke in the world you could not have chosen a more apt and a more ingenious.

"Sir; I do really beare a share in your feares and your sorrowes for your deare boy. I doe and shall pray to God for him; but I know not what to say in such things. If God intends by these clouds to convey him and you to brighter graces and more illustrious glories respectively, I dare not with too much passion speake against the so great good of a person that is so deare to me, and a child that is so deare to you. But I hope that God will doe what is best: and I humbly beg of him to choose what is that best for you both. As soon as the weather and season of the spring gives leave, I intend by God's permission to returne to England: and when I come to London with the first to waite on you, for whom I have so great regard, and from whom I have received so many testimonies of a worthy friendship, and in whom I know so much worthinesse is deposited.

I am, most faithfully and cordially,

Your very affectionate and obliged servant,

JER. TAYLOR[z]."

This journey to London, though probably undertaken with no further expectations than of seeing his friends, and giving the last inspection to his *Ductor dubitantium* in its progress through the press, was propitious to Taylor's advancement. His name appeared among the signatures of loyalists in London and its vicinity, affixed to their declaration of April 24, 1660, in which they expressed the moderation of their views, and their confidence in the wisdom and justice of Monk and his government. He was thus advantageously brought under the notice of his sovereign, on his return to the throne, as a faithful adherent to monarchy and episcopacy; and had the opportunity of dedicating to him the great work to which his best years had been devoted,—on which of all his compositions he had

[y] Note (G G.)

[z] Evelyn Papers, ined.

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bestowed the most time and labour, the most anxiety and prayer,—and in which of all others he seems to have pleased himself with the idea that he was laying the foundations of his future fame, and rendering an acceptable service to the cause of morality and religion.

It may be doubted whether the manner in which it has been received has altogether answered these anticipations. With all its learning, most widely ransacked and most prodigally displayed,—with all its acuteness of argument and criticism, its strong practical good sense, and its admirable moderation,—the *Ductor dubitantium* has perhaps been among the least read and least popular of his writings. The world have been less anxious to study than to talk of and admire; its object, even at its first appearance, was in some degree accounted obsolete, and its sphere of utility limited; and while his devotional works have found their way into every closet and every cottage, his *opus magnum* reposes on the shelves of our libraries, in company with the neglected giants of an earlier day, the *Summa sententiarum*, and the writings of Duns Scotus.

How far this neglect is merited or undeserved,—how far it is inherent in the nature of his design, or incidental to the manner in which that design is executed,—a better opportunity will hereafter be afforded for enquiring. I will here only observe, that the times in which it appeared had in themselves a natural and inevitable tendency to rob the *Ductor dubitantium* of even its due share of popular notice and favour. The country was in a state of feverish excitation, which left men little desire, and less leisure, to open folios of casuistry. Every body was agitated by the consciousness of having deserved well or ill of the restored monarch and his family; and the hopes of preferment,—the fears of persecution,—the triumph of the loyal,—and the doubts of those few who saw deeper into Charles's character,—were succeeded by a long and disgusting course of tyranny and civil dissension, and by a school of literature and composition, of all others which this country has seen, the least favourable to genius, and the most unlike that style of thinking and expression which had distinguished Jeremy Taylor and his contemporaries.

After the completion of a work of such magnitude and importance, it would with most men have been no more than was to be expected, that they should suspend awhile the labours of composition. But the rapidity of Taylor's pen was such, that it is necessary to mark the fact that only one more work of his appeared this year, the 'Worthy Communicant;'—accompanied by his beautiful sermon at the funeral of sir George Dalstone. The dowager princess of Orange was at this time in England, on a visit of congratulation to her brother; and the volume is inscribed to her, in a dedication in which Taylor eulogizes not only her virtues, but those of the king, in a strain which may be forgiven to a triumphant loyalist, when speaking of a young and graceful monarch, whose dignified and prudent conduct under misfortune, and whose supposed constancy in maintaining

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against all temptations his allegiance to the church of England, had inspired hopes of a wisdom and piety, which his subsequent conduct but too lamentably disappointed.

The merits which Taylor had to plead with the restored government were exceeded by those of few persons in his profession. Of all the episcopal clergy, old Sanderson alone perhaps excepted, there was none who could compete with him in the renown of learning and genius. His character had remained unsullied by any compliance with the factious or fanatical party, during the time of their greatest triumphs. He had been the object of a more than common suspicion and severity on the part of the usurping government; and even his polemical antagonists were in the habit of bearing testimony to his blameless life, and the ardour of his piety. Whether his union with the king's natural sister was known or pleaded, may perhaps be doubted. If it were, it is possible that this circumstance may have contributed to determine the scene of his promotion; and that Charles was not unwilling to remove to a distance a person whose piety might lead him to reprove many parts of his conduct, and who would have a plausible pretence for speaking more freely than the rest of the dignified clergy.

It may be believed however that Taylor himself would be by no means displeased with his destination, though in some respects a more obscure one than from the circumstances enumerated he might have looked for. His family were already in Ireland, and though the Mandinam property was now relieved from sequestration, the state of his worldly affairs can hardly have been such as to make the expense of removal desirable. To the country of his refuge he seems to have felt considerable attachment; and the persuasions of the marquess, afterwards duke of Ormond, who was the great pillar of the episcopal cause, and who was extremely and laudably solicitous to fill the sees of his native kingdom with learning and piety, would naturally be employed both to forward the appointment and reconcile him to it. He was accordingly nominated on the 6th of August after the king's return, under the privy seal, to the bishopric of Down and Connor, and shortly after elected by Ormond's recommendation vice-chancellor of the university of Dublin[a].

These situations were very far from sinecures. In the university every thing was to be undone and begun anew, in consequence of the disorders introduced during the time of the commonwealth. The revenues had been dilapidated, and the land in many instances alienated. None of the members then in possession had any legal title either to scholarship or fellowship; all having been introduced by irregular elections, or by the direct interference of the usurping go-

[a] Rot. Pat. Canc. Hibern. 2nda pars, f. 14, 15. For this date and reference, I am obliged to the kindness of Mr. Monk Mason. [Taylor took the oaths as vice-chancellor in the beginning of the following year.]

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vernment. And as by the statutes of the college no election could be made but by the provost and the concurring votes of at least four seniors, it was proposed by Taylor that himself as vice-chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin as visitor, and the new provost who was appointed by the crown, should be empowered by their own authority to elect seven senior fellows, who were to serve as a nucleus from which the society should again take its beginning. Ormond however chose to keep this appointment in his own hands, though he so far complied with the proposal as to desire the vice-chancellor and provost to recommend five persons who might by the royal authority be made fellows; and Taylor had in consequence the satisfaction of procuring a fellowship for his friend Dr. Stearne, already mentioned (though a married man, and therefore not statutably eligible) on the plea that in so great a scarcity of able candidates, his learning, and long acquaintance with the college, made his presence absolutely necessary. In the mean time Taylor undertook the task of collecting, arranging, revising, and completing the body of statutes which bishop Bedell had left unfinished; in settling the form and conditions under which degrees were to be conferred; in appointing public lectures and disputations; and in laying the basis of the distinguished reputation which the university of Dublin has since retained, in spite of its unfortunate situation in a luxurious metropolis, and the disadvantageous competition which it has been compelled to carry on with the elder and more extensive establishments of the sister kingdom[b].

[b] Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 208. [Carte drew his account of the condition of the university from two letters of Taylor's (Carte MSS. fo. SS.) which may as well be given entire;—

"May it please your Excellence.

Although all my little fortune and more weighty employment is wholly owing to your lordship's favour and nobleness, yet I shall never divertise your great affairs by any impertinent expression of my thankfulness; but when I have assured your excellency that by all the services of my life I shall endeavour to do honour to your name, and to discharge that trust which your excellency hath been pleased to impose on me in the service of your university of Dublin, I shall only acquaint your lordship with such particulars of business as relate to your charge, and that fidelity which your excellency ought to expect from me.

After my arrival at Dublin, I visited the college, and acquainted them with your excellency's great regard and tender affection to them, your care of their advantages, and your earnest desires of their regular comportment according to the laws of the church, and the particular statutes of the house. They with all thankfulness and humility returned their just apprehensions of your favour and professions of their duty to your excellency.

But when I came to a more particular inspection into the state of the university, I found all things in a perfect disorder; indeed so great as can be imagined to be consequent to a sad war, and an evil incompetent government set over them. To the particulars of which I shall with the assistance of the provost, and principally by the authority and countenance of your excellency, endeavour to give a timely remedy.

But before anything can be done regularly, I shall humbly represent to your excellency that something must be done irregularly, because the usual order of things is not only disturbed, but overthrown, and for the present made impossible. For there is indeed a heap of men and boys, but no body of a college, no one member, either fellow or scholar, having any legal title to his place, but thrust in by tyranny and chance. Now because by the statutes of the college no election can be made but by the provost and four senior fellows at the least, and there is not one remaining of the whole

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His labours in his diocese were still greater, and their result at first far less satisfactory, inasmuch as their scope was more extended, and

foundation, it is necessary that we have recourse to your excellency to reinstate the college in a capacity of making regular elections.

To which purpose if your excellency will be pleased to send a letter to myself your vice-chancellor, and to the archbishop of Dublin who is also a visitor, and to the provost, to enable us to make an election of the seven senior fellows, then the college will be in its former state and possibility of proceeding according to the statutes, and making other elections; but unless such a power be granted by your excellency, or procured from his most sacred majesty, nothing at all can be done, and the college will remain in a state of dissolution.

There are many other things very material to be offered to your excellency if you shall be pleased to continue to me this leave of addressing my letters to your lordship. But this being the first great necessity without the supply of which nothing can be done, I humbly offer it to the speedy consideration of your excellency; for whose increase of honour and happiness I shall frequently and passionately pray; for the present humbly begging your pardon, and that you will be pleased to allow in me this ambition of calling myself,

My most excellent lord,
Your excellency's most obliged
and most dutiful servant,
JER. TAYLOR DUNENSIS.
Dublin, Oct. 3, 1660."

"Dublin, Dec. 19, 1660.

May it please your Excellence.

Mr. Seele, the provost of the College, and myself, according to the care committed to us, and the trust reposed in us by your excellence, have upon greatest deliberation concluded, and do now humbly present to your Excel. these persons inclosed in the schedule annexed, to be senior fellows of the college. I will not interrupt your greater affairs with any particular account of the reasons of the electing every one of them; only in general they are all very worthy of the favour your excellency intends to them, and are all capable of election by statute without dispensation: one only excepted, whose worthiness is not (I suppose) unknown to your excellence, at least by fame, I mean Dr. Stearne, whose great learning, and skill in the college affairs, we cannot want; and therefore though he was a married man, and lives in a house of the college very near to it, yet we thought it fit to present him to your excellence, and the provost humbly and earnestly desires he may be admitted (at least till the college affairs be quite settled) to this capacity of serving the college, and doing honour to it, in our great want of able men. This we humbly submit to your excel., only representing the great advantage the college will receive by him.

If your excellence do not disapprove this election, we humbly desire his Majesty's confirmation of it may be obtained; that as these men receive the academical honours and advantages from your excellency's favour, so by the gracious concession of his Majesty, who is the founder and perpetual patron, they may be legally enabled to make leases and to improve their rents, which at this time are very low, and insufficient to maintain them.

But, may it please your excellence, though by this means we shall be a perfect college, yet we are but an imperfect university. For we have no public statutes relating to an university, no established formes of collating degrees, no public lectures, no schools; no Regius professor of Divinity, and scarce any ensignes academical. But if your excellence will be pleased to give me power and command, I will endure the labour of collecting and framing such statutes, by the assistance of the most prudent persons I can have, as are necessary, honourable and useful, and present them to your excellence; that upon advice with persons experienced in (*sic*) skilled in such things you may please to approve them, and obtain a sanction and confirmation of them: that posterity may see the university rising to its full state and splendour under the government and conduct of your excellence.

I humbly submit these things to your excellency's wisdom, humbly desiring the continuance and increase of your favour to the university, and every member of it, and amongst them to

My most honorable Lord,
Your excellency's most obliged
and most humble servant,
JEREM. DUNENSIS ELECT."

(Note, Taylor writes, 'your excellence;' sometimes, but rarely, 'your

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the prejudices against which he had to contend were of deeper root, and involved more important interests.

It has happened almost uniformly in cases of religious difference, that those schisms have been most bitter, if not most lasting, which have arisen on topics of dispute comparatively unimportant, and where the contending parties had apparently least to concede, and least to tolerate. Nor are there many instances on record which more fully and more unfortunately exemplify this general observation, than that of the quarrel and final secession of the puritan clergy from the church in the year 1662. Both parties in that case were agreed on the essentials of christianity. Both professed themselves not unwilling to keep out of sight, and mutually endure the few doctrinal points on which a difference existed between them. The leading puritans were even disposed to submit to that episcopal government, their opposition to which during former reigns had created so much disturbance, and had led by degrees to such abundant bloodshed and anarchy. And it is no less true than strange, that this great quarrel, which divided so many holy and learned preachers of the common faith, was occasioned and perpetuated by men who, chiefly resting their objections to the form and colour of an ecclesiastical garment, the wording of a prayer, or the injunction of kneeling at the eucharist, were willing for questions like these to disturb the peace of the religious world, and subject themselves to the same severities which they had previously inflicted on the episcopal clergy.

With these men, whether in England or Ireland, there were apparently only three lines of conduct for the ruling powers to follow. The first was the adoption of such a liturgy and form of church government as would at once satisfy the advocates of episcopacy and presbytery. This was attempted in vain, and was indeed a measure the failure of which a very slight attention to the prejudices and animosity of both parties would have enabled a bystander to anticipate. The second was that which was, at least virtually, promised by the king in the declaration of Breda; that, namely, uniformity of discipline and worship should for the present not be insisted on; that the presbyterian and independent preachers should during their lives be continued in the churches where they were settled; ejecting only those who had been forcibly intruded, to the prejudice of persons yet alive, and who might legally claim re-instatement; and filling up the vacancies of such as died, with ministers episcopally ordained and canonically obedient. In this case it is possible that,

excellency;' but in the possessive case, 'your excellencies.')

"The names of persons presented to his excellence James Ld. Marquis of Ormond, our most honoured Chancellor, as very fit to be admitted into senior fellowships in the college of the H. Trinity neere Dublin;—

John Stearne, D^r. in Physic.
Joshuah Cowley, M^r. in Arts.
Richard Lingard.
William Vincent.
Patric Sheridan.

JEREM. DUNENSIS ELECT:
Vice-Cancellarius.
Tho. Seele, præp. electus."]

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as the stream of preferment and patronage would have been confined to those who conformed; as the great body of the nation were strongly attached to the liturgy, and gave a manifest preference to those churches where it was used[c]; and as the covenanting clergy would have no longer been under the influence of that point of honour which, when its observance was compulsory, induced them to hold out against it,—the more moderate, even of the existing generation, would have by degrees complied with their own interests and the inclination of their flocks; while the course of nature, and the increasing infirmities of age, must in a few years have materially diminished the numbers and influence of the more pertinacious. We have found in fact by experience, that the liturgy has through its intrinsic merits obtained by degrees no small degree of reverence even among those who on other grounds, or on no grounds at all, dissent from the church of England as at present constituted: and it is possible that by thus forbearing to press its observance on those whose minds were so ill prepared to receive it, a generation would soon have arisen to whom their objections would have appeared in their natural weakness, and the greatest and least rational of those schisms had been prevented, which have destroyed the peace and endangered the existence of the British churches.

But while we at the present day are amusing ourselves with schemes of what we should have done had we lived in the time of our fathers, it may be well, for the justification of these last, to consider how little the principles of toleration were then understood by either party; how deeply and how recently the episcopal clergy, and even the laity of the same persuasion, had suffered from the very persons who now called on them for forbearance; how ill the few measures which were really proposed of a conciliatory nature, were met by the disingenuousness of some of the presbyterian leaders, and the absurd bigotry of others[d], and the reasonable suspicion which was thus excited that nothing would content them but the entire proscription of the forms to which they objected. Nor can we greatly wonder that under such circumstances the third and simplest course was adopted, that namely of imposing afresh on all a liturgy, to which the great body of the people was ardently attached, and the disuse of which in any particular parishes (when the majority of congregations enjoyed it) was likely to be attended with abundant discontent and inconvenience. These considerations are indeed no apology for the fresh aggressions of which the episcopalian party were guilty; for their unseasonable though well intended alterations of the liturgy, and the hostile clauses inserted in their new act of uniformity. Far less can they extenuate the absurd wickedness of the persecution afterwards resorted to against those whom these measures had confirmed in their schism. But they may lead us to apprehend that

[c] Clarendon, Life, p. 157, ed. 1759.

[d] Note (H H.)

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(though a very few concessions more would have kept such men as Baxter and Philip Henry in the church) there would have been very many whom no concession would have satisfied; and that the offence of schism was in a great degree inevitable, though a different course on the side of the victorious party might have rendered it of less wide diffusion, and of less deep and lasting malignancy.

If a temper thus unfavourable to peace prevailed in England, there is reason to believe that in Ireland it was still more powerful. Even among the episcopalian clergy, during the continuance of their establishment, no inconsiderable leaven of puritanism had been found; and the venerable Usher himself, though during the triumph of Calvinism he saw reasons for altering his sentiments, gave encouragement at an earlier period by his example and his patronage to these unattractive and gloomy tenets. But, by the absurd and most miserable rebellion of the Roman catholics, begun in rashness and miscalculation by the crazy patriotism of Roger More; carried on in folly and brutal cruelty by the drunken O'Neil, and the savage rabble whom he could neither lead nor control; and suppressed by a system of military tyranny the most perfect, the most effectual, the most wicked and remorseless, of which christendom affords an example;—the protestant episcopal clergy had all been swept away from that ill-starred kingdom. Their places had been supplied by the most zealous adherents of the commonwealth and the covenant, who were supported by the majority of those who had profited during the merciless system of confiscation which Cromwell had put in practice, and by the officers and men of a numerous army, formed in his school and under his immediate auspices, whom the government could neither pay nor discharge, and who, though they had concurred in the restoration of the crown, were very little disposed to sanction that of the mitre.

Already these men had gained confidence by the delay which intervened between the royal designation of the new bishops to their respective sees, and their solemn consecration to the sacred office. And it is probable that but for the zeal of Ormond, seconded by his great popularity, and by the firmness of the small majority of Irish nobility and gentry, who were attached by old recollections and a sense of recent oppression to the institutions which Calvinism had supplanted, the hierarchy and the Common Prayer would have had a similar and a yet earlier extinction in that kingdom than in Scotland. Fortunately for good taste and rational piety, the friends of both were triumphant; and more happily still for the national honour and prosperity, the restoration of both was effected without any of those severities towards dissenters which in England and Scotland disgrace the annals of Charles the second. Yet the year 1660 passed away without any steps being taken in favour of episcopacy; and it was only on January the 27th of the following year, that two archbishops and ten bishops were consecrated by Bramhall, formerly bishop of

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Derry, and now primate, with great pomp and loud exultation of the loyalists, in the cathedral of S. Patrick. Of the bishops Taylor was one, and appointed to preach the sermon. Of his talents indeed the government in church and state seem to have been fully sensible, and naturally anxious to avail themselves, since it was he who was also called on to preach on the eighth of May before the two houses of parliament, and again before the primate at his metropolitan visitation of Down and Connor.

Honours and preferment were now flowing fast upon him. In February he was made a member of the Irish privy council, and on the thirtieth of April, in addition to his former diocese, was entrusted with the administration of the small adjacent one of Dromore, "on account," in the words of the writ under the privy seal, "of his virtue, wisdom, and industry[a]."

[a] Rot. Pat. 13 Car. II. 2nda pars, facie. See also Harris's Ware, p. 265. [The circumstances under which Dromore was annexed to Down and Connor, are made known to us from the following letter addressed by Taylor to Ormond, a few weeks before the appointment was made:—

"Hilsborough, March 28, 1661.

May it please your excellence.

I am not willing to interrupt your greater affairs by any thing of lesser consequence, except where my duty obliges; but what concerns the good of your excellency's great charge the university, I know your excellency is willing to admit the trouble, and requires of me to offer to your consideration all opportunities of doing advantages to it: and now, my lord, by a joined consent they have petitioned to your excellency to procure favour from his Majesty for the Munster lands; which besides that they who were possessed of them have forfeited their interest in them, they have also broken that covenant by which they became invested in them; and if your excellency shall be pleased to obtain of his Majesty the favour which they humbly petition for, as it will be no prejudice to the just interest of any one, so it will be a great advantage to the college and university, and a very considerable encouragement to learning. But if your excellency in your wisdom and favour to the university shall think it fit to obtain this for them, I humbly desire your excellency to reserve to yourself a power of dispensing the advantages so, that as the society of the college receives increase of salary, so also a part of it may be expended in the honorary and useful employment of the university, and her ministers, that it may increase in both capacities, collegiate and academical.

And now, my lord, I shall beg of your excellency to give me leave to add a postscript for myself; which alone I would not have done, but in attendance to this other of the university. The bishop of Meath is dying; the bishopric lies near Dublin, and fit for your vice-chancellor's duty and attendance on the trust you have put in me; and if your excellency shall be pleased to obtain my translation thither, I hope the fruit of it will accrue to the college, and no less to the church, but in some regards more. Here I am perpetually contending with the worst of the Scotch ministers. I have a most uncomfortable employment, but I bless God, I have broke their knot, I have overcome the biggest difficulty, and made the charge easy for my successor; and now I humbly petition your excellency's favour in this. I suppose none of my brethren will oppose me in this; but expect I should receive the favour. I shall use no other argument to your excellency, but a plain and just appeal to your wisdom and nobleness, for from thence only I derive all my hopes. My lord, I am in all duty and obedience

Your excellency's most obliged
and most obedient servant,
JEREM. DUNENSIS.

The nobility and gentry of this diocese are something passionate to have the little diocese of Dromore (which was taken out of Downe but lately, and is not of extent or charge enough for a bishop, and hath in it, besides the dignitaries of the church, but five ministers) to be united to Downe

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For all these good qualities, and for patience more than all, the state of his dioceses afforded him indeed abundant occasion. It was in this part of Ireland more than any other, that the clearance of the episcopalian clergy had been most effectual, and that their places had been supplied by the sturdiest champions of the covenant, taken for the most part from the west of Scotland; disciples of Cameron, Renwick, and Peden, and professing in the wildest and most gloomy sense the austere principles of their party. Such men as these, more prejudiced in proportion as they were worse educated than the other adherents of Calvin, were neither to be impressed by the zeal with which the new prelate discharged the duties of his station, nor softened by the tenderness and charity expressed in his deportment towards themselves. It was in vain, so far as they were concerned, that he preached every Sunday in different churches of his diocese; that he invited his clergy to friendly conferences; that he personally called at their houses; employed the good offices of pious laymen of their own persuasion, and offered his best endeavours to give satisfaction or obtain relief for their scruples.

In answer to these advances, the pulpits resounded with exhortations to stand by the covenant even unto blood; with bitter invectives against the episcopal order, and against Taylor more particularly; while the preachers entered into a new engagement among themselves, "to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons." The virtues and eloquence of Taylor however were not without effect on the laity, who were at the same time offended by the refusal of their pastors to attend a public conference. The nobility and gentry of the three dioceses, with one single exception, came over by degrees to the bishop's side; and we are even assured by Carte, that during the two years which intervened before the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity, the great majority of the ministers themselves had yielded, if not to his arguments, to his persevering kindness and christian example[f].

as it was by king James in the first letters of erection, and this upon the death of the bishop of Meath, which is now but too likely to happen speedily, may the more easily be effected, by the removal of the bishop of Dromore. Indeed this, if it were his Majesty's pleasure to grant, and your excellency's to approve and move it, would be better for my advantage, and the desires of all of this diocese that are gentlemen; but because my translation to Meath would be more for your excellency's service in order to the university, I humbly submit it to your excellency's great wisdom."

Taylor again expresses his wish to be removed (viz., to an English bishopric) in writing to Sheldon, May 25, 1664. The letter is given p. exix. below.

Taylor had had occasion to speak upon the general question of the translation of bishops, Duct. Dubit., book i. chap. 2. rule 5. § 23, vol. ix. p. 87.

The bishop of Meath of whom mention is made in the above letter, was Dr. Henry Leslie, Taylor's friend, and predecessor in the see of Down and Connor; (see vol. v. p. 255) and the bishop of Dromore was Robert Leslie his son, who Taylor suggests might be removed to succeed his father in the see of Meath.]

[f] Carte, ubi supra. [Here, as above, Carte's materials were a letter of Taylor's to Ormond (Carte MSS. fo. SS.) respecting his diocese, written on the same day as that cited p. xcv. above respecting the university: it is as follows;—

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In the mean time however, some traces of disappointment and irritation are, I think, perceivable in his sermon before the two

"Dublin, Decemb. 19, 1660.

May it please your Excellence.

I have already presented to your Excel. the affairs of the college and university; and now humbly beg leave to represent some things relating to the church in the north of Ireland; and in it, to myself. His sacred Majesty and your Excellence intended to prefer me in giving me the bishopric of Downe; but besides that I find it very much short of what it was represented to me, and much of the rents litigious and uncertain, of which I will not complain; I perceive myself thrown into a place of torment. The country would quickly be very well if the Scotch ministers were away; at least some of the prime incendiaries. All the nobility and gentry, one only excepted, are very right, but the ministers are implacable. They have for these four months past solemnly agreed, and very lately renewed their resolution, of preaching vigorously and constantly against episcopacy and liturgy; they defy them both, publicly; they disparage his Majesty's government; they slight and undervalue his most gracious concessions in his late excellent and princely declaration; they talk of resisting unto blood, and stir up the people to sedition, doing things worse than can be expressed by any but themselves.

My lord; I have invited them to a friendly conference, desired earnestly to speak with them, went to them, sent some of their own to invite them, offered to satisfy them in any thing that was reasonable; I preach every Sunday amongst them, somewhere or other; I have courted them with most friendly offers, did all things in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious declaration: but they refuse to speak with me; they have newly covenanted to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons.

But observing the great impression I have already made in those parts upon the affections of the gentry and the better sort of the people (of which I can bring an universal testimony) and they having refused to dispute, to which by their people they were urged, and which was expounded ignorance and tergiversation in them, have now gone about to asperse me as an Arminian, and a Socinian, and a papist, or at least half a papist, and such things of which they understand little, and I am not at all guilty, as having no other religion but that of the church of England, for which I have suffered the persecution of eighteen years, and for which I have often stood up an advocate against all opposition; but yet they have lately bought my books, and appointed a committee of Scotch spiders to see if they can gather or make poison out of them; and drawn some little things, I know not what, into a paper, and have transmitted them to their agent in England, and intend to petition to his Majesty that I may not be their bishop. Now this they do not to remove me (though they fear me very much) but to put a slur upon the order, supposing if I were removed, no man would be so desperate as to undertake so comfortless a province, against so unconquerable schismatics

My noblest lord, my humble petition to your excellency is, that you will be pleased to remove me from this insupportable burden, or to support me under it, and that you will be pleased to acquaint his sacred Majesty with my sad condition. They threaten to murder me; they have studiously raised reports that I was destroyed by the Scots; they use all the arts they can to disgrace me, and to take the people's hearts from me, and to make my life uncomfortable, and useless to the service of his Majesty and the church. They are secretly backed by some latent enemies of the church, but if I may but receive countenance in doing my duty, and their agent with his petition or his nonsense articles may be discouraged and rejected; if I may be assisted by the secular arm, his Majesty's ministers civil or military, I will as cheerfully as I can stand in this gap, though they discharge all their ordnance against me alone, bitter words, and horrid threatnings. It were better for me to be a poor curate in a village church than a bishop over such intolerable persons; and I will petition your excellency to give me some parsonage in Munster, that I may end my days in peace, rather than abide here, unless I may be enabled with comfort to contest against such violent persons. I humbly beg your excellency's pardon and your speedy assistance, that I may with cheerfulness render to God and the King an account of my charge, which hath in it more trouble than all the dioceses in his Majesty's dominions

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houses of parliament. He there inveighs[s] with some asperity against such as thought it a less sin to stand in separation from the church,

put together. By this means also, if I may have but a kind word from your excellency, that I shall be countenanced, I shall without interruption and division of heart attend to the service and resettling of the university, which as yet requires great care and labour. But I will approve my care and fidelity to your excellence, with a service endeavouring to be equal to those favours which you have bestowed on your excellency's most obliged and most humble servant,

JER. DUNENSIS ELECT.

A particular of such doctrines as are usually preached and taught by the Scotch ministers in the north of Ireland, in the diocese of Down and Connor;—

That the covenanters first drew the bloody sword, and before they would submit to these oaths, viz[t]. of allegiance and supremacy, and to these popish ceremonies, they would draw it again;

That times of persecution are coming on, worse than in queen Mary's days;

That they should do well to get the bible by heart, because they will not be suffered to keep a bible in their houses;

That the times were now at hand when it should be safer to break the sabbath than a holy day;

That the king's concessions in his declaration are a little mite of favour: but no more;

That the service book and the mass book were both hatched in hell by the devil;

That we have got a king, and the king hath brought bishops, and they will bring in popery, and then farewell all, and yet ye will not be valiant for the truth.

They pray that the Lord, although he suffered those wolves the bishops to come into his kirke here on earth, yet that he would never let them come into his kirke in heaven.

And many more, more seditious, and more ridiculous, not fit to trouble any person of honour with."

These two letters to Ormond, of Dec. 19, were enclosed in one to his secretary, sir George Lane, (Carte MSS. as above,) in which Taylor begs his support, as follows;—

"Dublin, December 19, 1660.

Honoured Sir,

I wrote to you the last week, and took the boldness to give you an account of the seditious and insolent preachings of the Scotch presbyters against his Majesty's government ecclesiastical; their infinite railings against me; their stirring up the people to tumult and rebellion; their intent of petitioning his Majesty to remove me from that diocese; and many other things, which I should not so much as hint to you again, but that we have here some fears that the vessel miscarried which carried the pacquet. But these presbyterian Scots get heart and confidence by the great delay of the justices coming over, and of the bishops' consecration. Sir, we all know the candour and ingenuity of your disposition, and your great love and zeal for the church of Ireland; and I have had experience of your particular favour to me; and therefore I am bold to intreat your assistance, that we may receive incouragement and assistance from the secular power, and that if any petition be peevishly and boldly put in against me, that you would cause it to be discountenanced; for if these people could say any thing against my manner of living and conversation, I would not desire favour; for I should not deserve any. But I bless God, they cannot pretend that; but they call me Arminian, Socinian, and I cannot tell what monsters of names, which they neither understand nor care whether they be true or no. But no man being more zealous for the religion of the church of England than myself, they hate me because they expect from me such vigorous opposition against and discovery of their evil ways. I beg your favour in this affair: it concerns all the bishops of Ireland.

I have here inclosed sent a letter to my lord steward, our chancellor, in pursuance of the power he sent to the provost and myself of nominating the senior fellows. We upon perusal of the college statutes do find it necessary that we petition his Majesty to sign the inclosed letter, by way of confirmation of this election. We have appointed Mr. John Sharpe to attend you in the pursuance of it, and to pay the fees of passing it. It will be a favour to the whole college, and of great concern to the establishment of all the interests of learning here in Ireland; and therefore we join in requesting of you this favour, the granting of which will add to the heap of favours

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than to stand in a clean white garment; and observes that "we have seen the vilest part of mankind, men that have done things so horrid,

by which you already have obliged
Honoured Sir,
Your most humble and most
affectionate servant,
JER. DUNENSIS ELECT."

The following letters of Taylor to Ormond (Carte MSS. as above) written at intervals through the period of his bishopric, shew how much trouble he continued to receive from the Scotch presbyterians.

The first is of June 11, 1663, written from Portmore;—

"May it please your grace.

I was visiting some parts of my diocese, and found Mr. John Drysdale newly come from Scotland, and busy in the place of his own residence in former times. Within two days after my finding him there, we had notice of the late presbyterian conspiracy which the mercies of God and your grace's wisdom and diligence so happily have discovered. I had nothing to charge him with, but because I had vehement causes of suspicion, I caused him to give 500*l.* bond for his appearance at two days' warning, not to depart without your grace's leave, and for the good behaviour in the mean time. My lord Conway, major Rawdon, and myself, had it in consideration whether he ought to be sent up to your grace to Dublin; but because we had no particular charge to send up with him, we humbly expect your grace's pleasure and order concerning him. But I humbly beg leave of your grace to say, that the late meetings of the pretended ministers, the refractoriness of the people, and their mutinous talkings, the abode of the ministers without any pretence of employment or estates visibly to detain them in these parts, makes us all full of confidence that as long as their ministers are permitted amongst us, there shall be a perpetual seminary of schism and discontents; and that they were all more than consenting to the late designe. They are now (as they think) very safe, and passed all danger because they are not yet inquired into; but we still have Mas. John Greg, Gordon, Wilson, Cunningham, and Ramsay, whose custom it is as soon as they hear the people of any parish conformable, one or two of them goes thither and quarters upon them till they leave their duty. They are here looked on as earnest and zealous parties against the government. If it be your grace's pleasure that they have the oath of supremacy tendered to them, and bonds of the good behaviour taken of them, it will either drive them away, or give a reasonable account of them as long as they stay. Your grace hath Leviston in your hands: he is the most perverse and bitter enemy we have to the laws; we hope here, he will be better before your grace parts with him. God of his mercy direct all your grace's counsels, and immure your person from all enemies, and invest you with all honour; and continue to your grace a healthful, and a fortunate, and holy life.

Your grace's most obedient
and humble servant,
JEREM. DUNENSIS."

The other letter was written within a few months of his death:—

"Lisburn, S. Stephen.

May it please your grace.

I have not been forward by any impertinent addresses to interrupt your grace's serious and great affairs, and therefore I the more easily hope for your grace's pardon, if I think myself obliged to do what nothing could have caused me to do, but duty or necessity. This late rebellion in Scotland hath too much verified our fears in these parts, that the indulgence lately given to the presbyterians who were sent away, and since permitted to re-enter, would be of evil consequence. Ever since their coming, till within these two or three months, no complaints were brought to me of them, but that they clancularly did ecclesiastical offices, took and kept the people from their parish churches, received pensions regularly from the parishes which they formerly had usurped; and the people forced to pay their money, by the authority of some landlords, or rather landladies; the clergy were greatly discouraged, and greatly injured. But now of late they keep their conventicles more publicly, and advance the former mischiefs to greater and more insufferable consequences, and have given us too much cause to believe that the Scotch rebellion was either born in Ireland, or put to nurse here. May it please your grace; I speak not this by chance, or passion; but can prove where Crookshank was entertained for many days together immediately before the rebellion. It is

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worse than which the sun never saw, yet pretend tender consciences against ecclesiastical laws." He urges forcibly and ably, that in things indifferent or doubtful it must be safe to follow the decision of our superiors; that in all cases obedience is free from those results which are the greatest aggravation of the crime of heresy, and that therefore in the great majority of cases dissent is more dangerous than conformity. He presses the consideration that no laws can stand at all, if all who dislike them may plead conscience as an exemption; and he presses also (what is easily said in the case of our brother, but what every man in his own case receives with difficulty) that they who dislike the discipline of a church are at liberty to resign their preferments.

We shall do him an injustice however if we suppose him to hold these doctrines without qualification; without allowances for invincible prejudice, for human infirmity, and the many other considerations which must be taken into account in every reformation or return to original principles. On the contrary, he expresses a hope that in all measures to be adopted for the government of the church, wherever 'weak brethren shall still plead for toleration and compliance, the bishops would consider where it can do good and do no harm; where they are permitted, and where themselves are bound up by the laws; and in all things where it is safe and holy, to labour to bring them ease and to give them remedy.'

And there is one circumstance which it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind while forming our opinion on this part of Taylor's conduct: that namely the obedience which he claims as due to the laws of ecclesiastical superiors, is that obedience only which is paid by the members of their own communion. It is in fact no more than the privilege (which every christian society exerts, and must exert for its own preservation) to have the offices of its ministry supplied by such men as conform to the regulations imposed by the body at large, or those to whom its powers are delegated.

On 'toleration,' properly so called, in its civil sense and on its

also informed, and offered to be proved, that Kenedy, sometimes of Temple Patric, preached in the diocese of Dromore, that the people ought for a while to bear patiently the loss of their goods, for the godly people in Scotland would speedily oppose the power: and about the Six Mill water which is not far from Antrim, the people when this summer they gave bond for payment of their tithes at All Saints, would not sign the bonds till they put in this clause, 'in case there be no war or public disturbance before that time,' or to that purpose. Now, may it please your grace, the perpetual and universal complaint of all my clergy, and generally of the honest part of the people, being so great against the permission of these pretended ministers to abide amongst them, and now every man being awakened with the late rebellion, and we being sure that many things are true which we cannot prove, and yet being able to prove the particulars above recited, I thought it my duty to propound the whole affair to your grace's consideration, humbly expecting your grace's commands, orders, and determination in it; which shall be humbly and perfectly followed in all things by,

May it please your grace,
Your grace's most dutiful and
most humble servant,
JEREM. DUNENSIS."]

[s] (p. cii. supra.) vol. viii. pp. 337, 9.

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broadest foundation, he has in this discourse said nothing at variance with his 'Liberty of Prophesying.' And so far is any thing which he here advances from sanctioning those penal enactments which the jealousy of succeeding parliaments directed against the professors of other creeds, that his main argument proceeds on the supposition that sects who could not agree might charitably differ. The model in short of mutual forbearance which he proposed to his countrymen, was the same with that exhibited by the ruling and notoriously tolerant churches of Geneva, Switzerland, and the Low Countries, who arranged their own internal concerns as they themselves thought most expedient, but who never attempted to disturb the liberties of those who conscientiously forsook their communion.

And if in an orator of Taylor's principles a more definite caution is required against the crime of religious persecution, let it be remembered that he could not have foreseen the temper in which the work now begun was afterwards carried on and completed. The declarations of the king had hitherto breathed nothing but conciliation and indulgence to weak consciences; and from the known principles of many of the leading characters of the Irish parliament, the episcopalians of that nation in particular had no reason to apprehend that too little regard would be shewn to the wishes of the puritans[b].

One subject there was however on which an abundant share of the christian virtues of disinterestedness, forgiveness, justice, and compassion, was no more than necessary to guide his auditors to a right decision;—a decision in which the interests and even existence of many thousand families were implicated, and which some of the worst and strongest feelings of avarice, party spirit, and deeply rooted hostility, conspired to pervert or embarrass. I mean the question of the Irish confiscated estates, on which it is gratifying to find Taylor speaking with the discrimination of one who well understood the affairs of that kingdom, no less than with that authority and earnestness which it becomes a christian bishop to display on the side of the oppressed and unfortunate.

"Ye cannot obey God unless ye do justice: for this also 'is better than sacrifice,' said Solomon. For Christ, who is the sun of righteousness, is a sun and shield to them that do righteously. The Indian was not immured sufficiently by the Atlantic sea, nor the Bosphoran by the walls of ice, nor the Arabian by his meridian sun: the christian justice of the Roman princes brake through all enclosures, and by justice set up Christ's standard, and gave to all the world a testimony how much could be done by prudence and valour, when they were conducted by the hands of justice: and now you will have a great trial of this part of your obedience to God.

"For you are to give sentence in the causes of half a nation: and he had need be a wise and a good man that divides the inheritance amongst brethren; that he may not be abused by contrary pretences,

[b] Carte, ubi supra.

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—nor biassed by the interest of friends,—nor transported with the unjust thoughts even of a just revenge,—nor allured by the opportunities of spoil,—nor turned aside by partiality in his own concerns,—nor blinded by gold, which puts out the eyes of wise men,—nor cozened by pretended zeal,—nor wearied with the difficulty of questions,—nor directed by a general measure in cases not measurable by it,—nor borne down by prejudice,—nor abused by resolutions taken before the cause be heard,—nor overruled by national interests. For justice ought to be the simplest thing in the world, and is to be measured by nothing but by truth, and by laws, and by the decrees of princes. But whatever ye do, let not the pretence of a different religion make you think it lawful to oppress any man in his just rights; for opinions are not, but laws only, and 'doing as we would be done to,' are the measures of justice: and though justice does alike to all men, Jew and Christian, Lutheran and Calvinist: yet to do right to them that are of another opinion is the way to win them; but if you for conscience sake do them wrong, they will hate you and your religion.

"Lastly; as 'obedience is better than sacrifice,' so God also said, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice;' meaning that mercy is the best obedience. *Perierat totum quod Deus fecerat nisi misericordia subvenisset,* said Chrysologus, 'all the creatures both of heaven and earth would perish if mercy did not relieve us all.' Other good things, more or less, every man expects according to the portion of his fortune; *ex clementia omnes idem sperant,* 'but from mercy and clemency all the world alike do expect advantages.' And which of us all stands here this day that does not need God's pardon and the king's? Surely no man is so much pleased with his own innocence as that he will be willing to quit his claim to mercy; and if we all need it, let us all shew it.

> Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ
> Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans
> Et minor igne rogi.

'If you do but see a maiden carried to her grave a little before her intended marriage, or an infant die before the birth of reason, nature hath taught us to pay a tributary tear.' Alas, your eyes will behold the ruin of many families, which though they sadly have deserved, yet mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watery cloud in the eye, that when the light of heaven shines on it, it may produce a rainbow, to be a sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoices in the death of him that dies, and we also esteem it undecent to have music at a funeral. And as religion teaches us to pity a condemned criminal, so mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the laws. You must indeed be as just as the laws; and you must be as merciful as your religion: and you have no way

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to tie these together, but to follow the pattern in the mount; do as God does, who in judgment remembers mercy[1]!"

Occupied as Taylor now was, his contributions to the press were not likely to be frequent or considerable, and except his consecration sermon, his sermon before the parliament, and a small manual of rules for his clergy (of whom, it hence appears, he had already reconciled no inconsiderable number) we are acquainted with no other publications of his during this year. These he mentions, more slightly than they deserve, in the following letter.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

Dublin, Novemb. 16, 1661.

Deare S^r^,

Your owne worthinesse and ye obligations you have so often pass'd upon me have imprinted in me so great a value and kindnesse to y^r^ person, that I thinke my selfe not a little concerned in your selfe and all your relations, and all the great accidents of y^r^ life. Doe not

[1] [On Nov. 4 in this year Ormond was made lord lieutenant of Ireland, an appointment which was received with the greatest joy in Dublin; but the duke himself felt the difficulties of his situation; "one of the contending parties" (he wrote to a friend) "believing that I owe them more kindness and protection than I can find myself chargeable with; and the other suspecting I retain that prejudice to them, which I am as free from." (Carte's life of Ormond.) The appointment drew from Taylor within a few days the following letter; (Carte MSS. as above.)

"May it please your grace.

I shall not now beg pardon for this address, because your grace, by this renewed dignity and relation to Ireland, hath adopted the trouble and care of every man's business here, into your fortune. I intended only to congratulate to your grace this illustrious part of that honour which your wisdom, loyalty, and sufferings have deserved; but as soon as I reflected upon the happiness which not only your university, but the whole kingdom will receive by your wise, just, and religious government, I must rather congratulate to ourselves the happiness of such a princely governor, than to your grace the happiness of so great, so burdensome an honour. My gracious lord; I am now confident that your grace will gather choice fruits from your university, now that your own eye will warm it with your nearer influences, and dress it with your own culture. I am under your grace, but like a gardener in winter; I have dressed the fruit trees against the spring and summer comes, which now your grace's journey to us will hasten; and I am well assured that the Church of Ireland, whose mouth and heart are full of gratitude and honour to the memory of the great Strafford, will quickly see herself improved in growth and fortune, under the piety and care of the greater Ormond.

We have indeed great cause for ever to adore and bless God who hath placed us under so religious and wise, so potent and so bountiful a prince, who hath made our table full and our cup run over: but we have cause also greatly to bless the king who hath sent so religious and so wise a minister to be a patron and a guardian to the Church. My gracious lord, our offices are now full of *Te Deum*'s for this great blessing of your grace's government; and it will be perpetually full of litanies for prosperity, and great gifts, and permanency of the greatest honour to your grace, and your illustrious family; and in this quire no man shall be more vocal, none can be more cordial, than

May it please your grace,
Your grace's most humble,
most obliged,
and most obedient servant,
JEREM. DUNENSIS,
Procan.
November 20, 1661."]

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therefore thinke me either impertinent or otherwise without employment, if I doe with some care and earnestnesse inquire into your health and the present condition of your affaires? how y^r^ sweet lady and deare son doe? and whether or no God hath bless'd you with any more? Sir, when shal we expect your Terrestrial Paradise, your excellent observations and discourses of gardens, of which I had a little posy presented to me by your owne kind hand: and makes me long for more. S^r^, I and all that understand excellent fancy, language, and deepest loyalty, are bound to value your excellent panegyric, which I saw and read with pleasure: and am pleased to read your excellent mind in so excellent idea; for as a father in his son's face, so is a man's soul imprinted in all the peices that he labours. S^r^, I am so full of publicke concernes and the troubles of buisinesse in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to thinke of much of my old delightful imployment. But I hope I have brought my affaires almost to a consistence, and then I may returne againe. Royston hath two Sermons and a little collection of Rules for my clergy, which had beene presented to you if I had thought fitt for notice, or to send to my dearest friends.

Deare S^r^, I pray let me heare from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still. I pray give my love and deare regards to worthy Mr. Thurland: I pray let me heare of him and his good lady, and how his son does. God blesse you and yours, him and his.

I am deare S^r^,

Your most affectionate freind,

JEREM. DUNENSIS[k]."

This is the last letter which has been yet discovered between the two friends. I am loath to think that their correspondence terminated here, though it appears probable from some expressions of Taylor's that it had already begun to slacken, and that this languor had first commenced on the part of Evelyn. The latter however, as appears from his diary, continued to regard Taylor with unmingled feelings of respect and esteem, and when speaking many years after of Mary Marsh, he calls her 'the daughter of his worthy and pious friend, the late bishop of Down and Connor.' That friend however was then no more; and if we are really to account for the apparent cessation of correspondence by the supposition that an affection founded in similarity of sentiment, and cemented by benefits and prayers, though it had withstood the severest blasts of adversity, had gradually faded under the influence of long continued absence and change of circumstances and occupation; it will be only another proof how vain is that life where even our best and noblest ties are subject to dissolution and decay, and how valuable is that hope which

[k] Evelyn Papers, ined.

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teaches us that the love which is founded in virtue and piety shall revive again, and continue to form, in part, the happiness of an existence where neither absence nor change is to be feared!

During this year Taylor had again experienced the hand of providence weighing heavily on his domestic comforts. On the tenth of March his son Edward was buried at Lisburn,—the only surviving son, as I apprehend, of his second marriage. He had found also an occasion for his pious munificence in the ruined state of his cathedral at Dromore, of which he rebuilt the choir at his own expense: his wife (not his daughter, as has been generally supposed) contributing the communion plate[l].

During this year too he invited over George Rust[m], a fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, with a promise of conferring on him the deanery of Connor, which was expected to be shortly vacant. Rust was afterwards Taylor's successor in the see of Dromore, and preached his funeral sermon, a work to which we are obliged, in the paucity of other materials, for our knowledge of many leading circumstances of his life, his fortunes, and character. It is remarkable that the preacher himself, though an eminent person in his day, and though his friend Glanvill has extolled him as a profound divine, a powerful orator, and an admirable philosopher, is now chiefly, if not altogether, recollected through his accidental connexion with the more illustrious memory of his predecessor.

Of Taylor's domestic concerns at this time, little more is known than that he continued to occupy his favourite retirement of Portmore, where he had a house and farm, and lived in intimate friendship with the family of lord Conway. For our knowledge even of these particulars, which are however confirmed by the fact that his son Edward was buried at Lisburn, we are indebted to two strange stories in that strange book the *Sadducismus triumphatus* of Glanvill, edited and enlarged by More, which, though its ravenous credulity and ghostly frontispices may at present be thought only proper to alarm a nursery, displays in some of its arguments much of that singular Platonic learning by which its author and editor were distinguished, and has undoubtedly adduced some evidences of apparitions which it is easier to ridicule than to disprove.

One of these was a spirit, supposed on Michaelmas-day in the year 1662 to appear to one Francis Taverner, "a lusty, proper, stout fellow, then servant at large, afterwards porter, to the lord Chichester, earl of Donegal," near Drumbridge, in the county of

[l] Note (I I.)

[m] ["Mr. Rust (whom Mr. Brereton knows, and you know him by his MS.) is going over into Ireland, to be dean of Downe, being invited thither by Dr. Taylor, the bishop; and Mr. Marsh (sometime my pupil, and fellow of Caius Coll.) is there already, and made dean of Armagh. They are both excellent persons, and preferred to these places by the care of the above-named bishop."—Letter to S. Hartlib, A.D. 1661, in the Diary and correspondence of Dr. John Worthington, Master of Jes. coll. Cambridge, published by the Cheetham Society, p. 301.]

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Antrim, and in Taylor's diocese of Connor. The object of the ghost's return to earth, which he should seem to have effected in a respectable grazierly style, on horseback, and in a white coat,—was to recover for his orphan boy a lease of which his widow and her second husband had wronged him. Taylor, who was then holding his visitation at Dromore, appears to have been desired to examine Taverner respecting what he had seen and heard; and is said by the narrator of the story, a certain Mr. Alcock his secretary, to have been satisfied as to the truth of the narration. On a second meeting however with Taverner at lord Donegal's house, and in company with my "lady Conway and other persons of quality,"—he furnished Taverner with a string of interrogatories which he was to propose to the spirit on its next appearance, which sufficiently prove he was little inclined to "take the ghost's word for a thousand pounds."

The attention however attracted by Taverner's story was sufficient the following year to make one David Hunter, the bishop's own neat-herd, commence ghost-seer in his turn, and leave his bed every night for three quarters of a year, to follow, though sorely against his will, the spirit of an old woman through the neighbouring woods, till at length he had the courage to speak to her. Good lady Conway was convinced of his being really under no delusion, but it does not appear that Taylor paid any attention to his story. The narrative however is on all accounts curious, and not the less so as proving the fact of the bishop's residence and farm at Portmore.

On the questions proposed to Taverner's aerial visitant, some bitter criticisms appear in the 'Illustrious Providences' of Increase Mather, printed at Boston, 168¾, p. 225. The present generation will pass a milder censure on him. What Taylor's sentiments were on the general question of departed spirits re-appearing, may be learned from the manner in which he treats the apparitions alleged by the Romish priests in behalf of the doctrine of purgatory; after instancing some of which in a strain of powerful sarcasm, he goes on[a] to say that,

"Against this way of proceeding we think fit to admonish the people of our charges, that—besides that the scriptures expressly forbid us to inquire of the dead for truth—the holy doctors of the church, particularly Tertullian, S. Athanasius, S. Chrysostom, Isidore, and Theophylact, deny that the souls of the dead ever do appear; and bring many reasons to prove that it is unfitting they should; saying, if they did, it would be the cause of many errors, and the devils under that pretence might easily abuse the world with notices and revelations of their own; and because Christ would have us content with Moses and the prophets, and especially to 'hear that prophet whom the Lord our God hath raised up' amongst us, our blessed Jesus, who never taught any such doctrine to His church."

He had, as we have seen, complained to Evelyn of the interrup-

[a] Dissuasive from Popery, vol. vi. p. 199. Note (J J.)

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tions which his present duties offered to his more beloved studies; and in 1662 nothing of his composition issued from the press but the *Via intelligentiæ*, a sermon preached before the university of Dublin, on the same plan (he tells us) and following the same ideas, though in different words, with that which he had preached, but not published, the year before at the archiepiscopal visitation. Its purport is in a great measure the same which he had partly insisted on in his Liberty of Prophesying,—that the likeliest way to avoid all religious errors, and the only and certain way to prevent our errors from being damnable, is to apply ourselves to the practice of holiness, piety, and charity, and to the teaching of that Holy Spirit, whose aid in all things essential to salvation will never be wanting to the sincere, the humble, and the pure. There are some expressions in this discourse which have been too hastily interpreted into an abandonment, or at least a qualification, of the large notions of religious liberty which in his Θεολογία ἐκλεκτική he had so powerfully supported. A comparison of the corresponding passages in each will however clear him from this imputation, and prove that in admitting the legality of any coercion in such matters, he only means, what he had never denied, that if the consequences of the opinion are injurious to the peace of society, it may accidentally become a question of policy how far the publication of the opinion should be allowed. Thus in his Liberty of Prophesying he had explicitly admitted that "if either the teachers of an opinion themselves, or their doctrine, do really and without colour or feigned pretext disturb the public peace and just interests, they are not to be suffered[o]." And this is all which he can be fairly said to allow in his present sermon, when after saying, what is most true, that the object of toleration is in the first instance not truth but peace, he urges that when 'by opinions men rifle the affairs of kingdoms, it is also as certain they ought not to be made public and permitted[p].' I do not say that such an admission, unless restricted within narrow bounds, and guarded with greater precision than, either here or in the Liberty of Prophesying, Taylor has employed, may not be dangerous to the principles which he has elsewhere with such admirable ability supported. A better opportunity will ere long present itself of examining the extent and clearness of his views on this most interesting subject. But it is of consequence to his moral no less than his philosophical character to shew that his opinions were the same at different periods of his life, and under very different circumstances. And it is perfectly apparent from the general tenor and tendency of the discourse of which I am speaking, that he was as tolerant as ever of religious differences, simply taken. Nor am I acquainted with any composition of human eloquence which is more deeply imbued with a spirit of practical holiness,—which more powerfully attracts the attention of men from the subtilties of theology to the duties and charities of religion,—or

[o] Lib. of Proph., vol. v. p. 536. [p] Serm. before Univ. of Dublin, vol. viii. p. 367.

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which evinces a more lofty disdain of those trifling subjects of dispute which then or since have divided the Protestant churches.

"The way," he tells us, "to judge of religion, is by doing of our duty: and theology is rather a divine life than a divine knowledge. In heaven indeed we shall first see, and then love; but here on earth we must first love, and love will open our eyes as well as our hearts; and we shall then see, and perceive, and understand."

In pursuance of this train of thought, he goes on to shew how strangely vice and self-interest have power to clog and hebetate the understanding; how necessary is the aid of God's spirit to direct the will aright; and how much that spiritual assistance which is really and ordinarily promised in scripture, differs from the new revelations, the visions, and the ecstasies, which fanatics both in the Roman and Protestant churches have expected or pretended to. He describes the holy Ghost as a Spirit who "does not spend His holy influences in disguises and convulsions of the understanding;" who "does not destroy reason, but heightens it;" who "goes in company with His own ordinances, and makes progressions by the measures of life; His infusions are just as our acquisitions, and His graces pursue the methods of nature: that which was imperfect, He leads on to perfection: and that which was weak, He makes strong: He opens the heart, not to receive murmurs, or to attend to secret whispers, but to hear the word of God; and then He opens the heart, and creates a new one; and without this new creation, this new principle of life, we may hear the word of God, but we can never understand it; we hear the sound, but are never the better; unless there be in our hearts a secret conviction by the Spirit of God, the gospel in itself is a dead letter, and worketh not in us the light and righteousness of God."

After enlarging in a strain of exalted eloquence and poetry on the internal privileges of the truly good and sanctified by the communion of God's spirit, he explains the knowledge which a holy man possesses of the mysteries of religion, compared with that of a more learned but worldly professor of christianity, as excelling the latter in the same way that experience excels theory, and practice speculation. "What learning is it to discourse of the philosophy of the sacrament, if you do not feel the virtue of it? and the man that can with eloquence and subtilty discourse of the instrumental efficacy of baptismal waters, talks ignorantly in respect of him who hath the answer of a good conscience within, and is cleansed by the purifications of the Spirit. If the question concern any thing that can perfect a man and make him happy, all that is the proper knowledge and notice of the good man. How can a wicked man understand the purities of the heart? and how can an evil and unworthy communicant tell what it is to have received Christ by faith, to dwell with Him, to be united to Him, to receive Him in his heart? The good man only understands that: the one sees the colour, and the

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other feels the substance; the one discourses of the sacrament, and the other receives Christ; the one discourses for or against transubstantiation, but the good man feels himself to be changed, and so joined to Christ, that he only understands the true sense of transubstantiation, while he becomes to Christ bone of His bone, flesh of His flesh, and of the same spirit with his Lord. . . 'The Comforter, which is the holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things.' Well; there is our teacher told of plainly; but how shall we obtain this teacher, and how shall we be taught? Christ will pray for us, that we may have this Spirit. That is well: but shall all Christians have the Spirit? Yes, all that will live like Christians; for so said Christ, 'If ye love Me, keep My commandments; and I will pray the Father, and He will give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever.' . . Mark these things; the Spirit of God is our teacher; He will abide with us for ever to be our teacher; He will teach us all things; but how? If ye love Christ, if ye keep His commandments, but not else: if ye be of the world, that is, of worldly affections, ye cannot see Him, ye cannot know Him."

After applying the test of conformity to God's commandments to the spirit in which the religious disputes of his time had chiefly been carried on, and the doctrines which had been insisted on;—after observing that "he that shall maintain it to be lawful to make a war for the defence of his opinion, be it what it will, his doctrine is against godliness;" that he who, "for the garments and outsides of religion," neglects the duty of obedience to his superiors, "is a man of fancy and of the world," rather than of God and the Spirit; and that "that is no good religion that disturbs governments, or shakes the foundation of public peace;"—he closes his discourse with an exhortation to those who were his immediate auditors, which they can hardly have heard without their hearts burning within them;—

"To you, fathers and brethren,—you who are or intend to be of the clergy; you see here the best *compendium* of your studies, the best abbreviature of your labours, the truest method of wisdom, and the infallible, the only way of judging concerning the disputes and questions in christendom. It is not by reading multitudes of books, but by studying the truth of God: it is not by laborious commentaries of the doctors that you can finish your work, but by the expositions of the Spirit of God: it is not by the rules of metaphysics, but by the proportions of holiness: and when all books are read, and all arguments examined, and all authorities alleged, nothing can be found to be true that is unholy. 'Give yourselves to reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine,' saith St. Paul. Read all good books you can; but exhortation unto good life is the best instrument, and the best teacher of true doctrine, of that which is according to godliness.

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"And let me tell you this: the great learning of the fathers was more owing to their piety than to their skill; more to God than to themselves: and to this purpose is that excellent ejaculation of S. Chrysostom, with which I will conclude: 'O blessed and happy men, whose names are in the book of life, from whom the devils fled, and heretics did fear them, who (by holiness) have stopped the mouths of them that spake perverse things! But I like David will cry out, Where are Thy loving-kindnesses which have been ever of old? where is the blessed quire of bishops and doctors, who shined like lights in the world, and contained the word of life? *Dulce est meminisse;* their very memory is pleasant. Where is that Evodius, the sweet savour of the church, the successor and imitator of the holy apostles? where is Ignatius, in whom God dwelt? where is S. Dionysius the areopagite, that bird of paradise, that celestial eagle? where is Hippolytus, that good man, ἀνὴρ χρηστὸς, that gentle sweet person? where is great S. Basil, a man almost equal to the apostles? where is Athanasius, rich in virtue? where is Gregory Nyssen, that great divine? and Ephrem, the great Syrian, that stirred up the sluggish, and awakened the sleepers, and comforted the afflicted, and brought the young men to discipline; the looking-glass of the religious, the captain of the penitents, the destruction of heresies, the receptacle of graces, the habitation of the holy Ghost?' . . These were the men that prevailed against error, because they lived according to truth; and whoever shall oppose you, and the truth you walk by, may better be confuted by your lives than by your disputations. Let your adversaries have no evil thing to say of you, and then you will best silence them: for all heresies and false doctrines are but like Myron's counterfeit cow, it deceived none but beasts; and these can cozen none but the wicked and the negligent, them that love a lie, and live according to it. But if ye become burning and shining lights; if ye do not detain the truth in unrighteousness; if ye walk in light and live in the Spirit; your doctrines will be true, and that truth will prevail. But if ye live wickedly and scandalously, every little schismatic shall put you to shame, and draw disciples after him, and abuse your flocks, and feed them with colocynths and hemlock, and place heresy in the chairs appointed for your religion.

"I pray God give you all grace to follow this wisdom, to study this learning, to labour for the understanding of godliness; so your time and your studies, your persons and your labours, will be holy and useful, sanctified and blessed, beneficial to men, and pleasing to God, through Him who is the wisdom of the Father, who is made to all them that love Him, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

In 1663 Taylor published his Χρίσις τελειωτική, a 'Defence and introduction to the rite of Confirmation,' dedicated to the duke of Ormond; three Sermons, preached at Christ church, Dublin; and

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a funeral sermon on the primate Bramhall, full of curious information concerning the secret history of the times, and the pains which had been taken, with more success than was then generally known or apprehended, to pervert the exiled king from the faith of his countrymen. He was now also busied on the last considerable work which he lived to publish, his 'Dissuasive from Popery,' which appeared in 1664.

This task he had undertaken by desire of the collective body of Irish bishops; and their injunctions, and the obvious necessity of the measure, he represents as his only motives for again embarking in so troublous a sea, notwithstanding his great and increasing aversion to that and every other controversy. It was difficult however for any good man to survey the follies and idolatries of popery, as they subsisted around him in their most revolting forms, without being anxious by every means in his power to abate the evil, or prevent its farther diffusion.

No part indeed of the administration of Ireland by the English crown has been more extraordinary and more unfortunate, than the system pursued for the introduction of the reformed religion. Instead of sending in the first instance missionaries well skilled in their native tongue to convince the inhabitants of the errors of their ancient faith, and conciliate them to a reception of the new, the churches were filled with English preachers, whose nation made them unpopular, and whose ignorance of the language which only their parishioners could speak or understand with readiness, prevented all extensive benefit from their zeal however warm, and their abilities however considerable. It was not even thought necessary to furnish them with a translation either of the liturgy or the scriptures: though, by a refinement in absurdity, they were to be compelled by a fine (which indeed was rarely enforced) to attendance on a church service, which was still more unintelligible to them than their ancient mass book, without having the same early associations to recommend it to them. Accordingly, while Wales, from an opposite line of treatment, received the doctrines of the Reformation with avidity, and at an early period was become almost exclusively Protestant; while the Norman isles have ever since been among the most faithful adherents of the episcopal church, from the advantage of French preachers and a French service book, Ireland, with a people above most others docile and susceptible of new impressions, has remained, through a great majority of her population, in the profession of a creed discountenanced by the state, and under the dominion of prejudices which even to the present moment no effectual measures have been taken to remove. A few unconnected, though zealous, and so far as they went successful efforts to remove this ignorance, were made by such men as Usher and the excellent bishop Bedell, and afterwards by Mr. Boyle. But government, which ought to have given the first impulse, was bent on a narrow and illiberal policy of supplanting the Irish by the

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English language, to which the present moral and religious instruction of millions was to give way, and which, though it has in part succeeded (through circumstances of which the march was altogether independent of the measures taken to forward it) has left a division of the national heart, far worse than that of the tongue, and perpetuated prejudices which might at first have been easily removed or softened. Even now,—though the liturgy has been translated, and though there are many parishes where English is almost unknown,—throughout Ireland, if I am rightly informed, no public prayers are offered up in the ancient language; and though a version of the scriptures has long existed, it is only within the few last years that any attempts have been made to circulate them among the poor [p].

It was indeed the misfortune of Ireland, and one which materially prevented the application of any active means for the conversion of her natives to a pure mode of faith and worship, that among the English clergy who were the first heralds of protestantism to her shores, a large proportion were favourers of the peculiar system of Calvin; a system of all others the least attractive to the feelings of a Roman catholic; and the professors of which, as they looked on their brethren of the church of England as themselves little better than idolaters, have generally been more inclined to spend their zeal in a disturbance of the internal peace of their own communion, than in an energetic extension of the general principles of protestantism among those who are without its pale. In England, during the reign of king Edward, when the great impression was in fact given to the public mind in favour of the monarch's creed, the points of difference which afterwards arose among its supporters were happily unknown, or wisely suppressed; and the transition in the external forms of worship was so small, and the changes which struck the common people most were all so obviously for the better, that even the ministers of the old religion had no good plea for withdrawing themselves from the church, and the body kept its ancient shape and substance, though its deformities were removed, and new blood infused throughout the system. To the Irish, protestantism presented itself as a system on which its own members were not agreed; and of protestants, that party which for a time gained the victory was precisely that one whose rites and doctrines were most at variance with all to which the Irish had been accustomed, and whose professors regarded the Irish Roman catholic with most contempt and abhorrence. The unhappy rebellion of More and O'Nial in 1641, loaded as the memory of its instigators must ever remain with the stain of folly, bloodguiltiness, and cruelty, was accelerated no doubt if not occasioned, by the oppression of sir William Parsons, and the other heads of the puritan faction; by a dread of those severities, the not inflicting

[p] [Much has been done lately towards teaching the Irish to read the scriptures in their native language; with this object the college of St. Columba was recently established, and several scholarships founded in Trinity college, Dublin.]

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of which on the Papists, the Calvinists both in Ireland and England made a leading charge against their sovereign, and by the interruption, through the influence of the same rising party, of the wise and benevolent though vigorous policy introduced in Ireland under the Stuart dynasty[q].

On the consequences of that rebellion—consequences even at the present day most deeply and injuriously felt by the church of Ireland and her national prosperity—this is not the place to enlarge. It is only necessary to observe that during Taylor's life, and at the time of which I am speaking, they existed in all their greatest and most recent deformity; and that more particularly the maintenance of the ancient religion was with the original Irish a bond of union and mutual support, a guarantee to their political existence, a title to their alienated possessions, and a pledge of their future vengeance on those by whom they had been despoiled. And while the more educated classes of society had these cogent reasons for listening with reluctance to any thing which might be urged against the faith of their ancestors, the understandings and consciences of the illiterate peasantry were in the keeping of those who had still stronger motives of prejudice and interest to retain them in the old superstition. "The Roman religion," as Taylor himself observes, "is here amongst us a faction, and a state party, and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living; a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be *populus unius labii*, a people of one language and unmingled with others. And if this be religion, it is such an one as ought to be reproved by all the severities of reason and religion, lest the people perish, and their souls be cheaply given away to them that make merchandize of souls, who were the purchase and price of Christ's blood!"

Such obstacles as these a learned treatise on the errors of popery was not very likely to batter down, and the author himself appears to have been extremely far from participating[r] an immediate or extensive success of his labours. "Having given," are his words[s], "this sad account why it was necessary that my lords the bishops should take care to do what they have done in this affair, and why I did consent to be engaged in this controversy, otherwise than I love to be; and since it is not a love of trouble and contention, but charity to the souls of the poor deluded Irish; there is nothing remaining but that we humbly desire of God to accept and bless this well-meant labour of love; and that by some admirable ways of His providence He will be pleased to convey to them the notices of their danger and their sin, and to de-obstruct the passages of necessary truth to them; for we know the arts of their guides, and that it will be very hard that the notice of these things shall ever be suffered to arrive to the common people, but 'that which hinders will hinder

[q] Carte, Life of Ormond, vol. i. p. 138.
[r] [? anticipating.]
[s] [Preface to Dissuasive from Popery, vol. vi. p. 177.]

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until it be taken away:' however, we believe and hope in God for remedy."

The remedy may at first sight appear to have been more in the power of Taylor and his brethren than they were themselves perhaps aware of. If the Roman catholics, as he had previously complained in this same preface, were so studiously kept back by their spiritual guides from acquiring a knowledge of English, it was surely a very obvious measure for the preachers of the true faith to inform themselves in the ancient Irish. It was a course which Bedell had already tried with success, to introduce as far as possible the scriptures and the liturgy in that language into the churches; and to promote to the care of parishes in preference to all others, such ministers as were able to cope with the friars on their own ground, and enable the peasants to hear the gospel 'every man in his own tongue wherein he was born.'

Had such a system even then been adopted, it is impossible to suppose that much good might not have been effected; and this very discourse of Taylor's, though too long and too learned to penetrate among the mountains and into the cottages; yet,—as furnishing the agents in the work of conversion with arguments adapted alike to the ignorant and the learned; with zeal, increased in proportion to their own knowledge of the importance of the truths which they conveyed; and with that celestial armoury of spiritual weapons which his admirable knowledge of scripture has supplied,—might have itself been a source of light to thousands; a means in God's hand of drying up the waters of bitterness, and removing the greatest obstacle which has existed to the peace and prosperity of the empire[t].

What peculiar hindrances they were to which he alludes (and it is but reasonable as well as charitable to believe that some such intervened to prevent the adoption of a plan so apparently obvious) whether they were confined to Taylor's own diocese, or arose from the general state of the country and the neglect or impolicy of its government, it is now by no means easy to determine. The restoration of the protestant episcopal church seems to have been a juncture peculiarly favourable for such exertions as I have mentioned; and it

[t] [An anecdote has been preserved to us in the life of Dodwell (Brokesby, ch. iv.) which recalls our attention for a moment to Taylor's relation to the college in Dublin; and which is the more interesting, as so few records of that kind remain to us; the college registers having been destroyed in the troubles of the country, so that there is a great blank in the history of the university:—

"The statutes of the college near Dublin require the fellows to take orders when they are Masters of Arts of three years standing. Mr. Dodwell, not complying herewith, left his fellowship in the year 1666. Bishop Jeremy Taylor, who had a particular kindness for him, offered to use his interest to procure for him a dispensation, notwithstanding that statute, to continue him in his fellowship. But he refused to accept of that kind offer, in that it might become an ill precedent, and of bad consequence afterwards to the college. So little did he value his own, when detrimental to a public interest."]

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is difficult to suppose that forms so like their own, and doctrines so conformable to reason, would have produced a less effect on the minds of the Irish, than has since been done by the preaching of the wildest and most ignorant sectaries.

But, for the neglect or the oversight, if such existed, it was not Taylor who was chiefly answerable. He was one of many, and in rank not among the most eminent; and he was already sinking under the burthen, not of years, but of a constitution broken with study and adversity [u], and which was still more effectually crushed by severe domestic affliction.

[u] Note (K K.) [In the fourth year of his consecration, we find Taylor, in a letter to Sheldon, pleading his broken health as a reason why he desired to be removed to a less trying sphere of labour. The immediate occasion of his writing was to recommend a gentleman who had been engaged in public duties in Ireland to the favourable notice of the archbishop:—

"Portmore, May 25, 1664.

May it please your grace.

That honourable person who conveys this address to your grace's hands, is the person for whose sake principally it is now made. I know not what affairs call him into England, save only that he takes occasion to attend the lord Lieutenant; but as every wise man that comes hence desires, so he also is ambitious of standing fair in your grace's opinion; and though I can add no moments to it, yet I being requested to tell truth concerning him, could not deny to acquaint your grace how much and how well he hath deserved of the Church of Ireland. This gentleman, Sr Richard Kennedy, is the second Baron of the Exchequer, and his appointment hath been the north east circuit of Ulster, ever since his Majesty's most happy restauration; so that my diocese falling under his lot as Judge of Assize, I have been an eye and ear witness of his very great zeal in all the affairs of the Church. He hath indeed with no less care than prudence opposed himself against all the enemies of the Church in these parts, and hath infinitely discountenanced and punished them ever according to law, until his hands were tied by orders procured sometimes from the council table; and yet even then also, because he was bound by oath to proceed according to law, although he was restrained in the execution, yet he would not be so in the sentence. He is indeed a just and a prudent man, and a most obedient son of the Church, and which I most of all value, he was always so in the very worst times. This is all perfectly true, and I am not desired to say anything concerning any affair of his; but only of his person and his piety; I have since his coming amongst us obtained of the country to give him a general and public testimony of his care of the Church and his Majesty's service, which was by public subscriptions consigned into the hands of the lord lieutenant and council; so that he stands very upright amongst us, and is known to be a good and a wise man; and I humbly beseech your grace to believe me in this to all such purposes for which Sr Richard shall prudently desire to make use of it.

I have one word to interpose in behalf of myself; for the priest that goes to the altar to pray for others, will also interpose a collect for himself. I have been informed from a good hand in England, that your grace was pleased once to say, that I myself was the only hindrance to myself of being removed to an English bishopric. If it be by any fault of mine (of which I cannot so much as make a conjecture) I will certainly make amends when I know it, and in the mean time I beg of your grace to pardon it; but if it be only my unworthiness, it is true, I do confess and deplore that; but I know your grace can either find me worthy, or make me so. However, I humbly desire that your grace will not wholly lay me aside, and cast off all thoughts of removing me; for no man shall with a greater diligence, humility, and observance endeavour to make up his other disabilites, than I shall. For the case is so that the country does not agree with my health as it hath done formerly, till the last Michaelmas; and if your grace be not willing I should die immaturely, I shall still hope you will bring me to or near yourself once more. But to God and to your grace I humbly submit this

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Of the second[v] marriage, as we have already seen, one son only, Edward, had escaped the small-pox, and him he had buried at Lisburn. Of his first[x], according to lady Wray, two sons survived. The eldest of these, whom she calls 'her uncle Edward,' though as I conceive mistakenly, was a captain of horse in the king's service, and fell in a duel with a brother officer of the name of Vane, who also died of his wounds. The second, Charles, was intended for the church, and remained till of standing for his degree of master of arts, at Trinity college, Dublin. His views of life however, and as it should seem his conduct, did not correspond with his father's hopes and example: and he became the favourite companion, and at length the secretary, of Villiers duke of Buckingham. He died of a decline, at the house of his patron at Baynard's castle, and was buried in S. Margaret's church, Westminster, August 2, 1667[y]. The bishop himself, who had, as may be well believed, and as his grand-daughter assures us, nearly sunk under the loss of his eldest son, and its unfortunate circumstances, can hardly have heard of this second blow before his own release. He was attacked by a fever, on the third of August in the same year, at Lisburn, where he appears during the latter part of his life to have often occasionally resided; and died after a ten days' sickness, in the fifty-fifth[z] year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopacy.

His remains were removed to Dromore, to the church of which place he had been a liberal benefactor. Dr. Rust, his friend, and his successor in that see, preached a funeral sermon, which in itself is no bad copy of Taylor's peculiar style of eloquence, and is well calculated to shew the veneration in which he was held, the sweetness of his temper, and the variety of his accomplishments. No monument however was erected to his memory[a], and about a cen-

whole affair; humbly desiring a kind return to this letter, that I may at least have the honour of a letter, and the comfort of a little hope. However, I most earnestly desire your grace's pious prayers, and the continuance and (if it may be) the increase of your favour to

May it please your grace,

Your grace's most obliged and most humble servant,

Your most affectionate, though unworthy brother,

JEREM. DUNENSIS.

To the most reverend father in God the lord archbishop of Canterbury his grace, Primate of all England and metropolitan, These humbly present, London."

Touching the general question of translation to another see, cf. p. c. above.]

[v] [See pp. xxxv. and lxiii. above.]

[x] ['Of his two first,' ed. by an error of the press as it would seem.]

[y] Note (L L.) [cf. vol. iv. p. 655.]

[z] [See note to p. xiii. above.]

[a] [The venerable and accomplished prelate to whom we are indebted for a 'History of the church of Ireland,' was able, in noticing this statement of Heber's, to say that in his own day the omission had been supplied; a tablet having been set up in memory of bishop Taylor in 1827 in the cathedral church of Lisburn by the bishop and clergy of Down and Connor.

To write an epitaph on Jeremy Taylor was a work requiring a pious and a graceful hand; and they who honour his memory will read with pleasure the inscription in which bishop Mant has set forth the virtues and the talents of his predecessor:—

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tury afterwards his bones, and those of his friend Rust, were disturbed from their vault to make room for the coffin of another bishop[e]. The late venerable bishop Percy had them carefully collected and replaced. That their repose was ever violated, or that they were suffered to lie neglected so long, is not to be recorded without indignation.

And at the time of his death he had already sent to the press the 'Second part' of his 'Dissuasive from popery,' being in a great measure an answer to 'Sure footing in christianity,' a work by John

NON MAGNA LOQUIMUR SED VIVIMUS.
NIHIL OPINIONIS GRATIA OMNIA CONSCIENTIÆ FACIAM.

NOT TO PERPETUATE THE MEMORY OF ONE
WHOSE WORKS WILL BE HIS MOST ENDURING MEMORIAL,
BUT THAT THERE MAY NOT BE WANTING
A PUBLIC TESTIMONY TO HIS MEMORY IN THE DIOCESE
WHICH DERIVES HONOUR FROM HIS SUPERINTENDENCE,
THIS TABLET IS INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF
JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.
WHO ON THE RESTORATION IN M.DC.LX.
OF THE BRITISH CHURCH AND MONARCHY,
IN THE FALL OF WHICH HE HAD PARTAKEN,
HAVING BEEN PROMOTED TO THE BISHOPRICK
OF DOWN AND CONNOR,
AND HAVING PRESIDED FOR SEVEN YEARS IN THAT SEE;
AS ALSO OVER THE ADJOINING DIOCESE OF DROMORE,
WHICH WAS SOON AFTER INTRUSTED TO HIS CARE
"ON ACCOUNT OF HIS VIRTUE, WISDOM, AND INDUSTRY;"
DIED AT LISBURN, AUG. 13, M.DC.LXVII.,
IN THE 55th YEAR OF HIS AGE:
LEAVING BEHIND HIM A RENOWN,
SECOND TO THAT OF NONE OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS SONS
WHOM THE ANGLICAN CHURCH
RICH IN WORTHIES HATH BROUGHT FORTH:
AS A BISHOP DISTINGUISHED
FOR MUNIFICENCE AND VIGILANCE TRULY EPISCOPAL,
AS A THEOLOGIAN, FOR PIETY THE MOST ARDENT,
LEARNING THE MOST EXTENSIVE AND ELOQUENCE INIMITABLE;
IN HIS WRITINGS A PERSUASIVE GUIDE
TO EARNESTNESS OF DEVOTION, UPRIGHTNESS OF PRACTICE,
AND CHRISTIAN FORBEARANCE AND TOLERATION:
A POWERFUL ASSERTOR OF EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT
AND LITURGICAL WORSHIP,
AND AN ABLE EXPOSER OF THE ERRORS
OF THE ROMISH CHURCH:
IN HIS MANNERS A PATTERN OF HIS OWN RULES
OF HOLY LIVING AND HOLY DYING,
AND A FOLLOWER OF THE GREAT EXEMPLAR OF SANCTITY,
AS PORTRAYED BY HIM IN THE PERSON
OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.
READER, THOUGH IT FALL NOT TO THY LOT
TO ATTAIN THE INTELLECTUAL EXCELLENCE
OF THIS MASTER IN ISRAEL,
THOU MAYEST RIVAL HIM IN THAT
WHICH WAS THE HIGHEST SCOPE EVEN OF HIS AMBITION,
AN HONEST CONSCIENCE AND A CHRISTIAN LIFE.]

[e] Mr. Jones's MSS. [But see the History of the Church of Ireland.] whole story examined in bishop Mant's

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Serjeant[d], a Romish priest, who in one of his *appendices* had attacked some of Taylor's former positions.

His widow survived him many years, but the place and time of her death is unknown. He left three daughters, of whom the eldest, Phœbe, died unmarried. The second, Mary, was the wife of doctor Francis Marsh, successively dean of Connor and Armagh, bishop of Limerick and Kilmore, and archbishop of Dublin; whose descendents of the same name are numerous and wealthy. She is mentioned by Evelyn[e], who once met her with her husband at a meeting of the Royal Society, as a woman of abilities and attainments above the usual standard. The third, Joanna, was married to Edward Harrison, of Maralave, esquire, member during many successive parliaments for the borough of Lisburn, whose daughter, already mentioned, married sir Cecil Wray, and from whom was lineally descended William Todd Jones, of Homra, esquire, to whose MS. remains the present work is so materially indebted. A further account of these different branches will be found in the notes[f].

The comeliness of Taylor's person has been often noticed, and he himself appears to have been not insensible of it. Few authors have so frequently introduced their own portraits, in different characters and attitudes, as ornaments to their printed works. So far as we may judge from these, he appears to have been above the middle size, strongly and handsomely proportioned, with his hair long and gracefully curling on his cheeks, large dark eyes, full of sweetness, an aquiline nose, and an open and intelligent countenance. He was thus represented in an original picture, once in the possession of the Marsh family, but unfortunately lost by his great-grandson Jeremy Marsh, together with other property, in a dangerous ford which it was necessary to pass in removing to a fresh place of residence[g]. It is from a copy of this painting, still in the possession of Mrs. Digby, that the engraving is taken which is prefixed to Mr. Bonney's volume. I suspect however that in this copy a liberty has been taken in altering the dress of the original; inasmuch as the face is younger than is consistent with the age at which he became qualified to wear the episcopal robes. And it is remarkable that in no instance do any of the engravings made during his lifetime represent him in the chimara and rochet. Another portrait, whose claims to originality are I believe undoubted, was presented by Mrs. Wray, of Anne's Vale near Rosstrevor, to All Souls college, displaying the same features and style of countenance, but at a more advanced period of life, and marked with a cast of melancholy which it is not difficult to account for from the domestic afflictions of his latter years. This is the likeness which is given with the present work, and I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the admirable pencil

[d] [See vol. vi. p. 285, note.]
[e] Note (M M.)
[f] Note (N N.)
[g] Bonney, MS. note.

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of my friend the honourable Heneage Legge, who made a drawing of it for the use of the engraver. Of Joanna Taylor also there is a portrait in the possession of Mrs. Wray, representing a fine woman with a pleasing oval countenance, and naked hands and arms of much beauty,—standing in an arbour, and suspending a branch of laurel over a bust of Charles the first, which is placed beside her. These, with the watch which Taylor received from his unfortunate sovereign, and which is still preserved by the Marsh family, are, so far as I have discovered, the only relics remaining of this great and good man, and the person most closely united to him by alliance and affection[h].

Of Taylor's domestic habits and private character much is not known, but all which is known is amiable. 'Love,' as well as 'admiration,' is said to have 'waited on him,' in Oxford. In Wales, and amid the mutual irritation and violence of civil and religious hostility, we find him conciliating, when a prisoner, the favour of his keepers, at the same time that he preserved undiminished the confidence and esteem of his own party. Laud, in the height of his power and full-blown dignity; Charles, in his deepest reverses; Hatton, Vaughan, and Conway, amid the tumults of civil war; and Evelyn, in the tranquillity of his elegant retirement; seem alike to have cherished his friendship and coveted his society. The same genius which extorted the commendation of Jeanes for the variety of its research and vigour of its argument, was also an object of interest and affection with the young, and rich, and beautiful Katharine Philips; and few writers who have expressed their opinions so strongly, and sometimes so unguardedly, as he has done, have lived and died with so much praise and so little censure. Much of this felicity may be probably referred to an engaging appearance and a pleasing manner; but its cause must be sought in a still greater degree in the evident kindliness of heart, which, if the uniform tenor of a man's writings is any index to his character, must have distinguished him from most men living; in a temper, to all appearance warm, but easily conciliated; and in that which, as it is one of the least common, is of all dispositions the most attractive, not merely a neglect, but a total forgetfulness of all selfish feeling. It is this indeed which seems to have constituted the most striking feature of his character. Other men have been, to judge from their writings and their lives, to all appearance as religious, as regular in their devotions, as diligent in the performance of all which the laws of God or man require from us; but with Taylor, his duty seems to have been a delight, his piety a passion. His faith was the more vivid in proportion as his fancy was more intensely vigorous; with him the objects of his hope and reverence were scarcely unseen or future; his imagination daily conducted him to 'diet with gods,' and elevated him to the same height above the world, and the same nearness to in-

[h] Note (OO.)

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effable things, which Milton ascribes to his allegorical 'cherub Contemplation.'

With a mind less accurately disciplined in the trammels and harness of the schools—less deeply imbued with ancient learning—less uniformly accustomed to compare his notions with the dictates of elder saints and sages, and submit his novelties to the authority and censure of his superiors,—such ardour of fancy might have led him into dangerous errors; or have estranged him too far from the active duties, the practical wisdom of life, and its dull and painful realities; and on the other hand, his logic and learning—his veneration for antiquity and precedent—and his monastic notions of obedience in matters of faith as well as doctrine,—might have fettered the energies of a less ardent mind, and weighed him down into an intolerant opposer of all unaccustomed truths, and in his own practice a superstitious formalist. Happily however for himself and the world, Taylor was neither an enthusiast nor a bigot: and if there are some few of his doctrines from which our assent is withheld by the decisions of the church and the language of scripture, even these (while in themselves they are almost altogether speculative, and such as could exercise no injurious influence on the essentials of faith or the obligations to holiness) may be said to have a leaning to the side of piety, and to have their foundation in a love for the Deity, and a desire to vindicate His goodness, no less than to excite mankind to aspire after greater degrees of perfection.

His munificent charity was in part shewn by his undertaking at his own expense the rebuilding of his cathedral. It is also warmly praised by Rust, who tells us that when the great preferments which he enjoyed were compared with the small portions which he left to his daughters, charity would be proved to have been the principal steward of his revenues. Yet his daughters married wealthy husbands, and his widow seems to have been well provided for. During the latter part of his life he was engaged in a law-suit, together with his friend lord Conway, against colonel Moses Hill, one of Cromwell's officers, which might have eventually greatly lessened his means; but it seems, from the journals of the Irish house of lords, to have been abandoned by his opponent. His ecclesiastical revenues therefore were certainly great; and the estate of Mandinam, which his wife retained for her life, was of itself sufficient to keep her above poverty[i].

In conformity with the same simple and disinterested character which I have ascribed to him, we find him at one time contributing his endeavours to frame a grammar for children, at another composing prayers and hymns for the young and uninstructed. "If," were his words on one occasion, "you do not choose to fill your boy's head with something, believe me the devil will[k]!" The same temper seems to have made him affable and facetious with his inferiors in rank and knowledge. "It was pleasant," says his secretary

[i] Note (P P.)

[k] Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 45.

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Alcock, "to hear my lord talk with these poor people, the friends of Haddock, on the subject of their relation's spectre[l]." On the whole, we have abundant reason for regret that so little can now be recovered of the private life and daily conversation of one who was so accomplished and so much beloved, that we cannot believe him to have been otherwise than most amiable. The 'family book,' and the papers and letters preserved by his descendents, might have told us much. But these have to all appearances perished; and the admirers of Jeremy Taylor must be content to form their opinion of him almost exclusively from a knowledge of his writings.

Of those writings some further account is yet to be given; in which it may be convenient to consider them in the same order which has been adopted in the present edition[m], and as arranging themselves naturally, according to the subjects on which they treat, into the different descriptions of Practical,—Theological,—Casuistic,—and Devotional. To the first of these classes may be referred the 'Life of Christ;' the 'Holy Living and Holy Dying;' and the 'Sermons.' The second will comprise the series beginning with his 'Episcopacy asserted,' and ending with his 'Dissuasive from popery.' Under the third head may be classed the 'Discourse on friendship,' and *Ductor dubitantium;* while the last contains all which instrumentally or directly refer to devotional exercises; his 'Divine institution of the office ministerial;' his 'Rules and advices for the clergy;' his 'Golden grove,' and the other tracts which will be found in the last volume. It is true that in the best and highest sense of the term all Taylor's works are theological; most of them are distinguished by an acute and discriminating application of general principles to particular cases and persons; and there is none where he does not occasionally escape from the thorns and thistles of controversial questions, to those practical lessons of holiness, and those aspirations of heaven-directed feeling, which are the pervading and peculiar characteristics of his genius. Still however there are some of his works less practical and less devotional than others; and of those which professedly belong to these classes, there are some where the attention is chiefly drawn to the duties of the closet or the temple, and others where he expatiates through a wider range of holiness, and discusses with the same fervour, but with more diffuseness, the obligations, the duties, the charities, and the faith of Christians.

Such is the Life of Christ, or 'Great Exemplar,'—a work undertaken, as he himself tells us in his dedication to lord Hatton[n], with an intention of withdrawing the thoughts of men from controverted and less important doctrines, to the great and necessary rallying points of christianity, and those duties and charities on which all men are agreed, but which all men forget so easily.

[l] Glanville, p. 250. [m] [viz. of 1822.] [n] [vol. ii. p. 2.]

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"In pursuance," he says, "of this consideration, I have chosen to serve the purposes of religion, by doing assistance to that part of theology which is wholly practical, that which makes us wiser, therefore because it makes us better. And truly my lord, it is enough to weary the spirit of a disputer, that he shall argue till he hath lost his voice, and his time, and sometimes the question too; and yet no man shall be of his mind more than was before. How few turn Lutherans, or Calvinists, or Roman catholics, from the religion either of their country or interest! Possibly two or three weak or interested, fantastic and easy, prejudicate and effeminate understandings, pass from church to church, upon grounds as weak as those for which formerly they did dissent; and the same arguments are good or bad, as exterior accidents or interior appetites shall determine. I deny not but for great causes some opinions are to be quitted: but when I consider how few do forsake any, and when any do, oftentimes they choose the wrong side, and they that take the righter do it so by contingency, and the advantage also is so little, I believe that the triumphant persons have but small reason to please themselves in gaining proselytes, since their purchase is so small, and as inconsiderable to their triumph, as it is unprofitable to them who change for the worse or the better upon unworthy motives. In all this there is nothing certain, nothing noble. But he that follows the work of God, that is, labours to gain souls, not to a sect and a subdivision, but to the christian religion, that is, to the faith and obedience of the Lord Jesus, hath a promise to be assisted and rewarded; and all those that go to heaven are the purchase of such undertakings, the fruit of such culture and labours; for it is only a holy life that lands us there.

"And now (my lord) I have told you my reasons, I shall not be ashamed to say that I am weary and toiled with rowing up and down in the seas of questions which the interests of christendom have commenced: and in many propositions of which I am heartily persuaded, I am not certain that I am not deceived; and I find that men are most confident of those articles which they can so little prove that they never made questions of them. But I am most certain that by living in the religion and fear of God, in obedience to the king, in the charities and duties of communion with my spiritual guides, in justice and love with all the world in their several proportions, I shall not fail of that end which is perfective of human nature, and which will never be obtained by disputing."

The work thus introduced and inscribed, is, as it professes to be, of a nature entirely practical. It discusses no doctrines but those on which almost all Christians are agreed, and which necessarily are suggested by the principal events of our Saviour's history. It enters into no critical examination of facts or dates, of evidences or various readings. The author does not exercise his learning and discrimination in explaining those peculiarities of ancient or local history

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and manners which, as they are little less than absolutely necessary to a competent understanding of writers like those of the New testament, so no author of the present day would omit them in a history of our Saviour. He does not even distinguish between those facts which are recorded by the inspired historians themselves, and those which repose on uncertain tradition, or on the mere presumptions of the ancient fathers; but relates, with almost the same apparent faith, the salutation of the angel to the virgin Mary; the Syriac prayer attributed to Christ at His baptism, by S. Philoxenus; and the prostration of the Egyptian idols when the infant Jesus came into their country.

Nor does he attempt in any instance to reconcile the different narrations of the evangelists with each other, or to produce a regular and chronological harmony of the gospel. His work is nothing else than a series of devout meditations on the different events recorded in the New testament, as well as on the more remarkable traditions which have been usually circulated respecting the divine Author of our religion, His earthly parent, and His followers. This is a plan far less extensive, less curious, and perhaps less rational, than would now be contemplated by an eminent divine who should purpose to write a Life of Christ. But even a defective plan, in the hands of a mighty genius, may be clothed with beauties which mere learning and critical acumen could never bestow, and is susceptible of ornaments more rich and various than a more regular structure could receive with propriety. It is even probable that as a book of devotional instruction for every class and age, the 'Great Exemplar' may have gained an impressive and edifying interest, by the exclusion of every thing critical or antiquarian, and by the manner in which it calls our unmingled attention to the narrative of the gospel, heightened only by those picturesque and poetical accompaniments which, like the minute ornaments of an ancient cathedral, though separately taken some of them might seem out of place, yet communicate to the general building the effect of beauty the most luxuriant, the most impressive, the most solemn and sacred.

Be this as it may, it must be confessed that this first popular work of Taylor's contains many splendid moral and devotional passages; that the sermons which are introduced into it (for the disquisitions which occur all answer to this description, and might be delivered from the pulpit with so much effect, that it is hard to believe that this was not their first destination[m]) are conceived in the same spirit of devout and majestic eloquence which pervades his Ἐνιαυτός, and that in the few instances where controversial discussion was unavoidable, no writer of the age has argued with more acuteness, with more extensive learning, or so warm and earnest a charity.

Nor are these the only merits of the work which I am discussing. I am acquainted with no work of Taylor's—I might say with no

[m] [See p. 115 above.]

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work of any author—in which more of practical wisdom may be found, a greater knowledge of the human heart, and a more dexterous and touching application, not only of the solemn truths of christianity, but of even the least important circumstances related in the life of our Saviour, to the devolopment of sound principles of action, and to the correction and guidance of our daily conduct. Thus in his preface, not only the exact conformity of christianity with right reason and natural instinct,—its fitness for the present wants, as well as the future prospects, of man,—and the manner in which it confirms, extends, and illustrates the law of nature,—are laid down with admirable good sense and knowledge of his subject; but many curious and interesting principles of metaphysical and political wisdom will be found incidentally and as if *ex abundanti*, scattered through it, which shew the grasp and vigour of the author's mind, and that though his choice confined him to those topics which are the immediate subjects of his profession, there were few indeed in the treatment of which he might not have excelled. At the same time, there is none of these incidental topics which is not made conducive to the enforcement of practical piety and personal holiness. No part of his work can be read without some fruit of this kind; but in the application of general principles to particular but important instances of thought and action, the 'Exhortation to the imitation of the life of Christ,'—the sermon on the 'Duty of nursing children,'—that on 'Obedience,'—on 'Mortification,'—on 'Baptizing infants,'—on the 'Religion of holy places,'—on 'Scandal,'—and on the 'Divine judgments,' are perhaps the most remarkable.

In some instances, but in a very few, he is not to be followed without caution. He had already[a] imbibed those opinions, the fuller exposition of which afterwards gave so much concern to some of the most distinguished members of the English church, on the subjects of original sin, and the consequences of Adam's transgression. Something of this sort may be traced in his apparently imperfect view of the causes of human corruption, when he tells us[b] that "the law of nature, being decreed and made obligatory, was a sufficient instrument of making man happy, that is, in producing the end of his creation. But as Adam had evil discourses and irregular appetites before he fell (for they made him fall); and as the angels, who had no original sin, yet they chose evil at the first, when it was wholly arbitrary in them to do so or otherwise; so did man. 'God made man upright, but he sought out many inventions.' Some men," he continues, "were ambitious, and by incompetent means would make their brethren to be their servants; some were covetous, and would usurp that which by an earlier distinction had passed into private possession: and then they made new principles, and new discourses, such which were reasonable to their private indirect ends, but not to

[a] [See p. 117 above.]

[b] [Preface, vol. ii. p. 17.]

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the public benefit, and therefore would prove unreasonable and mischievous to themselves at last."

That Adam must have had a capability of sinning before he actually sinned, is demonstrably if not evidently true: and it must in the same way be conceded, if this capability of offending were all which were meant by original sin, that the angels also who sinned must in their degree have had it as well as Adam. But it is neither consonant with reason nor with scripture to assert that all the evil which we find in the world, and in ourselves, either was in Adam before the fall, or has been since accumulated by the free though unhappy choice of his different descendents, gradually as they may have made the world worse, and added the contagion of example and precedent to the inherited and universal propensity to wickedness.

The existence of such a propensity in man, and the necessity of grace to give us the victory over it, Taylor has in very many passages of his works, and in many of this work itself of which we are speaking, acknowledged with much clearness and humility. And it is strange that he did not perceive, that as Adam at his creation was certainly in a state of grace, and as his descendents at their respective births are as confessedly in a state of corruption, some change must have taken place in the nature as well as the situation of mankind; and that though neither Adam nor the angels were in the first instance impeccable, it may well be that in consequence of his fall we are by nature more inclined to sin than either he or they were.

The question will be discussed more at length in another place. I will here only observe that in one who, like Taylor, confessed his own corruption, whencesoever derived, and placed his whole hope of pardon in Christ's blood, and of sanctification in Christ's spirit, the error was divested of its malignity so far as it respected himself, though an error it certainly was, and, in certain ways of applying the principle, a dangerous one. It is curious to see how extremes meet. Taylor seems to have been in a great measure led into his mistake by a horror of Calvinism, and an anxiety to avoid ascribing to God the apparent injustice of cursing all the world for the sins of one man. Yet he falls into the highest supralapsarian Calvinism, by merely throwing a little further back the origin of man's misery, and representing him as coming immediately from the hand of his Maker with the same load of invincible corruption (invincible unless by superadded grace) which his descendents in their present state carry about with them.

Surely there is little difference whether we say with the ultra-Calvinists that God created man in order that he might fall, or that He so created him that he could not help falling. But if Adam were framed not only with a capacity of sinning, but also of remaining without sin, he was then certainly in a state which his descendents do not experience; and there is no event in the history of the world to which the loss of this state can be assigned, except the fall of Adam and its consequences.

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Nor is the justice of God impugned by the supposition that privileges which Adam had abused or neglected were not continued to his descendents, or that the race of men were thenceforward put under a new regimen of weakness and of repentance; the weakness receiving sufficient but inferior spiritual aids, the repentance rewarded with a blessing beyond the utmost which Adam could have hoped for. This is the light in which the question has been viewed by the English church, and this, it might be thought, was one which, while it sufficiently establishes the dependence of man on his Maker, sufficiently vindicates the Creator from being the cause of evil, and from desiring that any of His children should perish.

Another instance in which Taylor has passed from a common and dangerous extreme to an opposite equally erroneous, is the case of death-bed repentance, which here, as in a succeeding work, he clogs with so many dangers and limitations as to render it but very little less than impossible. It has been indeed at all times a vulgar and perilous self-flattery, to apprehend not only that repentance would after a life of sin be at any time when we willed it within our power; but that a few expiring lamentations, extorted by the fear of approaching torment, were to expiate for many years of obstinate transgression, and supply in the heart of him who is passing to his account that love, that purity, and those other christian graces, without which even heaven itself would be a place of misery. It is even probable that the author may have been disgusted in those days, as he would have been in these of almost equal enthusiasm, with the spectacles of criminals advancing triumphantly to their scaffold, and looking forward to a death which they had brought on themselves by their crimes, with the same exultation as a martyr might embrace his stake; the same expressed and boasted assurance of bliss as if the fiery chariot of the prophet were visibly waiting to receive them. Of the harm which may be done to the dying by such indiscriminate comfort—of the harm which the living will in all probability receive from such exaggerated statements—I am fully and mournfully sensible. But to calculate, as Taylor does, the time which is required for the acquisition of graces which God may if He pleases at once communicate; to require the expression of outward and long-continued actions as in all instances equally necessary to confirm the inward feeling in His eyes by whom that feeling itself may be inspired; is to make the narrow gate of salvation narrower than God has made it, and in our anxiety for the holiness of men in health, to seal up in despair the sick soul that might otherwise have burst its bondage. There may, it should be recollected, even on a death-bed, and in a very short space of time, be the opportunity of rendering God acceptable service, and bringing forth, though amid darkness and terror, the fruits of repentance. We may have time for prayer; we may have time for confession; for forgiveness of our enemies; for patience; for resignation: perhaps for restitution. We may have time

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for some of these, for the rest we may have a desire; and for all of these, we know, in one illustrious instance, the penitent thief had not time or opportunity. The danger which there always must be that in sickness we should neither have opportunity nor spiritual power to turn to God,—the chance that our heads may be light, or our hearts hardened, when the day of sorrow comes on us,—are terrors sufficiently great to lead every man who is not insensible of danger, to employ to the best of his power the day of salvation while it shines; as well knowing that whether others are called effectually in the eleventh hour or not, the time at which he is last called must be the eleventh hour to him. Still however the manner in which Taylor has painted the dangers of a sinner's death-bed displays no ordinary pencil; and the colours (dismal as they are, and in some instances overcharged,) are marked on the whole with so much truth, that I could wish some of his frightful legends published in a popular form, as an antidote to those edifying deaths which are now in almost daily circulation[p].

These are the only particulars of importance which occur to me, in which this great and good man has, in the work now before us, departed from the usual sense of the church and the general analogy of scripture. There are other but in comparison very trifling points on which he has pronounced with too much haste or positiveness. In his Discourse on Repentance[q], he takes it for granted that the angels who sinned had never any room for repentance; that "their first act of volition was their whole capacity of a blissful or a miserable eternity: they made their own sentence when they made their election." This he had learned from the schoolmen, who apprehending that the production of the angels must have taken place on the same day with the creation of the heavenly bodies, were perplexed how else to find sufficient time for the apostasy of Satan between the commencement of his being and his successful temptation of the woman, and thought the opinion *probabiliorem et sanctiorem quod*[r] *statim post primum instans suæ creationis diabolus peccaverit.* But Taylor has in this instance expressed himself with more positiveness than Aquinas; and we surely know too little of the angelic nature and history to assume any facts concerning either which are not clearly revealed in scripture. That there are angels, and that some of them have not kept their first estate, we know, for it has been made known to us. But wherein their fault consisted, or how long they had previously remained in glory and innocency, as God has not told us, it is useless to guess, and worse than useless to ground an argument on our conjectures.

In another opinion which he elsewhere in different passages of his works repeats, he has fallen into the same mistake with Warburton.

[p] 'On Repentance,' vol. ii. pp. 378, 88. 'On Death,' vol. ii. pp. 684, 6, 9.

[q] [vol. ii. p. 352.]

[r] ['Sed probabilior et sanctorum dictis magis consonans est (opinio) quod' &c.] Thom. Aquin. sum. 1ma pars, quæst. lxiii. [art. 6.]

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He tells us[s] that Balaam, when he prayed to die the death of the righteous, had only respect to length of days and tranquillity of mind, the promise of a life after death being hidden from the age in which he lived. Without entering into such a discussion, it is enough to say that Michaelis[t] has shewn that the writings of Moses contain abundant proofs that the immortality of the soul was familiarly known to his contemporaries.

There is some grave trifling in vol. ii. p. 104, about the letters of Jehovah's name, which he had from the Cabbalists. If he designed it as a poetical ornament, it savours of the taste of the time: if as an argument or illustration, it rests on too weak authority to be good for any thing. In all his works, he is fond of alluding to historical incidents, often with an admirable oratorical effect, though the stories alleged may be no more than idle legends. Here however he has twice[u] quoted as from scripture, though without naming the place, a story of twenty-three thousand Assyrians destroyed in one night for fornication, which I confess I never met with in scripture or elsewhere. But these are trifling blemishes in a work of so great length, of so distinguished beauty, usefulness, and learning, in which he has nobly fulfilled the purpose expressed in his preface[x], "to advance the necessity, and to declare the manner and parts, of a good life." "I have followed," he continues, "the design of scripture, and have given milk for babes, and for stronger men stronger meat; and in all I have despised my own reputation, by so striving to make it useful, that I was less careful to make it strict in retired senses, and embossed with unnecessary but graceful ornaments. I pray God this may go forth into a blessing to all that shall use it, and reflect blessings upon me all the way, that my spark may grow greater by kindling my brother's taper, and God may be glorified in us both. If the reader shall receive no benefit, yet I intended him one, and I have laboured in order to it; and I shall receive a great recompense for that intention, if he shall please to say this prayer for me,—That while I have preached to others, I may not become a cast-away!"

In the 'Literary life of the reverend John Serjeant, written by himself,' inserted in the Roman catholic miscellany entitled the *Catholicon*, vol. iii., the 'Great Exemplar' is said to be a mere translation of the Life of Christ by Ludolphus de Saxonia[y]. The assertion however is entirely groundless; so much so, that except in the circumstance that both authors intermix prayers and moral reflections with their narrative, it is scarcely possible to find two books written on any one subject which have so few coincidences of arrangement, sentiment, or expression. The merits of the works of Ludolphus, which,

[s] [vol. ii. p. 529.]

[t] Michaelis, Argumenta immortalitatis animarum ex Mose collecta. [in Syntagm. comment. p. 80 sqq. 4to. Goetting. 1759.]

[u] [vol. ii. pp. 18, 593, and iv. 486.]

[x] [vol. ii. p. 37.]

[y] Vita Jesu Christi redemptoris nostri, ex medullis evangelicis et approbatis ab ecclesia doctoribus sedule per Ludolphum de Saxonia ordinis Carthusiensis collecta.—[fol. Argent. 1474; ed. alt. fol. Par.] 1509.

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as a pious, useful, and practical treatise, I am very far from undervaluing, are of a nature entirely different from those of the Great Exemplar. Ludolphus (as was necessary in an author who wrote for those by whom the scriptures themselves were little known or studied) gives a long and minute detail of almost every word and action of our Lord; appending to each a string of moral and religious observations, extracted, chiefly *verbatim*, from the fathers. Taylor passes rapidly over the greater part of this detail; but expands from time to time into long and eloquent discourses on the more remarkable actions and doctrines of our Lord, to which his rival offers nothing correspondent. The style of the one is usually plain and simple, though his prayers are, many of them, conceived in a pleasing and fervent strain of piety. That of the other luxuriates in a richness of imagery and a grandiloquence of expression which breathe in every sentence the vital and essential spirit of poetry. The reading of Taylor was so excursive that it is indeed most probable that he was not unacquainted with the work of Ludolphus, and it is possible that from it the outline and first conception of his own book may have been taken. But more than this a comparison of the two Lives forbids us to allow, and for even this, so far as I am aware, there is no internal evidence whatever in the work of Taylor.

I have already suggested the probability which there is that the extensive popularity of the Great Exemplar produced the 'Holy Living' and the 'Holy Dying,' works which were in like manner devoted to the promotion of practical holiness, and which, with the exception of some sermons, were the next in succession of his published labours.

Both are dedicated to the earl of Carbery, the first in a splendid description of the miseries of the time, and the duty of a good man under those miseries. This dedication concludes[z] with five rules for the application of the counsels which follow, so simple, so just, and displaying so accurate a knowledge of the dispositions and dangers of mankind, that they cannot be too firmly imprinted in the memory of a Christian;—

"First, they that will with profit make use of the proper instruments of virtue, must so live as if they were always under the physician's hand. For the counsels of religion are not to be applied to the distempers of the soul as men used to take hellebore; but they must dwell together with the spirit of a man, and be twisted about his understanding for ever: they must be used like nourishment, that is, by a daily care and meditation, not like a single medicine, and upon the actual pressure of a present necessity. For counsels and wise discourses applied to an actual distemper, at the best are but like strong smells to an epileptic person; sometimes they may raise him, but they never cure him. The following rules, if they be made fami-

[z] [vol. iii. p. 3 sqq.]

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liar to our natures and the thoughts of every day, may make virtue and religion become easy and habitual; but when the temptation is present, and hath already seized upon some portions of our consent, we are not so apt to be counselled; and we find no gust or relish in the precept; the lessons are the same, but the instrument is unstrung or out of tune.

"Secondly, in using the instruments of virtue, we must be curious to distinguish instruments from duties, and prudent advices from necessary injunctions; and if by any other means the duty can be secured, let there be no scruples stirred concerning any other helps: only if they can in that case strengthen and secure the duty, or help towards perseverance, let them serve in that station in which they can be placed. For there are some persons in whom the Spirit of God hath breathed so bright a flame of love, that they do all their acts of virtue by perfect choice and without objection; and their zeal is warmer than that it will be allayed by temptation: and to such persons mortification by philosophical instruments, as fasting, sackcloth, and other rudenesses to the body, is wholly useless: it is always a more uncertain means to acquire any virtue or secure any duty; and if love hath filled all the corners of our soul, it alone is able to all the work of God.

"Thirdly, be not nice in stating the obligations of religion; but where the duty is necessary and the means very reasonable in itself, dispute not too busily whether in all circumstances it can fit thy particular; but *super totam materiam*, 'upon the whole,' make use of it. For it is a good sign of a great religion, and no imprudence, when we have sufficiently considered the substance of affairs, then to be easy, humble, obedient, apt, and credulous in the circumstances which are appointed to us in particular by our spiritual guides, or in general by all wise men in cases not unlike. He that gives alms, does best not always to consider the minutes and strict measures of his ability, but to give freely, incuriously, and abundantly. A man must not weigh grains in the accounts of his repentance; but for a great sin have a great sorrow and a great severity, and in this take the ordinary advices, though it may be a less rigour might not be insufficient. Ἀκριβοδίκαιον, or arithmetical measures, especially of our own proportioning, are but arguments of want of love and of forwardness in religion; or else are instruments of scruple, and then become dangerous. Use the rule heartily and enough, and there will be no harm in thy error, if any should happen.

"Fourthly, if thou intendest heartily to serve God, and avoid sin in any one instance, refuse not the hardest and most severe advice that is prescribed in order to it, though possibly it be a stranger to thee; for whatsoever it be, custom will make it easy.

"Fifthly, when many instruments for the obtaining any virtue or restraining any vice are propounded, observe which of them fits thy person or the circumstances of thy need, and use it rather than the

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other; that by this means thou mayest be engaged to watch, and use spiritual arts and observation about thy soul. Concerning the managing of which, as the interest is greater, so the necessities are more, and the cases more intricate, and the accidents and dangers greater and more importunate, and there is greater skill required than in the securing an estate, or restoring health to an infirm body. I wish all men in the world did heartily believe so much of this as is true: it would very much help to do the work of God."

The Holy Living is divided into four chapters, in the first of which he discusses the instrumental means of holiness, such as,—Care of our time, Purity of intention, and a Sense of the Divine presence; and gives rules for producing and preserving all these habits in our hearts and behaviour, of which those for the improvement of time are perhaps the most useful and practical.

The second chapter treats of christian Sobriety, which he divides into the five heads of Temperance, Chastity, Humility, Modesty, and Contentment; and defines in general[a] to be "an using severity, denial and frustration of our appetite, when it grows unreasonable in any of these instances." He introduces the discussion of these different topics with some observations on voluptuousness according to this general definition, and with rules for subduing our natural tendency towards it, which will well reward the reader, and which for the general reader are perhaps better adapted than the remedies which follow for specific and grosser vices. In all cases his rules for avoiding sin, when not too scrupulous and ascetic for practice, and therefore less likely to do good than if they were less efficacious but more attainable means of holiness, are better than the arguments which he uses against each sin in order. But of all his rules, the 'Acts and offices of humility' are perhaps the most impressive, the most effectual, the most sensible and rational, the most applicable to the temptations and necessities of every man.

The third chapter is devoted to the discussion of christian Justice, defined as either commutative or distributive, and divided into the several heads of, first, 'Obedience,' as due from inferiors to superiors; secondly, 'Provision' or protecting care, from sovereigns, judges, parents, masters, guardians; thirdly, Negociation or contracts; fourthly, Restitution, which he defines[b] as 'that part of justice to which a man is obliged by a precedent contract or a foregoing fault, by his own act or another man's, either with or without his will.' His rules in this part of his work are admirable. They are casuistry in its highest and noblest sense, in which nothing is overstrained, nothing extenuated, and (so far as general principles and the compass of a short chapter can reach) nothing unprovided for; inasmuch as even where neither the obligations of default nor contract can

[a] [vol. iii. p. 44.]

[b] [p. 133.]

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extend, he has specified the no less strong and yet holier obligation of gratitude.

The fourth chapter treats of the Duties of Religion, under the heads of its 'internal' and 'external' actions. The former are, Faith, Hope, and Love; to his account of which is added an admirable digression on Zeal.

"The sum is this[c]: that zeal is not a direct duty, no where commanded for itself, and is nothing but a forwardness and circumstance of another duty, and therefore is then only acceptable, when it advances the love of God and our neighbours... That zeal is only safe, only acceptable, which increases charity directly: and because love to our neighbour and obedience to God are the two great portions of charity, we must never account our zeal to be good but as it advances both these, if it be in a matter that relates to both, or severally, if it relates severally. S. Paul's zeal was expressed in preaching without any offerings or stipend, in travelling, in spending and being spent for his flock, in suffering, in being willing to be accursed for love of the people of God and his countrymen. Let our zeal be as great as his was, so it be in affections to others, but not at all in angers against them: in the first there is no danger, in the second there is no safety. In brief, let your zeal, if it must be expressed in anger, be always more severe against thyself than against others."

The external actions of religion Taylor defines to be, "first, Reading and hearing the word of God; secondly, Fasting and corporal austerities; . . thirdly, Feasting, or keeping days of public joy and thanksgiving." On all these his observations are distinguished by sound good sense and earnest piety. Even on fasting—a duty now so much neglected, and to disquisitions on which so few will turn with any other feeling than curiosity—the reasonableness of his rules will strike many who, from carelessness or the habits of the age, are negligent of or averse to a practice sanctioned by the constitution of our nature,—the experience of ages,—the injunction of all christian churches,—the example of all the good men of former times, of the apostles, and of the Son of God[d].

He grounds the sanctity of the Lord's day, not on a divine commandment, as was the case with the Jewish sabbath (for this commandment he conceives to have had respect to that day and that nation only) but on the great duty for which the fourth commandment provides, of confessing on all occasions God to be the Maker of heaven and earth; and on the institution of the apostles that the first day in the week should be set apart for doing this in solemn assemblies. The same opinion he afterwards expressed more at large in his *Ductor dubitantium*[e]. It seems to have been also the

[c] [vol. iii. p. 163.]

[d] See Ductor dubitantium, On the interpretation and obligation of the laws of Jesus Christ, vol. ix. p. 530.

[e] Of the Christian Law, vol. ix. p. 458 sqq.

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opinion of Laud[f], of Luther[g], of Calvin[h], of Spencer[i], and of almost all the early fathers, who agree in representing the fourth commandment as of temporary obligation only, and as merely applying to Christians in a spiritual sense; as inculcating a devotion of ourselves to God's service on all proper opportunities, and that rest from worldly cares of which to the Jews the sabbath was typical. That the authority and example of the apostles, the uniform tradition of the church, the reasonableness of the practice abstractedly considered, the necessities of men, and the precedent of God's corresponding ordinance under the old law, are sufficient reasons for keeping the Lord's day holy, the great men whom I have cited were far indeed from doubting. Whether their view of the subject be more correct than that which makes the fourth commandment in its literal meaning a part of the moral and universal law, this is not the place for examining. They who apprehend that the sanctity of Sunday will be endangered by a contrary opinion, may read what Taylor himself says on the subject. "The Jews," he observes, "had a divine commandment for their day, which we have not for ours; but we have many commandments to do all that honour to God which was intended in the fourth commandment; and the apostles appointed the first day of the week for doing it in solemn assemblies[k]... Upon the Lord's day we must abstain from all servile and laborious works, except such which are matters of necessity, of common life, or of great charity: for these are permitted by that authority which hath separated the day for holy uses; the sabbath of the Jews, though consisting principally in rest, and established by God, did yield to these... And therefore this is to be enlarged in the gospel, whose sabbath or rest is but a circumstance, and accessory to the principal and spiritual duties. Upon the christian sabbath necessity is to be served first, then charity, and then religion; for this is to give place to charity in great instances, and the second to the first in all: and in all cases God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth."

His observations on prayer, and incidentally on vows; those on alms, together with the remedies which he suggests for the great causes of an unmerciful and uncharitable spirit, envy, anger and covetousness; his canons of repentance, and his directions for receiving the sacrament, are all equally devout, eloquent, and sensible. But I will not select, where all may be read with advantage, and can hardly be read without admiration. To clothe virtue in its most picturesque and attractive colouring, to enforce with all the terrors of the divine law its essential obligations; and to distinguish, in almost every instance most successfully, between what is prudent and what is necessary, what may fitly be done and what cannot be

[f] Troubles and Trial, p. 345.

[g] Auslegung der zehen Gebote, opp. Lips. tom. iii. pp. 642, 3. [fol. 1729.]

[h] Instit. lib. ii. cap. 8. sect. 31 sqq. opp. Amstel. [fol. 1667.] tom. ix. p. 99.

[i] Spencer. de Legg. Hebr. lib. i. [cap. 4. pp. 83—94.]

[k] Holy Living, vol. iii. p. 172 sq.

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safely left undone; this is the triumph of a christian moralist: and this Jeremy Taylor has in a great degree achieved in his discourse on Holy Living.

Each chapter is followed by a series of prayers, adapted to those temptations or duties which have been discussed in it. Of these prayers, the merit is in a great measure proved by their popularity; a popularity perhaps little less than that which our beautiful liturgy itself has obtained among Christians. Almost all of them contain passages of genuine poetry and eloquence, and all are pervaded by a tenderness and pathos of earnest piety which must have proceeded from the feeling which they express, and which few persons ever read without finding it in some degree contagious.

But I must confess that I like those prayers the best which have the fewest of Taylor's peculiar ornaments; of those rhetorical augments which are never so little in their place as when addressing the Most High; that accumulation of circumstances, and those sentences almost endless, which distract attention when it ought to be concentrated, and compel us to take breath in the midst of our most earnest aspirations. My meaning will be plain to those who compare his four collects 'for subjects when their land is overrun by barbarous and wicked people,' with the few and simple yet majestic words of the prayer in our church service 'in time of war and troubles;' or his 'Act of contrition' preparatory to the sacrament, with the General Confession which is appointed for that occasion[1].

But the want of taste is still greater when in a solemn address of the penitent to his Redeemer, the sufferings of that Redeemer are enumerated at full length, and with circumstances added which rest on no authentic history or probable tradition. When we entreat Christ to have mercy on us 'by His agony and bloody sweat, by His cross and passion,' we both quicken our own devotional feelings by the mention of what He has done for us, and we plead with Him, in behalf of our requests, considerations which we know to be prevailing. But where do we learn that the garden of Gethsemane[m] was 'set with nothing but briers and thorns;' that our Lord was 'drenched' by His enemies in the brook Cedron; that He was 'tormented with a tablet stuck with nails, at the fringes of His garment;' that His cross, 'being set in a hollowness of the earth, did in the fall rend His wounds wider'? Surely such legends, borrowed from the 'stations' of the Christians in the middle ages, and without any authority of scripture or antiquity, are altogether unfit to be spoken to Him who is not to be flattered by exaggerated representations of what He has himself done and suffered, and whose revealed and authentic sufferings and patience were too great and too glorious to need the improvements of human fancy. In all his Devotions indeed Taylor seems to have taken S. Augustine as his model, rather than our own or the elder liturgies; and both have

[1] [vol. iii. pp. 140 sq., 250.]

[m] [p. 241 sqq.]

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erred in transferring to prayer those ornaments which might, some of them, be not improper in a sermon. But who can wonder that it should be no easy task for man to find fit words to commune with the Almighty? What greater praise could Taylor have himself desired than that, in falling short of the excellencies of our Common Prayer, he has fallen short of that only?

The 'Holy Dying' is introduced by a dedication, also to lord Carbery, in which the author in a strain of touching eloquence recommends his work to his patron as that which in manuscript had been seen and approved by the deceased object of his dearest affections[n]. "I am treating your lordship as a Roman gentleman did S. Augustine and his mother; I shall entertain you in a charnel-house, and carry your meditations awhile into the chambers of death"... "My lord, it is your dear lady's anniversary, and she deserved the biggest honour, and the longest memory, and the fairest monument, and the most solemn mourning: and in order to it, give me leave, my lord, to cover her hearse with these following sheets. This book was intended first to minister to her piety; and she desired all good people should partake of the advantages which are here recorded. She knew how to live rarely well, and she desired to know how to die, and God taught her by an experiment."... "My lord, both your lordship and myself have lately seen and felt[o] such sorrow of death, and such sad departure of dearest friends, that it is more than high time we should think ourselves nearly concerned in the accidents. Death has come so near to you, as to fetch a portion from your very heart; and now you cannot choose but dig your own grave, and place your coffin in your eye, when the angel hath dressed your scene of sorrow and meditation with so particular and so near an object; and therefore, as it is my duty, I am come to minister to your pious thoughts, and to direct your sorrows, that they may turn into virtues and advantages."

The remainder of the Address is occupied in an exposition of the principles and motives of his undertaking, in which, as might be expected from his known opinions, he enlarges on the vanity or uncertainty of a late and sick-bed repentance; the idle folly of the extreme unction of the Romish church, and the unauthorised, as he esteems it, and unprofitable, though extremely ancient practice of prayers for the departed spirit. In some of his assertions, more particularly on the first of these topics, he here, as elsewhere, is perhaps too strict and uncompromising. Yet the caution which he founds in part on these doctrines, is one which may well tingle in the ears of those that live carelessly; and it is one of which the truth is shewn by very many considerations of undoubted and awful certainty. "My lord, it is a great art to die well, and to be learned by men in health, by them that can discourse and consider; by those

[n] [vol. iii. p. 257 sqq.]

[o] [See p. xxxv. above.]

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whose understanding and acts of reason are not abated with fear or pains: and as the greatest part of death is passed by the preceding years of our life, so also in those years are the greatest preparations to it; and he that prepares not for death before his last sickness, is like him that begins to study philosophy when he is going to dispute publicly in the faculty." "And therefore.. it is intended by the necessity of affairs, that the precepts of dying well be part of the studies of them that live in health, and the days of discourse and understanding: which in this case hath another degree of necessity super-added: because in other notices an imperfect study may be supplied by a frequent exercise and a renewed experience; here, if we practise imperfectly once, we shall never recover the error."

The work itself is divided into seven chapters. The first consists of 'General considerations preparatory to a holy and blessed death;' as, of the vanity and shortness of man's life, a knowledge of which should induce us to make timely preparation for quitting it; of the means and opportunities which God has given us for this work, and which, if duly employed, will take off all objection that our lives are too short for our necessary preparation; and the miseries of man's life in this world, which should induce us to depart from it gladly. The second[p] recommends 'a general preparation for a blessed death, by way of exercise;' first, by always looking for death; secondly, by daily providing for it; and thirdly, by 'a life severe, holy, and under the discipline of the cross, under the conduct of prudence and observation; a life of warfare and sober counsels, labour, and watchfulness.' In applying these precepts to particulars, he recommends, first, a daily self-examination; secondly, a lifelong and constant charity. And to encourage men to endure the burden and uneasiness of the first of these, he remarks, that 'we had better bear the burden of the Lord than the burden of a base and polluted conscience;' that 'religion cannot be so great a trouble as a guilty soul; and whatsoever trouble may or can be fancied in this or any other action of religion, it is only to inexperienced persons.' But, he proceeds, 'to examine our lives will be no trouble, if we do not intricate it with businesses of the world, and the labyrinths of care and impertinent affairs.' 'He that covets many things greedily, and snatches at high things ambitiously, that despises his neighbour proudly, and bears his crosses peevishly, or his prosperity impotently and passionately; he that is prodigal of his precious time, and is tenacious and retentive of evil purposes, is not a man disposed to this exercise: he hath reason to be afraid of his own memory, and to dash his glass in pieces, because it must needs represent to his own eyes an intolerable deformity.' 'In the interim, they are impatient to be examined as a leper is of a comb, and are greedy of the world as children of raw fruit; and they hate a severe reproof as they do thorns in their bed; and they love to lay aside

[p] [p. 291 sqq.]

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religion as a drunken person does to forget his sorrow; and all the way they dream of fine things, and their dreams prove contrary, and become the hieroglyphics of an eternal sorrow.' 'To be cozened in making judgments concerning our final condition, is extremely easy; but if we be cozened, we are infinitely miserable.'

His observations[q] on charity, 'with its twin daughters, alms and forgiveness,' are abundantly beautiful and sensible; and he winds up the second chapter with a description in the highest strain of poetry (somewhat too poetical perhaps for a religious and practical treatise) of the different deaths of the good and wicked man; in which the natural terrors of the one, and the natural hopes of the other, are heightened and prolonged beyond the veil of mortality, into the regions where (as some of those legends have told with which the studies of Taylor were familiar) the soul becomes the object of contest between angels and devils. The picture is magnificent; but he himself seems sensible that such speculations may be pursued too far, when he winds it up with the following caution. "Fearful and formidable to unholy persons, is the first meeting with spirits in their separation; but the victory which holy souls receive by the mercies of Jesus Christ and the conduct of angels, is a joy that we must not understand till we feel it, and yet such which by an early and persevering piety we may secure: but let us enquire after it no further, because it is secret."

In the next chapter[r] he prescribes remedies against impatience in sickness, and against an immoderate fear of death, and adds some general rules to make sickness safe and holy, more particularly by continuance in prayer, and by an infinite solicitude that we 'at no hand commit a deliberate sin[s], or retain any affection to the old.'— "They were sad departures when Tigellinus, Cornelius Gallus the prætor, Lewis the son of Gonzaga duke of Mantua, Ladislaus king of Naples, Speusippus, Giachettus of Geneva, and one of the popes, died in the forbidden embraces of abused women; or if Job had cursed God and so died: or when a man sits down in despair, and in the accusation and calumny of the divine mercy; they make their night sad, and stormy, and eternal. When Herod began to sink with the shameful torment of his bowels, and felt the grave open under him, he imprisoned the nobles of his kingdom, and commanded his sister that they should be a sacrifice to his departing ghost[t]. This was an egress fit only for such persons who meant to dwell with devils to eternal ages; and that man is hugely in love with sin, who cannot forbear in the week of the assizes, and when himself stands at the bar of scrutiny, and prepared for his final, never-to-be-reversed sentence. He dies suddenly to the worse sense and event of sudden death, who so manages his sickness that even that state shall not be innocent."

The fourth chapter is occupied with rules for the practice of the

[q] [p. 303.] [r] [p. 314 sqq.] [s] [p. 352 sqq.] [t] Note (Q Q.)

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graces proper to a state of sickness; of patience, of faith, of repentance, of justice, and of charity. The last treats on the urgent necessity and best manner of visiting the sick by the ministers of religion; and he concludes his subject with the duties of those who survive, as to the execution of the will of their departed friends, and the moderation and decency of their funerals.

On the whole it may be said, that the 'Holy Dying,' in point of composition, and in the display of the characteristic beauties of Taylor's style and language, exceeds the 'Holy Living.' The subject admitted of, and indeed invited him to, a greater indulgence in those touching and tender visions of affection, of natural images, and of supernatural aspirations, which were familiar to his mind, and were apt to intrude unbidden. As a practical work, its use may be perhaps less obvious and less extensive than its companion; for a sick-bed it is too long, and when men are in health, they read it, are delighted, and lay it down again. But as a manual and directory for those whose office it is to converse with the sick and dying, its uses are manifold, and its importance only to be estimated by those who have themselves given some portion of their thoughts and their time to this most interesting, most charitable, and when rightly managed, this most edifying and instructive duty of christian morality. And it may often happen, perhaps it often has happened, that men who have read it for its beauties, have been impressed by the lessons it conveys; and by beginning with the 'Holy Dying' of Taylor, have been led to study his 'Holy Living' with more advantage. It is remarkable that though its general style is more than usually poetical, even for its author, the prayers subjoined to the different chapters are less so than those either in the 'Holy Living' or the 'Great Exemplar.' Perhaps he had been told of that which was the main fault in his devotional writings. Perhaps the solemnity of the subject impressed him too deeply to allow his fancy to luxuriate as on former occasions[u].

His Sermons next offer themselves to our observation, sixty-four in number, of which all, even those which were preached on public and political occasions, may be regarded as in a great degree practical. Of them a less accurate examination is necessary, inasmuch as no sermons of that age, perhaps of any other age, are more frequently on the tables and in the hands of general readers. To praise them would be idle and unnecessary; and their faults, like their merits, are obvious even to a careless observer. To estimate however those merits sufficiently, it is necessary to bear in mind the difficulties attendant on this style of composition, and the few good models (besides S. Chrysostom, whom in many respects he much

[u] [Here follows in Heber a notice of the two short treatises formerly attributed to Taylor, 'Contemplations on the state of man,' and 'Christian consolations:' concerning which see note to p. vii. above.]

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resembled) which Taylor at the commencement of his career had before him.

It would be a long enquiry, and one which is by no means necessary to my subject, to enter into the causes of that remarkable decay of eloquence which may be said to have taken its rise among the Greeks and Romans, from the time at which the usurpation of the Cæsars had reduced their world to the sullen calm of despotism. This deficiency, beyond a doubt, as it extended to pagans as well as Christians, and was felt while christianity was as yet politically insignificant, arose from causes distinct from any peculiar habits of the christian church.

Yet so far as this last was concerned (in which the popular form of government, and the sermons preached in their different assemblies, might have led us to expect a different result) it is evident that the system of homilies, of which description are most of the addresses of the fathers to their congregations, though of all others perhaps the best fitted for general edification, was in itself unfavourable to the exercise of oratorical talent.

A running commentary requires conciseness, and even abruptness: and the necessity of discussing many different passages in succession, is almost inconsistent with a connected and lucid chain of argument; with a brilliant peroration, or a comprehensive exposition of general principles.

And there were other causes which tended still more to corrupt the taste of preachers; of which the first was that fondness, derived from the cabalistic Jews, of detecting an internal sense in the plainest passages of scripture; and still more the custom of applying such passages 'by way of accommodation' to subjects the most foreign from their known meaning; of which a good many instances may be found in Hierome, in succeeding fathers still more, and most of all in the divines of what are called the dark ages.

Thus when Hierome[x] allegorizes, in his epistle to Fabiola, the different ornaments of the Jewish high-priest into the different virtues and graces of a Christian; when Athanasius[y] finds out the penitent thief on his cross in the second[z] verse of the second chapter of Habakkuk; when Gregory the great[a] makes Jericho at once a symbol of the moon and of our mortal nature, and above all when Bernard[b] derives the word *diabolus* from 'two pockets[c],' it is difficult to believe that they can have intended these fancies as argumentative, or to prove to their hearers any thing but the talents and acuteness of their teachers. Such however were the favourite ornaments of christian orators for a long lapse of ages; and this taste, which of course by degrees degenerated into mere quibbling, was not yet extinct, as

[x] [tom. ii. col. 574 sqq.]
[y] [Contr. omn. hær. § 2.]
[z] [read 'eleventh.']
[a] [In evang. lib. i. hom. 2. § 2.]
[b] [Declam. de verb. evang. 'Dixit Simon,' &c. col. 999 M.]
[c] Note (U U.)

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we learn from Echard's 'Contempt of the clergy,' in England during the life of Taylor, and prevailed, if we may believe the author of *Fray Gerundio*, in Spain at a much later period.

Another cause which materially contributed to detract from the elegance and eloquence of sermons, was the slavish subjection under which all christendom was brought by the schoolmen, whose *dicta* were quoted as in all cases a definitive authority, and whose subtle distinctions and endless subdivisions were, no less than their peculiar and technical phraseology, made the model of style as well as the landmarks of intellect.

I am far indeed from being inclined to join in an indiscriminate neglect or ridicule of those laborious and able men, whose works, to judge from a very small acquaintance with them, are often models of fair and patient investigation, and whose errors are rather from their imperfect means of knowledge, than from any defect in (what they principally professed) their mode of arranging knowledge already acquired. Still farther am I from considering a familiarity with the forms and principles of logic as otherwise than most advantageous to whoever would think accurately, or express himself with clearness.

But the unseasonable application and ostentatious production of these studies, as the first perplexed an eminent truth in a multiplicity of insignificant distinctions, so the second resembled the fault of those unskilful painters who strip the skins from their figures, that the muscles and anatomy may be admired. The accuracy of the skeleton should be traced in the correct proportion of the perfect limbs; the logical precision of the orator should be felt in the invulnerable nature of his arguments; but neither the bones nor the syllogisms need be exposed to view, in the finished picture or the finished oration. Yet thus unprofitably minute, thus repulsively scholastic, are by far the greater part of the most eminent divines from the middle ages down to the civil war; while those others who, like the Franciscans, the early reformers, and the puritans, found a more popular style indispensably necessary to their purposes, sought popularity in a homeliness of language and allusion, in a merriment misapplied, and a robust and striking, but rustic familiarity with sacred things, which often impresses us with its vigour and amuses us with its quaintness, though at the present day no preacher in his senses would venture on it, nor would any audience endure it. Even when the usual style of other compositions was singularly flowing and majestic, these errors of stiffness or bad taste continued long to cleave to the pulpit; and though the homilies of the church are an early and illustrious exception, abundant specimens of all the several faults which I have noticed may be found in most sermons from the Reformation down to the time of Taylor.

Of these very faults indeed though he himself in his subsequent works has almost entirely escaped the contagion, we find in his earliest sermon, on the gunpowder treason, some evident traces, though

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even here they are blended with and redeemed by merits, which gave ample promise of the fruit which his maturer years might supply.

The text[d] is that verse of St. Luke, chapter ix. verse 54, in which the disciples of our Lord ask permission to call down fire from heaven on the inhospitable Samaritan villagers. In applying this passage to the event which he commemorates, he proposes to discuss, first, the persons by whom in either case respectively (that of the instance recorded in the gospel, and that of the gunpowder conspiracy) the proposition was made to bring destruction on men of a different religion: secondly, the reasons alleged for such a proposition: thirdly, the persons to whom the proposition was made: fourthly, the nature of the proposition itself: fifthly, the example or precedent which was pleaded for it.

Here is enough, and more than enough, of the formality of scholastic arrangement; but I fear we shall not find much of the clearness and accuracy which alone can make such a formal arrangement valuable. Of these heads, the greater number are merely solemn trifling, inasmuch as the answers to them are either too self-evident to admit of discussion, or too remote in their bearing on the general course of his argument, to be valuable to the purposes of a logician. The last topic of enquiry (the example or precedent of Elias) which might have been made extremely interesting and instructive as involving the same grand question of religious persecution which Taylor afterwards discussed so ably, he in this place merely notices without any discussion whatever. In treating of the remainder, and in comparing the relative situation of the apostles and the Romish clergy, he is not satisfied with the real point of similarity, in both being professed followers of the Messiah; but runs into a string of frigid conceits to shew that the proposal was in both instances of apostolic origin, inasmuch as though the immediate contrivers of the powder-plot were laymen, yet the church of Rome (originally founded by the apostle Peter) having allowed and applauded similar acts of atrocity, had given the first encouragement to such a project! Taylor may be thought to have forgotten both the new and the old *organon* when he quibbled thus egregiously; but this was the style of ornament in favour with his age, of which I have prepared the reader to expect some instances, and which was in fact intended to prove nothing but the wit and ingenuity of the preacher.

This trifling is however mixed up with much graver and more powerful matter. The proofs which he advances to shew the opinion of the Romish church as to the legality of deposing and destroying heretical sovereigns, (from Saunders, who advised a crusade against them, to Emanuel Sà, who justified their assassination, and Mariana, who recommended poison as the surest means of accomplishing it,) are unhappily but too cogent and conclusive. But these are here

[d] [vol. viii. p. 457.]

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clearly out of their place, and according to his own proposed arrangement belong more properly to the second branch of the enquiry; in which (after examining and combating the causes alleged by the Romanists themselves for the atrocious attempt in question, and the general disaffection of their party, which led them to it) he insists that it is futile to speak of our severities as having been the occasion of the gunpowder-plot, when their own accursed principles, if not necessarily or universally, yet naturally and regularly conducted and compelled them, even as a matter of reason and conscience, to the dethronement and destruction, by any and every means, of heretical sovereigns and senates.

In combating however the pretexts for discontent alleged by the papists, as arising from the conduct of the English government towards their sect, the preacher is not altogether successful. Thus, the fine imposed on recusants for not attending the public worship of the national church, he endeavours to clear from the stain of religious persecution by urging that such recusancy could not have proceeded from religious motives. The Romanists, he observes, had actually and usually attended the service of the church of England from the first to the eleventh year of queen Elizabeth, when Pius the fifth sent forth his bull for the excommunication and dethronement of that princess. "It is plain," he argues, "that religion did not make them absent themselves from our churches, unless they had changed their religion since the bull came over: for if religion could consist with their communicating with us before the bull (as it is plain it did) then why not after the bull, unless it be part of their religion to obey the pope, rather than God, commanding us to obey our prince?"

This is surely a quibble unworthy both of the cause and its advocate. Taylor knew perfectly well that it is a part of the religion of the sect in question to deny that God has given to the temporal prince any power whatever *circa res sacras*, and to believe that all authority of this kind, under God, was centered in the pope alone. And he must have perceived that, though they might lawfully attend the ordinances of the national religion so long as that religion was tolerated or not condemned by the pope, and though in acting thus they shewed a laudable desire to obey their temporal sovereign as far as possible, yet when the king and the pope issued contrary mandates on such subjects, they were bound by their religion to obey the latter rather than the former. The question was not whether they acted reasonably in receiving and maintaining such an article of faith, but whether this was an article of faith for acting on which they were punished; and this being certain, it is altogether as certain that the mulct imposed on the popish recusants was to all intents and purposes 'soul-money,' and liable as such to all the unanswerable objections which Taylor has himself elsewhere brought forward against the principle of persecution for conscience sake.

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He is more fortunate however in his apology for the severities denounced against the publishers of the bull in question, and against the toleration of the Romish priests in a land whose tranquillity their daily conduct menaced. The publication of the bull was evidently seditious, and what no sovereign could endure without virtually renouncing the sovereignty. The priests were the avowed agents of a foreign and hostile potentate, and had already begun those practices against the authority and life of the queen, which were only rendered more atrocious by the fact that they were many of them her native subjects. And in the exposure which follows of the language held, the doctrines sanctioned, and the line of conduct pursued by the Romish hierarchy towards Elizabeth, and other princes similarly situated, the author may be said to have almost justified the severe reprobation with which he winds up this part of his discourse, that "so far from its being strange that their people call for fire to consume the protestants, it would be rather a wonder if they did not;" and that "although it be no rare and unusual a thing for a papist to be *de facto* loyal or duteous to his prince, yet it is a wonder he is so, since such doctrines have been taught by such masters."

In considering the persons to whom the contrivers of the plot intrusted their intentions, their confessors namely and spiritual guides, he discusses at some length, and with great learning and acuteness, the question of how far those confessors were bound to conceal or disclose the horrible secret communicated to them. He maintains, first, that the communication made to Garnet did not come under the character of a confession at all in the ecclesiastical sense of the term; inasmuch as it was not the acknowledgment of a sin already passed and then repented of, but the proposition of a measure prospectively determined on, which the propounders did not regard as sinful, but on the expediency of which they consulted their spiritual guides; and which, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of those guides, they still continued to meditate. It was allowable therefore in Garnet and his brethren even on their own principles, and if allowable it was on every principle of justice and charity incumbent on them, to disclose the crime which they had no other means of preventing.

But this is not all: for secondly, he examines into the antiquity and authority of that rule which they pretend for the inviolable secrecy and sanctity of confession: and proves most triumphantly, from the admission of the best casuists of their own sect, that there are certain cases in which confessions may and must be divulged: as, where it is necessary to prevent an incestuous marriage; to bring to light a lurking heresy; or where the penitent himself allows the confessor to reveal his secret. But treason, he argues, is at least as criminal and dangerous as incest or heresy; and if the permission of the individual dispenses with the oath of the priest, much more will this be the effect of the prior relation in which both priest and peni-

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tent stand to the nation of which they are members, and the sovereign to whom they owe allegiance. And in the particular case of treason, he shews that both in France and at Rome it has been usual, and always accounted allowable, to reveal such confessions as involved the death of the sovereign. And that the obligation to keep all confession secret rests in fact on no other or stronger sanction than that which binds every good man to conceal in ordinary cases a secret imparted to him, he shews by the ancient practice of both the eastern and western churches. Both these, he observes, not only authorized, but in some instances enjoined the priest to reveal to the whole congregation whatever more crying sins had been under this seal communicated to him. He proves that it was at one time esteemed the duty of the confessor to impart to the church all the transgressions which thus came to his knowledge; and that the decree of S. Leo which relaxed this inconvenient obligation, extended no further than to permit and enjoin the priest at his discretion to keep some sins secret, "lest men out of inordinate love to themselves should rather refuse to be washed than buy their purity with so much shame." He concludes therefore that the confessors of Digby and his associates were bound, on every principle of their own canons, and of general christianity, to divulge the meditated treason.

The rest of the sermon is occupied in descanting on the nature and enormity of the destruction which was contemplated, and he concludes with a pathetic exhortation to thankfulness and piety.

Of the affectation and frigid pedantry which pervaded most of the writings of that age, and from which Taylor, in his subsequent works, to a great degree emancipated himself, several instances may be found in this sermon. Sometimes the preacher indulges himself in the use of foreign terms and modish barbarisms, such as no judicious orator would introduce into a solemn or pathetic composition. "There is fire in the text," he tells us, "consuming fire, like that whose *antevorta* we this day commemorate." After the coming of the Messiah, the spirit of Elias is said to be 'out of date;' and in the Jesuits "we may quickly find out more than a *pareil* for S. James and S. John, the Boanerges of the text." Such terms as these have neither the homely vigour of colloquial English, nor the pomp and gravity of derivatives from the learned languages: they were in their day the mere cant of travelled foppery, and were the last remnants of that Babylonish euphuism, which, from the example of the court, had infected the language of the bar, the parliament, and the pulpit.

Sometimes in his attempt (a very needless one) to exaggerate the enormity of the transaction, he lays a stress on circumstances in themselves merely indifferent. If a base and cowardly destruction of the whole nobility of a country were resolved on, it mattered little or nothing by what agent their death was to be effected. Taylor however is of a different opinion, and makes it a leading aggravation of the crime of the conspirators, that they designed to employ so devilish

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an agent as gunpowder. The apostles, he tells us, "would have had their fire from heaven, but these men's conversation was not there; τὰ κάτωθεν, things from beneath, from an artificial hell, but breathed from the natural and proper, were in all their thoughts!" Sometimes the preacher is facetious; "If his holiness be wronged in the business, I have no hand in it; the speech was avouched for as authentic by the approbation of three doctors: let them answer it, I wash my hands of the accusation." Again, "If to their anathemas they add some faggot of their own and gunpowder, 'tis odds but we may be consumed indeed!"

There are other passages however far more in the usual and appropriate style of Taylor, and which should abundantly redeem this earliest of his writings from indiscriminate neglect or censure. That cause, he says, bore a fair excuse, which moved James and John to a wrath so inconsiderate. "It would have disturbed an excellent patience to see Him whom but just before they beheld transfigured in a glorious epiphany upon the mount, to be so neglected by a company of hated Samaritans, as to be forced to keep His vigils where nothing but the welkin should have been His roof, not any thing to shelter His precious head from the descending dew of heaven." . . . "When first," he shortly afterwards observes, "when first I considered they were apostles, I wondered they should be so intemperately angry. But when I perceived they were so angry, I wondered not that they sinned. Not the privilege of an apostolical spirit, not the nature of angels, not the condition of immortality, can guard from the danger of sin; but if we be over-ruled by passion, we almost subject ourselves to its necessity. It was not therefore without reason altogether that the Stoics affirmed wise men to be void of passions; for sure I am, the inordination of any passion is the first step to folly. And although of them, as of waters of a muddy residence, we may make good use, and quench our thirst, if we do not trouble them; yet upon any ungentle disturbance, we drink down mud instead of a clear stream, and the issues of sin and sorrow, certain consequents of temerarious or inordinate anger."

In the conclusion, after instancing "the sacrilegious ruin of the neighbouring temples, which needs must have perished in the flame, . . . the disturbing the ashes of our entombed kings, devouring their dead ruins like sepulchral dogs;" and observing that "these are but minutes in respect of the ruin prepared for the living temples," he proceeds:

> Stragem sed istam non tulit
> Christus cadentum principum
> Impune, ne forsan sui
> Patris periret fabrica.
>
> Ergo quæ poterit lingua retexere
> Laudes Christe tuas, qui domitum struis
> Infidum populum cum duce perfido*.

* Note (V V.)

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"Let us then return to God the cup of thanksgiving, He having poured forth so largely to us of the cup of salvation! We cannot want wherewithal to fill it. Here is matter enough for an eternal thankfulness, for the expression of which a short life is too little; but let us here begin our hallelujahs, hoping to finish them hereafter, where the many choirs of angels will fill the concert."

On this first production of Jeremy Taylor's abilities I have bestowed a large, and what may seem perhaps to some a disproportionate share of notice. But it is his first production. Its very faults belong to the history of the time, and increase our respect for his subsequent and more illustrious labours; and the topics which it discusses are of no slight or transient importance, but have reference to disputes of which we are not likely to see the end, to principles which in every age of the church are important. And though his style had not yet received its full polish, and though his arguments are in some instances not well concocted, the facts which he has collected in the history and philosophy of religion are such as to mark his sermon on the gunpowder treason for one of the most important and powerful attacks on the Jesuits and the Romish hierarchy.

This sermon, which at first appeared separately, was never, I believe, reprinted by Taylor during his life-time. His next publication of the same kind was a collection of fifty-two sermons[f], described as 'A yearly course,' or 'Ἐνιαυτὸς, divided into two volumes, for the winter and summer half-years; of which that was first published which now stands last in order. Why he thus denominated them I am at a loss to conjecture; since, with the exception of two sermons for Whitsunday, and three on the advent of Christ to judgment, there are none which, either by text or matter, are more adapted to one day than another; while even the solemn festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Trinity, are passed over without any particular notice. Nor is this deficiency supplied by any of the sermons in the Supplement: these are, with three exceptions which might have been preached at any time, preached on different local topics, or before different public bodies; but none of them are for those days when an appropriate composition is ordinarily called for by the practice of the church of England. The cause of this singularity I cannot conjecture. If he had not named Whitsunday, it might have been ascribed to a necessary compliance with the prejudices of the faction then in power, whose aversion from all such ecclesiastical distinction of days is sufficiently known to have been excessive. But when one festival of the church was named, it could have in this respect availed him nothing to pass over the others in silence; and in his other writings he has paid no such respect to the prejudices of his contemporaries. I own I regret the want of some such discourses in the present collection; because with Taylor's peculiar talent for whatever is picturesque or

[f] [vol. iv.]

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poetical in religion, we might have anticipated from him some very splendid displays of oratory and pathos, when discussing those awful images of power, of mercy, and of suffering, which the return of days like these is intended to recall more forcibly. And when it is recollected how greatly we have most of us been affected by the conformity observed between the day and its devotions; the scriptures read, and the sermons preached on such occasions; we may well conceive to how good purpose these advantages must have been employed by the impassioned and affectionate eloquence of Jeremy Taylor.

Nor is this the only circumstance which may at first surprise us. It may still more excite our wonder that such sermons as these should have been addressed to any but an audience exclusively academical. An university alone, and an university of no ordinary erudition, appears the fitting theatre for discourses crowded, as these are, with quotations from the classics and the fathers; with allusions to the most recondite topics of moral and natural philosophy; with illustrations drawn from all the arts and sciences, and from history ancient and modern, clothed in a language rich and harmonious indeed beyond all contemporary writers, but abounding in words of foreign extraction, and in unusual applications of those which are of native origin. Nor should I have hesitated to conclude that most of Taylor's sermons had been really composed and intended only for an academical audience, had not the author himself informed us in his title-page and his dedication to lord Carbery, that they were preached at Golden Grove, to the family and domestics of his patron; or at most to a few gentlemen and ladies of that secluded neighbourhood, and to as many of the peasantry on the estate as could understand English. It is true perhaps that in those days a learned style of preaching was not only more frequently affected by divines, but more generally popular with their auditories, than it has been during the last century; and that they who could least understand a sermon, were not therefore the least ready to applaud it. The popularity of some preachers has descended to our times, who seem to have had scarcely any other stock in trade than a quantity of good and sufficient Greek and Hebrew quotations; while on the other hand the simplicity and unaffected plainness of the admirably learned Pocock was regarded by the rustics of his parish, as a proof that, 'though a kind and neighbourly man, he was no Latinist[s].' Taylor however had no need of such arts, and was by far too conscientious to employ them. He was too good, as well as too wise; too earnestly intent on amending the hearts and saving the souls of his hearers, to have amused their ears with that which could not reach their understanding; and I am therefore much inclined to believe that in preparing his sermons for the press he materially changed them from the compositions which he had delivered to his rustic auditory in South Wales; or that they had really been in the first instance

[s] [Twell's Life of Pocock.]

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designed for the university pulpit, and that when preaching them at Golden Grove, he had recourse to such extemporaneous omissions or alterations as suited the abilities and circumstances of his congregation.

Such omissions or alterations would in fact leave the essential merits of the discourse in a great measure unimpaired. The tenor of its reasoning would remain unbroken, though the recondite illustrations were withdrawn. Those illustrations and images which, as is the case with no small number in Taylor's works, are borrowed from natural objects, would produce a yet more powerful effect in proportion as those objects were familiar to his hearers. The practical wisdom of his counsels; his awful denunciations of God's judgments against sin; his admirable topics of consolation to the penitent; his affectionate earnestness, and his yet more persuasive piety, would lose none of their power if delivered in more homely language; and those persons are mistaken who apprehend that a congregation in the humble ranks of life are unequal to the task of following up the most accurate chain of reasoning, if conveyed in words of which they know the meaning. To lay down a general rule for the selection of such a popular language is not indeed very easy; but it will be found for the most part that words of Saxon or Teutonic derivation, as they are more forcible and expressive to all English ears, so to an uninstructed English ear they are usually far more intelligible than those terms (however familiar to the educated part of the nation) which are of French or Latin origin.

But whatever the sermons of Taylor may have been as delivered from the pulpit and to a miscellaneous or vulgar auditory, it is certain that as essays for the closet, and as intended for those into whose hands they usually fall, few compositions can be named so eminently distinguished by fancy, by judgment, by learning, and by powers of reasoning; few where the mind is so irresistibly allured if not to agree with the author, at least to think well of him; or where so much luxuriance of imagination, and so much mellowness of style, are made the vehicles of divinity so sound and holiness so practical. Those persons will in fact be much deceived (they may be perhaps deceived to their own infinite advantage) who take up his sermons as a book of amusement only, in which little is to be found but quaint singularities of expression, and pedantic though brilliant and characteristic ornament. As little will those do justice to their merits who draw back from their perusal in the expectation of finding precepts too rigid and ascetic for our nature or the general frame of society, the *dicta* of one who had forgotten or never experienced the temptations of the world, or the inexpediency of laying down an impracticable measure of duty. No writer with whose works I am acquainted has spoken more wisely, or with a greater knowledge, of the human heart; none more moderately, or (except in those particulars where the souls of men are really endangered) more indulgently, than

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Taylor in his 'Ενιαυτὸς; and while his sermons on 'Godly fear' lay bare with a needful and scrupulous austerity the ruinous self-deceptions of a pretended repentance, and of that transient sorrow for sin or its consequences which too many mistake for amendment, no writer has given a more just and beautiful picture of the goodness and gentleness of our almighty Parent, than may be found in his discourses on the 'Miracles of the Divine mercy.' Of the rest, the 'House of feasting' and the 'Marriage ring' are perhaps the most characteristic, and distinguished by the greatest liveliness of fancy; while a very curious and difficult question is acutely and profitably discussed in the sermon on 'The entail of curses.' And (though some of his positions are here, as on former occasions, laid down with too great and unqualified severity) many awful and alarming truths are powerfully expressed, where he is treating of what he considers 'The invalidity of a death-bed repentance.' Of all, the most likely to be practically useful are perhaps the two on 'The flesh and the spirit,' and those on the 'Growth of sin, and the several estates of sinners.' All however may be read with profit, and by a man of genius none can be read without delight and admiration.

To the 'Ενιαυτὸς the Δεκὰς ἐμβολιμαῖος[h] appeared as a supplement several years after, with a dedication to the high-minded and stately duchess of Ormond; who though profuse in her expenses and haughty in her demeanour, was fond of religious reading, and really endowed with many distinguished and some amiable qualities. It consists (1) of three sermons on subjects referring to general practice, preached in Christ church, Dublin, but adapted to any occasion and to any well-informed audience; (2) three sermons on public occasions already spoken of, at an episcopal consecration, before the Irish parliament, and before the university of Dublin; (3) two funeral sermons, on the death of the primate, and on that of the countess of Carbery; and (4) two to the clergy of his diocese, on the duties of the christian ministry. They are followed, in the present edition, by his first published sermon, and by the funeral sermon in memory of sir George Dalstone. Of these, the sermons preached before the parliament and the university of Dublin have been sufficiently noticed, as well as the funeral sermon on archbishop Bramhall: they are parts indeed of Taylor's public life, and could not without impropriety be separated from it. For the rest, those preached at the funerals of lady Carbery and sir George Dalstone are remarkable not only for the beauty of their language and imagery (in which respect the former is not surpassed by any of his most elaborate productions) but for the powerful and persuasive manner in which, while rendering due honour to the dead, they warn and instruct the living, and improve the moments of grief and serious thought to the lasting advantage of their hearers.

In other compositions of a similar character we often find the main body of the discourse engrossed by a laboured panegyric, while

[h] [vol. viii. p. 241 sqq.]

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the religious lesson is crowded into a narrow corner, and treated as an accessory only. Such funeral sermons as these can lay claim to no further merit than belongs to a hat-band or a mourning-ring; mere testimonies of respect and regret, in which the friends of the deceased alone are concerned; or which have at best no general value but what arises from the material or the workmanship.

But in the labours of Taylor, the foremost place was always given to the glory of God and the salvation of his hearers. From the death of his patroness he takes occasion (in the first instance, and before he describes her virtues) to enlarge in a strain of moving eloquence on the uncertainty of life, and the method of enabling ourselves to meet death hopefully. And his account of sir George Dalstone is introduced by an able and interesting enquiry on the sources whence the heathen obtained their knowledge of a life to come, on the usual lot of holy men in the present life, and on the abode and condition of the soul between death and the resurrection.

The two sermons on the 'Minister's duty in Life and Doctrine' may yet call for some observations; inasmuch as in the first of these, while enforcing with much earnest and awful eloquence the paramount necessity of personal holiness in the clergy, he has been hurried to a length inconsistent with sound reason, with the analogy of scripture, and the usual faith of Christians.

After magnifying in a strain which is not unusual with him the dignity of the ministerial office, by the consideration that, as Christians in general are chosen and sanctified from the world, so the clergy are chosen and sanctified from the general body of Christians, he urges[1] with great force and justice that,—

"If of every one of the christian congregation God expects a holiness that mingles with no unclean thing; .. if He accepts of none of the people unless they have within them the conjugation of all christian graces; .. if He hath made them lights in the world, and the salt of the earth, to enlighten others with their good example, and to teach them and invite them by holy discourses and wise counsels; .. What is it, think ye, or with what words is it possible to express what God requires of you? They are to be examples of good life to one another; but you are to be examples even of the examples themselves."

This is as true as it is eloquent and awful. He also urges, with great reason, that a wicked life is the greatest impediment to the success of any man's ministry; inasmuch as his bad conscience is a continued reproof of his own teaching, and his bad example a no less continued dissuasive to his people's learning. Him therefore who teaches what he does not practise, he describes as 'sitting in the chair of the scornful,' as 'mocking God, and mocking the people;' as 'destroying the benefits of the people, and diminishing the blessings of God.'

[1] [vol. viii. p. 504.]

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What follows however[k] is of more doubtful character: "This is but the least evil; there is yet much worse behind. A wicked minister cannot with success and benefit pray for the people of his charges; . . this is the priest's office, and if the people lose the benefit of this, they are undone.—What then do you think will be the event of those assemblies where he that presents the prayers of all the people is hateful to God? Will God receive the oblation that is presented to Him by an impure hand, and can we hope that the minister who 'with wrath and doubting' and covetousness presents the people's prayers, that ever those intercessions shall pierce the clouds and ascend to the mercy-seat, and descend with a blessing? . . The ecclesiastical order is by Christ appointed to minister His holy spirit to the people; the priests, in baptism, and the holy eucharist, and prayer, and intercession; the bishop in all these, and in ordination beside, and in confirmation, and in solemn blessing. Now then consider what will be the event of this without effect: can he minister the Spirit, from whom the Spirit of God is departed?" &c.

It is hardly necessary to point out the inconsistency of such a statement with the doctrine laid down by the church of England in her twenty-sixth article, or with all our usual notions of the justice and mercy of that God, who can never, it may be presumed, allow the devotions of His people to be vitiated by offences over which they have no control, and for which they have no remedy.

Of this Taylor himself seems sensible, when he admits[l] that "without his own fault no man shall perish;" that "he that says Amen, if he heartily desire what the other perfunctorily and with his lips only utters, not praying with his heart and with the acceptabilities of a good life, the Amen shall be more than all the prayer, and the people shall prevail for themselves when the priest could not."

The misfortune is, that he speaks of this aid and comfort of the holy Ghost which the believing assistant shall obtain notwithstanding the sins of his priest, as something 'extraordinary' and 'irregular;' as if God in this case 'did His work alone;' as if the Spirit came 'in ways of His own, and prevented the external rites and prepossessed the hearts of His servants,' while the people became under such circumstances their own priests, and got 'nothing or but very little by the ministration of their minister;' or even, as he elsewhere expresses it, 'the prayers of innocent people, being presented by an ungracious minister and intercessor, were very much hindered in prevailing.'

Now it is plain that this principle, if carried to its full but legitimate extent, would overturn all church government whatever; since if the people get 'nothing or but very little from the ministry of the priest,' there can be no reason for attending on that ministry. Every man who found, or fancied he found, some human frailty in the 'angel of his congregation,' would be justified in withdrawing from

[k] [p. 510 sqq.]

[l] [p. 513.]

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a place where 'his prayers were very much hindered in prevailing.' And if under such circumstances 'themselves also become priests unto God,' it is evident that their solitary devotions, or devotion offered by them in conventicles, would be so far from schismatical, that they would be in the likeliest course to be accepted. If this had been true, the Israelites would have done well in 'abhorring the offering of the Lord' when Hophni and Phineas ministered at His altar; which yet we find was so far from being the case, that it was charged as an additional sin on these profane sacrificers, that 'they made the Lord's people to transgress.' "The scribes and pharisees," said our Lord, "sit in Moses' seat; whatsoever therefore they say unto you, that do and observe, but after their works do ye not."

The truth is that Taylor has strangely confounded the personal with the official character of the minister; that character by which he is himself to stand or fall, with that which he possesses as the appointed instrument of God's mercies, and in consequence of the covenant between Christ and the whole congregation of the faithful. The personal and private prayers of a wicked priest must certainly fail of their effect, or bring down a curse instead of a blessing. But his public and ministerial prayers are not his own, but those of the great body of his constituents, which he in their names and as their organ offers to God; while on the other hand the spiritual graces which he conveys in the sacrament are not his own (perhaps he may have no share in them) but the bounty of God of which he is the unworthy channel.

It is indeed most true that the priest is bound to pray for the people not only publicly but privately, not only in his official but also in his personal capacity. And as in the discharge of his ministerial functions he prays on his own behalf as well as theirs, the obligation is most powerful which rests on those of our profession so to frame our lives that our devotion may be acceptable. The fervent prayer of any righteous man availeth much, and the public service of the church may avail the more when he who pronounces it is one whom the Almighty hears with favour. But though the prayers of the whole body may gain force from the intercessions of a holy minister, they cannot be supposed to lose their proper efficacy though the congregation should be less fortunate in their prolocutor.

I admit that in all cases where the people are in any degree answerable for their minister's guilt, they are likely to derive no advantage from his ministry. If he has departed from the church, and they support him in his schism; if, knowing his life or doctrine to be scandalous, they elect him in the first instance as their functionary; or if they refuse or neglect to complain of him to those superiors who have power to correct or displace him, the sin is theirs as well as his, and they have reason to fear that such answers only will be given to their prayers as petitions usually receive when sent by an obnoxious messenger.

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But where the people have no knowledge of the crime, or can obtain no redress or abatement of the scandal; when the function is not only public, but recognised by God's word and the authority of ecclesiastical superiors; that cannot be imputed to them as a fault which is only their great misfortune: nor can the mutual communication of prayer and grace be impeded by the unworthiness of the channel, any more than the bad character of a public carrier can vitiate the letters which pass through his hands. In the instance already mentioned, Hannah prayed and was accepted, though the sacrificers were sons of Belial.

Nor can it be said with truth that where no remedy is to be had the people 'get nothing or very little' by attendance on the ministry of a wicked person. Through his ministry they may surely obtain the ordinary means of grace, 'the sacraments generally necessary to salvation:' they may offer up their prayers, through his ministry, under the circumstances to which a peculiar blessing and the especial presence of Christ is promised. The very unworthiness of their elder may be improved into an opportunity of exercising their faith, their obedience, and their charity; their faith, as relying on God alone for the performance of His gracious promises; their obedience, as complying with the commanded rite under discouraging and disgusting circumstances; their charity, as bearing with their brother's faults, as praying with him, and for him. But while such as these may by God's grace reap grapes from thorns and figs from thistles, "they who have preached to them" (to use Taylor's own words) "shall have the curse of Hananeel and the reward of Balaam, the wages of unrighteousness. But thus it was when the wise men asked the doctors where Christ should be born; they told them right, but the wise men went to Christ, and found Him; and the doctors sate still and went not."

The rest of the first discourse, and the whole of the second, are unexceptionable in point of theology; and in piety, learning, eloquence, and good sense, are admirable. Nothing can be more awful than the manner in which he concludes his first sermon with a description of the labour, the difficulty, the danger, and on the other hand the blessedness of the ministerial office; with a warning that many things are lawful for the people which are scandalous in the clergy, and that the common life of the one must exceed the piety of the other. "Remember," he exclaims[m] to his clerical hearers, "remember your dignity to which Christ hath called you! .. Shall such a man as I flee? said the brave Eleazar, .. shall the stars be darkness, .. shall the ambassadors of Christ neglect to do their king honour, .. shall the glory of Christ do dishonourable and inglorious actions? .. Ye are the glory of Christ, saith S. Paul; remember that! I can say no greater thing; unless possibly this may add some moments for your care and caution, that *potentes potenter cruciabuntur!*"

[m] [vol. viii. p. 517.]

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It was thus that Taylor pressed on the consciences of his brethren 'not only to be innocent and void of offence, but also to be holy; not only pure, but shining; not only to be blameless, but to be didactic in your lives; that as by your sermons you preach in season, so by your lives you may preach out of season, that is, at all seasons, and to all men, that they seeing your good works may glorify God on your behalf and on their own!'

His second sermon, on the Doctrine of ministers, may surprise a modern divine by the little remembered names of those authors whose commentaries he recommends, and whose works are now of no frequent occurrence in any but college libraries. There are not many scholars of the present day who owe very many or very great obligations to Sixtus Senensis, to 'the excellent book of Hugo de Sancto Victore,' to 'the *prolegomena* of Serarius,' Andreas Hyperius, or the *hypotyposes* of Martinus Cantipratensis. It may excite also some surprise that no English work is named, and that those of Erasmus, Castellio, Melanchthon, and Grotius, are passed over in silence. Those will be however agreeably disappointed who anticipate, from the honour paid to these obsolete writers, an obsolete, and for modern times an unprofitable *rationale* of doctrine. No work that I am acquainted with displays more sound and enlarged views of scriptural interpretation: in none of equal length are so many useful hints afforded for the choice of subjects,—the avoiding of useless controversies,—the inculcation of truth in the manner least likely to provoke hostility,—the deference to authority which a christian teacher should always display,—and the avoiding of all such topics as 'serve a temporal end,' or blend 'a design of state' with religion.

But for these I must refer my readers to the discourses themselves, convinced that I shall be well entitled to their thanks if I have now first introduced them to their notice. I have indeed been the more exact in noticing their single error on account of their numerous excellencies, and because I was unwilling that a misapprehension of so much importance should pass current under the authority of such a writer, or that it should derogate from the utility of what I conceive to be one of his ablest and most useful compositions[n].

Of the SECOND class of his writings, namely the THEOLOGICAL, the earliest in date is the defence of Episcopacy, published in 1642, soon after the king's retirement to Oxford. In gracefulness of diction, in richness of imagery, and in that warmth and kindliness of feeling which is in a great measure Taylor's peculiar characteristic, it is inferior, as might well be expected, to such of his writings as relate immediately to morals or devotion. It is also less metaphysical, in the highest sense of the term, less distinguished by enlarged views of the human mind, and the limits between circumstantials and essentials, than the Rule of Conscience or the Liberty of Prophesying.

[n] Note (W W.)

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But it is at least a specimen of manly and moderate disputation; of a variety of learning, such as even in that learned age few other writers have brought to bear upon the same subject; and of a style vigorous and elastic, which, both in taste and energy, leaves far behind it the greater number of contemporary theologians, and only falls short of that which few indeed have equalled, the sustained and majestic harmony of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.

Of the arguments however which he has advanced in favour of an institution which through life he regarded with more than common veneration, there are not many which strike me as new; and in the few particulars where he has taken a different ground from that generally occupied by the assertors of episcopal government, I am not sure that he has been fortunate.

He sets out with asserting the absolute necessity that some form of church government should be found laid down in scripture; an assertion of precisely the same kind with that which was maintained by the puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, and which was so ably refuted by Hooker in the third book of his immortal work already referred to. The reasons indeed on which Taylor rests his position are as unsound as the position itself is *prima facie* questionable. "If," he urges[o], "for our private actions and duties economical they will pretend a text, I suppose it will not be thought possible scripture should make default in assignation of the public government, insomuch as all laws intend the public and the general directly, the private and the particular by consequence only and comprehension within the general."

But this argument, if it proves any thing, will prove too much, and will send us to our bibles for the model not only of ecclesiastical but of civil regimen; inasmuch as the cases are both the same, and in both the presumption, if there were any, would be equal, that the general good should be provided for before the individual. We find however in fact, that while the duties of individuals are marked out, in both the Old and New testament, in the broadest characters and with the most scrupulous care, those individuals are left entirely to themselves and the decision of their own reason as to the manner in which they are to unite into nations or clans for mutual protection, and as to the persons and powers of those public functionaries whom they are to appoint as guardians of the general happiness and deciders of private differences. The truth is, that however we may deceive ourselves with the term of an imaginary public, whom we dress up in the attributes of a real personage, and to whom we ascribe in common speech an existence and an interest distinct from those individuals of whom it is in fact only the collective name, no wise lawgiver will attempt to separate public from private happiness and virtue, or expect to obtain an aggregate of prosperity any otherwise than by consulting the prosperity of those individuals of whom that aggregate

[o] [sect. i. vol. v. p. 16.]

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is made up. The moral laws accordingly (to which Taylor would hardly have denied a precedence over all other institutions) not incidentally or mediately, but in the first instance, respect the conduct of individuals. And as all other laws, whether relating to forms of government or the internal regulations of society, are in fact modal and instrumental only, in order to the due discharge and observance of these higher and more holy obligations, it is reasonable that God, having taught us these last, should leave us, as in nine instances out of ten He has confessedly left us, to pursue, by such means as our human experience and natural faculties point out, the ends which His revelation has set before us.

But Taylor goes on to urge that "if Christ himself did not take order for a government, that we must derive it from human prudence and emergency of conveniences, and concourse of new circumstances, and then the government must often be changed, or else time must stand still, and things be ever in the same state and possibility. Both the consequents," he tells us, "are extremely full of inconvenience. For if it be left to human prudence, then either the government of the church is not in immediate order to the good and benison of souls; or if it be, that such an institution, in such immediate order to eternity, should be dependent upon human prudence, it were to trust such a rich commodity in a cock-boat, that no wise pilot will be supposed to do. But if there be often changes in government ecclesiastical (which was the other consequent) in the public frame I mean and constitution of it; either the certain infinity of schisms will arise, or the dangerous issues of public inconsistency and innovation, which in matters of religion is good for nothing but to make men distrust all; and come the best that can come, there will be so many church governments as there are human prudences."

In the first of these supposed consequences, Taylor assumes that "the government of the church is in immediate order to the good and benison of souls." But this is plainly untrue, since for this great end nothing more is immediately necessary (speaking always in subordination to the merits and sacrifice of Christ) but the sincere word of God as delivered in scripture, to enlighten and establish our faith; and the means of grace, which are afforded us in baptism and the Lord's supper. The government of the church is in immediate order to the faithful preaching of the truth and the decent and orderly ministration of the sacraments, but it is only through their means, and as a consequence of them, that it seeks the salvation of souls. It must rank therefore, as Hooker[p] wisely teaches, not among the points essential to salvation, but "those things that are accessory hereunto, those things that so belong to the way of salvation, as to alter them is no otherwise to change that way than a path is changed by altering only the uppermost face thereof, which, be it laid with gravel, or set with grass, or paved with stone, remaineth still the same path."

[p] [Eccles. pol., lib. iii. chap. 3.]

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To his observation respecting the danger of frequent changes or schisms, or both, it may be answered, that the risk of these in religious affairs is not greater than of mutability or rebellion in civil; and that for both these (even supposing us left to human prudence and experience as our only guides in framing our polity) our natural caution and our natural respect for authority are, as well as our christian prudence and christian charity, the proper and efficacious remedy. In the eagerness indeed of his argument, he does not stop with the enumeration of these probable inconveniences of the supposition which he deprecates, but pursues his consequence to an extent which would be subversive of all principles of human government, and leave no adequate means to preserve the peace of the world but a necessary tyranny or a direct theocracy. "If," he urges, "there be no opinion of religion, no derivation from a divine authority, there will be sure to be no obedience, and indeed nothing but a certain public, calamitous irregularity. For why should they obey? Not for conscience, for there is no derivation from divine authority: not for fear, for they have not the power of the sword." Surely when Taylor wrote thus he had forgotten the apostolical precept, "Submit yourselves unto every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake[q]!"

Though Christ therefore were admitted to have left no definite law for the manner in which His church was to be governed, and though episcopacy were allowed to stand on the single basis of human institution, there would be still abundant reason against hasty or needless change of such an institution on the part of sovereigns, as well as against schism in particular persons, on this account, and from a church which exacted no unchristian terms of communion. But it is certain that any positive institution of Christ, if really traced to Him, is obligatory on the conscience of Christians; and if Taylor had made good his second position, that our Lord while on earth appointed the two distinct offices of bishop and presbyter, no doubt could remain but that both of these would rest on the same foundation with that of those sacraments themselves, which all men allow to be immutable.

But here too the author, while attempting to prove too much, has assumed facts in which he is neither borne out by antiquity nor the tenor of the gospel history, when he finds in the apostles, during the abode of their Lord on earth, the first bishops, and in the seventy-two disciples[r] whom Christ also selected from His followers, the first presbyters of His church.

That the latter were appointed by Christ to any thing more than a temporary and occasional function, is doubted by a writer not inferior to Taylor either in judgment or learning, and inferior to none in his ardent devotion to the primitive institution of episcopacy, the wise and excellent Hammond[s]. That the office which they filled, even

[q] 1 Pet. ii. 13.
[r] Luke x. 1.
[s] Hammond, Diss. iii. De omnibus evangeliorum periochis, cap. i. sect. 6. opp. tom. iv. p. 776; [fol. Lond. 1683.] ib. cap. v. sect. 5; cap. vi. sect. 1.

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supposing it to be permanent, answered to the presbyterate, is opposed by the tradition of the church preserved by Epiphanius[t] (and which Taylor unsuccessfully endeavours to reconcile with his own opinion) that from their number the seven deacons (or some of them at least) were afterwards selected: and it is opposed above all by the fact, that if the seventy had been made presbyters by Christ, they would have been the equals at least, if not the superiors, of the apostles themselves; whose priesthood probably, and certainly their episcopacy, dates only from the time when their Divine Master sent them forth, with the holy Ghost for their seal, from mount Olivet, after His resurrection[u].

That the apostles thus left in charge of the faithful, thus commissioned by Christ, and thus guided by the Paraclete, delegated to three different orders of men distinct and different portions of the authority which they had themselves received; that they ordained in different parts of the world apostles or bishops like themselves, elders to act in subserviency to those bishops, and deacons to assist those elders, —the author in what follows has indeed satisfactorily established. And it is plain that not only is the fact that episcopacy was instituted by the followers of Christ and the possessors of the holy Spirit sufficient to prove it neither an irrational nor unchristian form of polity, but that a very great and evident necessity must be shewn, before any human hand can be authorized to pull down or alter a fabric erected under such auspices.

This and this only is the strong, and (if I may be allowed the expression) the impregnable ground of the episcopal scheme, and of Taylor's defence of it. It is not as thinking lightly of the advantages of that scheme, nor as underrating its real authority,—far less is it as desiring to detract from the reputation of an author whom none can read without delight and improvement,—that I have ventured these few remarks on arguments to which he himself has appeared to ascribe an undue degree of value. But I have done it to prevent other champions in the same good cause from being induced to commit the same error, and to shew how needless it is to have recourse to doubtful or inapplicable proofs and presumptions, when in an universal and apostolical tradition every proof is contained which can be in

[t] Hæres. lib. i. tom. i. [hær. xx.] opp. vol. i. p. 50.

[u] Some of the Romanists have indeed a strange fancy that Christ made the apostles priests when He instituted the eucharist. Boileau de præcept. div. comm. in utraque specie, p. 189. [8vo. Lutet. Paris. 1685.] 'Creavit et instituit sacerdotes his verbis, Hoc facite.'—This notion is however justly reproved by Estius, [? in iv. sent.] dist. xii. sect. 11, and Alphonsus à Castro, contra hæreses, tit. Euch. p. 99. [? col. 399. But there is a mistake here. Neither Estius nor à Castro says what is attributed to him, in the places alleged; and each of them elsewhere says the contrary; Est. in iv. sent. dist. 24, de sacram. ord. § 1. p. 14 F, fol. Duac. 1616; and Alphonsus à Castro, adv. hær. lib. xiii. tit. 'Sacerdotium,' col. 920 B. fol. Par. 1571.] In general, all Christians agree to find the ordination of the apostles in Matt. xxviii. 18, and in John xx. 22. See what Taylor himself says in his Ductor Dubitantium, vol. ix. part i. p. 537. et seq.

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such a case desired or expected.—And though I am far from confounding the relative value of institutions immediately authorized by Christ, immediately tending to the salvation of souls, or of visible and universal advantage to them, with those which chiefly respect ecclesiastical order, it can hardly I think be denied that those churches are wisest who retain episcopacy; those sectaries least excusable who dissent from it; and that the authority of apostolical tradition cannot be reasonably rejected in this case, without endangering many other observances of christianity which are almost universally accounted essentials.—With some qualification as to the case of infant baptism, in favour of which there is something very like a positive command of Christ, and respecting the scripture proofs of which Taylor himself afterwards thought more reverently, the passage which follows[x] is well worthy the serious consideration of all who thoughtlessly or conscientiously impugn episcopacy.

"The sum is this: although we had not proved the immediate divine institution of episcopal power over presbyters and the whole flock, yet episcopacy is not less than an apostolical ordinance, and delivered to us by the same authority that the observation of the Lord's day is. For for that in the New testament we have no precept, and nothing but the example of the primitive disciples meeting in their *synaxes* upon that day (and so also they did on the saturday in the Jewish synagogues); but yet (however that at Geneva they were once in meditation to have changed it into a thursday meeting, to have shewn their christian liberty) we should think strangely of those men that called the sunday festival less than an apostolical ordinance, and necessary now to be kept holy with such observances as the church hath appointed.

"Baptism of infants is most certainly a holy and charitable ordinance, and of ordinary necessity to all that ever cried, and yet the church hath founded this rite upon the tradition of the apostles; and wise men do easily observe, that the anabaptist can by the same probability of scripture enforce a necessity of communicating infants upon us, as we do of baptizing infants upon them, if we speak of immediate divine institution, or of practice apostolical recorded in scripture; and therefore a great master of Geneva, in a book he writ against the anabaptists, was forced to fly to apostolical traditive ordination. And therefore the institution of bishops must be served first, as having fairer plea and clearer evidence in scripture than the baptizing of infants; and yet they that deny this, are by the just *anathema* of the catholic church confidently condemned for heretics.

"Of the same consideration are divers other things in christianity, as the presbyter's consecrating the eucharist: for if the apostles in the first institution did represent the whole church, clergy and laity, when Christ said *Hoc facite*, 'do this,' then why may not every christian man there represented do that which the apostles in the name of all

[x] [sect. xix. vol. v. p. 68.]

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were commanded to do? If the apostles did not represent the whole church, why then do all communicate? Or what place or intimation of Christ's saying is there, in all the four gospels, limiting *hoc facite, id est, benedicite,* to the clergy, and extending *hoc facite, id est, accipite et manducate,* to the laity? This also rests upon the practice apostolical and traditive interpretation of holy church, and yet cannot be denied that so it ought to be, by any man that would not have his christendom suspected.

"To these I add, the communion of women; the distinction of books apocryphal from canonical; that such books were written by such evangelists and apostles; the whole tradition of scripture itself; the apostles' creed; the feast of Easter (which amongst all them that cry up the sunday festival for a divine institution must needs prevail as *caput institutionis,* it being that for which the sunday is commemorated.) These, and divers others of greater consequence which I dare not specify for fear of being misunderstood, rely but upon equal faith with this of episcopacy (though I should waive all the arguments for immediate divine ordinance;) and therefore it is but reasonable it should be ranked among the *credenda* of christianity, which the church hath entertained upon the confidence of that which we call 'the faith of a Christian,' whose Master is truth itself."

On the remainder of Taylor's argument, a very few observations are sufficient.—He obviates with much skill and learning in his twenty-first section the objection against the sole jurisdiction of the bishop, which is taken from an expression of Hierome, and discriminates between the separate functions and dignities of bishops and presbyters, whether these last are spoken of singly, or as assembled in diocesan councils. He solves that which is sometimes urged from the indiscriminate manner in which in the earliest times the terms bishop and presbyter were sometimes applied, and defines the power and dignity of the ancient officer who was called *chorepiscopus.*—He then enlarges on the authority, influence, and honour, possessed by bishops in elder times; on the extent of their dioceses, and the allegiance paid them by their clergy, and concludes with proving, against the church polity of Calvin, that at no period of antiquity did laymen hold office in the church.

On the general style and spirit of this treatise I have already spoken, and the specimen which I have given may afford the reader a sufficient idea of both. The care is however worthy of notice with which Taylor had already begun to guard against any thing which might sanction persecution, and which has led him, in two different places of his present work, to deny to the church the right of employing any but ecclesiastical censures. This denial is, as we have seen, employed by him as an argument for the necessity of an immediate divine commission to the episcopacy, and he expresses himself still more strongly in sect. 36;—

"As no human power can disrobe the church of the power of ex-

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communication, so no human power can invest the church with a lay compulsory. For if the church be not capable of a *jus gladii*, as most certainly she is not, the church cannot receive power to put men to death, or to inflict lesser pains in order to it, or any thing above a salutary penance." . . "Her censures she may inflict upon her delinquent children without asking leave; Christ is her *αὐθεντία* for that; He is her warrant and security: the other," the power of secular punishment, "is begged or borrowed, none of her own, nor of a fit edge to be used in her abscissions and coercions."

The Defence of Episcopacy was followed by his Apology for authorized and set Forms of Liturgy, which first appeared in 1646, though it was enlarged in a second edition three years afterwards. It is a sufficient proof that he was no time-server, when a work of this kind appeared with his name, and with a reprint of his dedication to the king, at a time when that sovereign was already removed to another state of existence.

The work, thus enlarged and improved, is perhaps among the best of Taylor's polemical discourses. It was a subject which gave abundant scope to his extensive knowledge of antiquity and of human nature, and it was one, above all, which from its connexion with practical piety, was adapted to call into action much of that higher strain of eloquence by which his practical works are more peculiarly distinguished. On prayer indeed he always seems to have felt and written 'with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his strength;' and it is a subject therefore on which of all others his opinion is most valuable. The most strenuous admirers of extemporaneous prayer can hardly refuse their serious attention to the objections offered against its practice by one who was himself endued with so remarkable gifts both of eloquence and piety. And those whom his arguments fail to convince, or who need no arguments to convince them, will not the less be impressed by the majestic eloquence of his preface, in which he laments[y] over the then persecuted condition of the English church, and concisely, but with a degree of clearness and elegance which has been seldom surpassed, reviews and regrets the merits of the proscribed liturgy.

"In these things," he says, when comparing the calamities of England to those of Israel in the days of Hophni and Phineas, "in these things we also have been but too like the sons of Israel; for when we sinned as greatly, we also have groaned under as great and sad a calamity. For we have not only felt the evils of an intestine war, but God hath smitten us in our spirit, and laid the scene of His judgments especially in religion; He hath snuffed our lamp so near that it is almost extinguished, and the sacred fire was put into a hole of the earth, even then when we were forced to light those tapers that stood upon our altars, that by this sad truth better than by the old

[y] [sects. ii. sqq.]

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ceremony, we might prove our succession to those holy men who were constrained to sing hymns to Christ in dark places and retirements."

"But I delight not to observe the correspondences of such sad accidents, which as they may happen upon divers causes, or may be forced violently by the strength of fancy, or driven on by jealousy, and the too fond openings of troubled hearts and afflicted spirits; so they do but help to vex the offending part, and relieve the afflicted but with a fantastic and groundless comfort. I will therefore deny leave to my own affections to ease themselves by complaining of others. I shall only crave leave that I may remember Jerusalem, and call to mind the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and economy of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion that went not out by day nor by night: these were the pleasures of our peace, and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of those spiritual delights which we then enjoyed as antepasts of heaven, and consignations to an immortality of joys. And it may be so again when it shall please God, who hath the hearts of all princes in His hand, and turneth them as the rivers of waters; and when men will consider the invaluable loss that[y] is appendent to the destroying such forms of discipline and devotion in which God was purely worshipped, and the church was edified, and the people instructed to great degrees of piety, knowledge, and devotion... For to the churches of the Roman communion we can say, that ours is reformed; to the reformed churches we can say, that ours is orderly and decent: for we were freed from the impositions and lasting errors of a tyrannical spirit, and yet from the extravagancies of a popular spirit too: our reformation was done without tumult, and yet we saw it necessary to reform; we were zealous to cast away the old errors, but our zeal was balanced with consideration and the results of authority. Not like women or children when they are affrighted with fire in their clothes; we shake off the coal indeed, but not our garments, lest we should have exposed our churches to that nakedness which the excellent men of our sister churches complained to be among themselves."

The advantages of set forms of prayer in general; the peculiar merits of the English liturgy; the weakness of the objections urged against its different particulars: the testimony borne to its merits by the most celebrated among the martyrs of the reformation (among whom he instances with peculiar respect the name of his own ancestor Rowland Taylor) contrasted with the obvious imperfections and arrogant claims of the recent 'Directory,' are all in their turns concisely and eloquently treated: till he returns again[z] to the excellence and misfortunes of the Common Prayer.

"And yet this excellent book hath had the fate to be cut in pieces with a pen-knife, and thrown into the fire; but it is not consumed.

[y] ['loss that is consequent, and the danger of sin that' ed.] [z] [§ 47.]

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At first it was sown in tears, and is now watered with tears, yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished with tears. It began with the martyrdom of the compilers, and the church hath been vexed ever since by angry spirits, and she was forced to defend it with much trouble and unquietness; but it is to be hoped that all these storms are sent but to increase the zeal and confidence of the pious sons of the church of England. Indeed the greatest danger that ever the Common Prayer-book had was the indifferency and indevotion of them that used it but as a common blessing; and they who thought it fit for the meanest of the clergy to read prayers, and for themselves only to preach, though they might innocently intend it, yet did not in that action consult the honour of our liturgy, except where charity or necessity did interpose. But when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us, as our blessed Saviour did upon S. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a full and an actual possession. I pray God it may prove so in our case, and that we may not be too willing to be discouraged; at least that we may not cease to love and to desire what is not publicly permitted to our practice and profession."

In this fine preface there is one passage[a] which I could wish had been differently worded. In commending, with good reason, the manner in which different passages from the epistles and gospels are selected to be read in the communion service, he thus expresses himself:—

"If we deny to the people a liberty of reading scriptures, may they not complain, as Isaac did against the inhabitants of the land, that the Philistines had spoiled his well, and the fountains of living water? If a free use to all of them, and of all scriptures, were permitted, should not the church herself have more cause to complain of the infinite licentiousness and looseness of interpretations, and of the commencement of ten thousand errors, which would certainly be consequent to such permission? Reason and religion will chide us in the first, reason and experience in the latter. And can the wit of man conceive a better temper and expedient than that such scriptures only, or principally, should be laid before them all in daily offices, which contain in them all the mysteries of our redemption, and all the rules of good life? . . And were this design made something more minute, and applicable to the various necessities of times, and such choice scriptures permitted indifferently which might be matter of necessity and great edification, the people of the church would have no reason to complain that the fountains of our Saviour were stopped from them, nor the rulers of the church that the mysteriousness of scripture were abused by the petulancy of the people, to consequents harsh, impious, and unreasonable, in despite of government, in exauctoration of the power of superiors, or for the commencement of schisms and heresies."

If in these words he means no more than to propose that for the

[a] [sect. xxvi. p. 242.]

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occasions of the public service of the church, and instead of the now almost continuous order in which the Bible is read in our congregations on week-days, a selection were made after the manner of the ancient lectionaries, leaving the entire Bible as free as before to the private studies of all Christians, I do not know that the measure which he recommends would be liable to any serious objections. It has been already adopted to a certain extent by the church, in her selection of the proper lessons for sundays and saints' days throughout the year; and even in the regular course of the daily chapters, it is well known that the principle at least is admitted by the exclusion of some particular passages. But it is not easy to see how a choice of scriptures for public reading could prevent those which were read in private from being abused in the manner which he deplores; and if it were his design to permit the scriptures to the laity only in such an abridged and garbled form as their spiritual rulers might think advisable, it could only remain for us to regret that the danger of the times, and the bitter fruits of enthusiasm and fanaticism then before his eyes, had so far overpowered the better understanding and better feeling of a man like Taylor, as that they should betray him into a proposal at once so foolish and so blameable, so contrary to the maxims of an enlarged worldly prudence, and so dangerous to genuine christianity. The strangest circumstance of the whole, and that which induces me still more to think that the author has here spoken inconsiderately, is that, a few sections further on[a], he expresses an opinion directly contrary to that which he had here advanced, and praises the church of England in the highest terms for her orderly, and (with few exceptions) her indiscriminate reading of the Old and New testament. "Certainly," are his words, "it was a very great wisdom, and a very prudent and religious constitution, so to order that part of the liturgy which the ancients called the *lectionarium*, that the psalter should be read over twelve times in the year, the Old testament once, and the New testament thrice, besides the epistles and gospels, which renew with a more frequent repetition such choice places as represent the entire body of faith and good life. There is a defalcation of some few chapters from the entire body of the order; but that also was part of the wisdom of the church, not to expose to public ears and common judgments some of the secret rites of Moses' law, or the more mysterious prophecies of the New testament, whose sense and meaning the event will declare, if we by mistaken and anticipated interpretations do not obstruct our own capacities, and hinder us from believing the true events, because they answer not those expectations with which our own mistakes have prepared our understandings."

The treatise itself is occupied in discussing the arguments usually advanced either by those who object to all set and premeditated forms whatever, or by those who admit of a premeditated form, so it be not enjoined by authority, but every minister of the gospel be left to the

[a] [sect. xxxvii. p. 247.]

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best use of those gifts of prayer which he possesses. Against the first of these he urges[b] the counsel of Solomon[c], "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter any thing before God," demanding, "Who keeps the precept best, he that deliberates, or he that considers not when he speaks?" He proceeds to instance to the same effect the example and authority of the wisest nations and most sober persons of antiquity; and examines with much learning and acuteness the pretence of a promise in the gospel of a Spirit of prayer, and of a peculiar assistance to our unpremeditated devotions. What he here lays down as to the nature of the ordinary gifts of the holy Ghost, and those celestial aids which are purchased for us by Christ's blood, is extremely useful and important, inasmuch as he proves that "the aids of the holy Ghost are only assistances to us in the use of natural means," and that "labour, and hard study, and premeditation, will soonest purchase the gift of prayer, and ascertain us of the assistance of the Spirit." He shews that even where the extraordinary aids of the holy Ghost were most largely given in the case of the inspired writers of the New testament, "yet in the midst of those great assistances and motions they did use study, art, industry, and human abilities. This," he proceeds, "is more than probable in the different styles of the several books; some being of admirable art, others lower and plain. The words were their own, at least sometimes, not the holy Ghost's. And if Origen, S. Hierome, and especially the Greek fathers, scholiasts and grammarians, were not deceived by false copies, but that they truly did observe sometimes to be impropriety of an expression in the language, sometimes not true Greek, who will think those errors or imperfections in grammar were (in respect of the words, I say) precisely immediate inspirations and dictates of the holy Ghost, and not rather their own productions of industry and humanity? But clearly some of their words were the words of Aratus, some of Epimenides, some of Menander, some of S. Paul, 'This speak I, not the Lord.' ... And since that we[d] cannot pretend on any grounds of probability to an inspiration so immediate as theirs, and yet their assistances which they had from the Spirit did not exclude human arts and industry, but that the ablest scholar did write the best, much rather is this true in the gifts and assistances we receive, and particularly in the gift of prayer. It is not an *ex tempore* and an inspired faculty; but the faculties of nature, and the abilities of art and industry, are improved and ennobled by the supervening assistance of the Spirit. And if those who pray *ex tempore* say that the assistance they receive from the Spirit is the inspiration of words and powers, without the operation of art and natural abilities, and human industry; then,—besides that it is more than the penmen of scripture sometimes had, because they needed no extraordinary assistances to what they could of themselves do upon the stock of other abilities,—besides this, I

[b] [sect. viii. p. 261.] [c] [Eccles. v. 2.] [d] ['Since then we,' ed.]

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say, it must follow that such prayers, so inspired, if they were committed to writing, would form as good canonical scripture as any is in S. Paul's epistles: the impudence of which pretension is sufficient to prove the extreme vanity of the challenge."

But,—he goes on[e] to argue, having thus shewn that the gift of praying by the Spirit, whatever it means, may, like all other spiritual gifts, be acquired by human industry,—"let us take a man that pretends he hath the gift of prayer, and loves to pray *ex tempore*. I suppose his thoughts go a little before his tongue. I demand then, whether cannot this man, when it is once come into his head, hold his tongue, and write down what he hath conceived? If his first conceptions were of God and God's spirit, then they are so still, even when they are written. Or is the Spirit departed from him at the sight of a pen and inkhorn? It did use to be otherwise among the old and new prophets, whether they were prophets of prediction or of ordinary ministry. But if his conception may be written, and being thus written is still a production of the Spirit, then it follows that set forms of prayer, deliberate and described, may as well be a praying with the Spirit as sudden forms and *ex tempore* outlets; .. so that in effect, since after the pretended assistance of the Spirit in our prayers, we may write them down, consider them, 'try the spirits,' and ponder the matter, the reason, and the religion of the address; let the world judge whether this sudden utterance and *ex tempore* forms be any thing else but a direct resolution not to consider beforehand what we speak."

He then[f] examines with the same clear-sighted discrimination the different meanings in which we may understand the scriptural expression of 'praying by the Spirit;' which he defines to be, "1) when the Spirit stirs up our desires to pray *per motionem actualis auxilii*; 2) or when the Spirit teaches us what or how to pray, telling us the matter and manner of our prayers; 3) or lastly, dictating the very words of our prayers. There is no other way in the world to 'pray with the Spirit' .. that is pertinent to this question; and of this last manner the scripture determines nothing, nor speaks any thing expressly of it. And yet suppose it had, we are certain the holy Ghost hath supplied us with all these, and yet in set forms of prayer best of all; I mean there where a difference can be: for

1) As for the desires and actual motions or incitements to pray, they are indifferent to one or the other, to set forms or to *ex tempore*.

2) But as to the matter or manner of prayer, it is clearly contained in the expresses and set forms of scriptures; and there it is supplied to us by the Spirit, for He is the great dictator of it.

3) Now then for the very words. No man can assure me that the words of his *ex tempore* prayer are the words of the holy Spirit. It is not reason nor modesty to expect such immediate assistances to so little purpose, He having supplied us with abilities more than enough

[e] [sect. xxxiv. sq. p. 271.] [f] [sect. xlvii. sqq. p. 277.]

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to express our desires, *aliunde*, otherwise than by immediate dictate. But if we will take David's psalter, or the other hymns of holy scripture, or any of the prayers which are respersed over the Bible, we are sure enough that they are the words of God's spirit, mediately or immediately, by way of infusion or ecstasy, by vision, or at least by ordinary assistance. And now then what greater confidence can any man have for the excellency of his prayers, and the probability of their being accepted, than when he prays his psalter, or the Lord's prayer, or any other office which he finds consigned in scripture? When God's spirit stirs us up to an actual devotion, and then we use the matter He hath described and taught, and the very words which Christ, and Christ's spirit, and the apostles, and other persons full of the holy Ghost did use; if in the world there be any praying with the Spirit (I mean in vocal prayer) this is it."

In replying to the second objection, which admits of premeditation, but attacks the restriction of all men to a single form, he admits[g] in the first place that "the gift or ability of prayer given to the church is used either in public or private, and that which is fit enough for one is inconvenient in the other; and although a liberty in private may be for edification of good people, when it is piously and discreetly used, yet in the public, if it were indifferently permitted, it would bring infinite inconvenience, and become intolerable." Then, after some intermediate observations, evincing a profound acquaintance with the human heart, and a large personal experience of those seraphic ardours of devotion which in private "may descend, like anointing from above," and which are "not to be contained within the margent of prescribed forms," he urges[h] that such a spirit may nevertheless "keep silence in the church, and speak to himself and to God;" and[i] that "though public forms cannot be fitted to every man's fancy and affections, . . . yet they may be fitted to all necessities, and to every man's duty:" that even if every minister were permitted to pray his own forms, his form could not "comply with the great variety of affections which are amongst his auditors;" though it might "hit casually, and by accident be commensurate to the present fancy of some of his congregation, with which at that time possibly the public form would not; . . this may be thus, and it may be otherwise; and at the same time in which some feel a gust and relish in his prayer, others might feel a greater sweetness in recitation of the public forms. This thing is so by chance, so irregular and uncertain, that no wise man, nor no providence less than divine, can make any provisions for it."

"After all," he urges[k], "it is nothing but the fantastic and the imaginative part that is pleased;" and when men, out of fancy, prejudice, or passion, are not edified by that which in itself is good, wholesome, and apt to edify, more particularly when this is prepared by those men who in all reason are to be supposed to have received

[g] [sect. li. sqq. p. 279.]
[h] [sect. lviii. p. 281.]
[i] [sect. lx. p. 282.]
[k] [sect. lxiii. p. 283.]

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from God all those assistances which are effects of the 'spirit of government,' .. "the way to cure the inconvenience is to alter the men, not to change the institution."

Having thus cleared up the question of edification, he proceeds to discuss the points of right and authority: he shews that the power of appointing certain forms of prayer is by a necessary analogy to reside in the rulers of the church, both as stewards of sacred things, and as (like the old prophets) bound to pray for the people, and to provide that so solemn a duty as public prayer be performed without disorder or scandal.

And as the presbyterians were agreed with him that the ministers, and not the people, were to prescribe the words of the prayer in which all should join, he goes on to urge that the church in general might more fitly execute this office for all, than every single minister for his congregation: inasmuch as whatever promises of spiritual assistance are made to individual believers, are more fully and definitely accorded to the church at large; and since the church at large in her collective and corporate capacity can only exercise whatever spirit of prayer she may possess in limited and determined forms, no private minister can expect to pray better than a council; few are so confident in themselves as to say that they can do it as well; and *quod spectat ad omnes ab omnibus tractari debet.*

He proceeds to shew[1], by the precedents of all former,—the form of benediction prescribed by God to Moses, the psalms employed in the service of the temple, the example of John the baptist, and of Christ himself,—that some set forms of prayer were of inspired and divine authority. He proves the injunction of Christ to extend to the form of words as well as to the purport of the petitions; and observes that "if ever any prayer was, or could be, a part of that doctrine of faith by which we received the Spirit, it must needs be this prayer, which was the only form our blessed Master taught the christian church [immediately."]

The practice of the ancient church, both in prayers and hymns, restricting both to set forms, and permitting such forms only to be introduced by persons in authority, he next establishes and comments on. He instances some of the advantages of a well-constructed liturgy, in conveying truths to the heart as well as the understanding of the assistants; in preserving concord and catholic communion; and in restraining the conceit and curiosity of individual ministers of religion, whose devotion may be spoiled by the same applauses which encourage and augment their fluency. "But these things," he observes[m] with characteristic moderation and gentleness, "are accidental to the nature of the thing; and therefore though they are too certainly consequent to the person, yet I will not be too severe, but preserve myself on the surer side of a charitable construction; which truly I desire to keep not only to their persons, whom I much reverence, but also to their

[1] [sect. lxxiii. sq. p. 287.]

[m] [sect. cxiv. p. 305.]

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actions. But yet I durst not do the same thing even for these last reasons, though I had no other."

The objection that individual ministers may as well be left to the composition of their own prayers as their own sermons, he answers by pointing out the many points of difference which exist between the two things; the greater necessity that the people should agree with what they join in than what they hear; the greater reverence required in an immediate address to the Most high; the greater variety and latitude in a theological argument than in a prayer; and the fact that many persons preach, whom even in the opinion of the divines of Westminster themselves it might be as well to restrain from that liberty.

The following passage[n] may lead us to suspect that the presbyterian clergy of those days had not yet usually begun the practice which is now almost universal amongst them, of preaching *ex tempore*, or what passes as such. "Yet methinks the argument objected, so far as the *ex tempore* men make use of it, if it were turned with the edge the other way, would have more reason in it; and instead of arguing, Why should not the same liberty be allowed to their spirit in praying as in preaching? it were better to substitute this, If they can pray with the Spirit, why do they not also preach with the Spirit? .. Let them make demonstration of their spirit by making excellent sermons *ex tempore;* that it may become an experiment of their other faculty, that after they are tried and approved in this, they may be considered for the other: and if praying with the Spirit be praying *ex tempore*, why shall they not preach *ex tempore* too, or else confess they preach without the Spirit, or that they have not the gift of preaching?"

He concludes by observing[o] that "there is no promise in scripture that he who prays *ex tempore* shall be heard the better, or assisted at all to such purposes;" that this way of prayer is without precedent in antiquity or warrant in scripture; that it is unreasonable, because without deliberation; innovating, because without authority; detracting from our first reformers, and encouraging to the cavils of the church of Rome: favourable to the introduction of heresy, and dangerous to the right administration of the sacraments themselves. "He," he proceeds, "that considers all these things (and many more he may consider) will find that particular men are not fit to be intrusted to offer in public, with their private spirit, to God, for the people, in such solemnities, in matters of so great concernment; where the honour of God, the benefit of the people, the interest of kingdoms, the being of a church, the unity of minds, the conformity of practice, the truth of persuasion, and the salvation of souls, are so much concerned as they are in the public prayers of a whole national church. An unlearned man is not to be trusted, and a wise man dare not trust himself; he that is ignorant cannot, he that is knowing will not."

[n] [sect. cxxxiv. p. 310.]

[o] [sect. cxli. p. 313.]

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We are now arrived at the 'Liberty of prophesying,' introduced by an epistle to lord Hatton; from which some passages have been already quoted, and in which he justifies himself from the charge of a latitudinarian indifference to all religions, and recommends[p] to the champions of the faith the use of no other weapons than those which suit the christian warfare: such as 'preaching and disputation (so that neither of them breed disturbance,) charity and sweetness, holiness of life, assiduity of exhortation, the word of God, and prayer.'

"For these ways," he continues, "are most natural, most prudent, most peaceable and effectual. Only let not men be hasty in calling every disliked opinion by the name of heresy; and, when they have resolved that they will call it so, let them use the erring person like a brother, not beat him like a dog, nor convince him with a gibbet, or vex him out of his understanding and persuasions."

As a still further means of obtaining a patient hearing to his arguments, he gives a very short but very learned and curious sketch of the opinions and practice of the christian church as to the question of toleration: in which he shews that persecution was a practice unheard of among Christians till the church became worldly and corrupted; that it was first used by the Arians and other heretics; and that when the orthodox began to retaliate, they were condemned for so doing by all the best and wisest of the fathers. He proves how comparatively recent in the western church has been the rise of religious persecution; and that though the Roman pontiffs shewed themselves more encroaching and oppressive than any other prelates, yet no capital punishments were inflicted for heresy till the persecution of the Albigenses at the instigation of the ferocious Dominic. In England more particularly (he observes) though the power of the pope was no where greater than here, yet there were no executions for matters of opinion, till Henry the fourth, having usurped the crown, endeavoured by these bloody sacrifices to conciliate the priesthood.

All those christian sovereigns, he urges, who have received from succeeding ages the praise of eminent virtue and wisdom, have been favourable to religious toleration: the blessing of providence appears in an especial manner to have been bestowed on all governments by which it has been maintained; and he gives some remarkable examples of a contrary policy being chastised by foreign invasions, by civil calamities, and by a decay of internal prosperity and national power.

He concludes[q] with expressing his wonder (though without denying the real guilt and danger of heresy) that men should shew so much zeal against false opinions, and so little against vicious practices; and that while thus curiously busy about points of less importance, they should "neglect those glorious precepts of christianity and holy life which are the glories of our religion, and would enable us to a happy eternity."

[p] [vol. v. p. 354.]

[q] [p. 362.]

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The essay for which he thus endeavours to conciliate a favourable reception is somewhat less extensive in its object than many have been led to believe, and can by no means lay claim to the character which has been assigned to it, of a plea of universal toleration. The forbearance which he claims, he claims for those Christians only who unite in the confession of the apostles' creed. Of those sects who refuse their assent to this symbol (as indeed there were none then in existence) he says absolutely nothing; and the exceptions which he makes to his proposed act of peace in the thirteenth section, must in effect exclude from its benefit a very large proportion of those who profess religions hostile to christianity. It is probable indeed that considering the prejudices with which he had to contend, he was not anxious to follow up his own principles to the full extent to which they conducted, and that in his earnestness to remedy the mutual bitterness of christian sects, he purposely avoided treating of a case which had not yet arisen, or pleading the cause of those who were in no present or apparent danger of incurring the weight of religious violence.

If however he in this respect has taken a view of his subject narrower than he is often supposed to have done, in another respect he extends his principles considerably beyond the limit of a bare abstinence from persecution. He would not only dissuade us from killing or imprisoning our brethren, he would have us unite with them in communion, and he appears to have flattered himself with the hope that the greatest diversity of opinions, on topics not absolutely essential, might be made to consist not only with general charity but with complete church-union, by the mere non-interference of authority, and by a permission to all Christians to think and preach on such points according to their consciences. It is the authoritative decision, according to him, which in such differences occasions the schism; and he appeals to the experience of christendom for the fact that there are some points of the greatest practical importance, on which the greatest difference of opinion exists, which yet, because men are permitted to differ respecting them, have led to none of those divisions and heart-burnings which have arisen from disputes of far less moment. "It is of greater consequence," he urges[r], "to believe right in the question of the validity or invalidity of a death-bed repentance, than to believe aright in the question of purgatory; and the consequences of the doctrine of predetermination are of deeper and more material consideration than the products of the belief of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of private masses; and yet these great concernments, where a liberty of prophesying in these questions hath been permitted, have made no distinct communion, no sects of Christians, and the others have, and so have these too in those places where they have peremptorily been determined on either side."

"For," he shortly afterwards[s] more fully explains himself, "if it be

[r] [p. 366.] [s] [p. 367.]

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evinced that one heaven shall hold men of several opinions; if the unity of faith be not destroyed by that which men call differing religions, and if an unity of charity be the duty of us all, even towards persons that are not persuaded of every proposition we believe, then I would fain know to what purpose are all those stirs and great noises in christendom; those names of faction, the several names of churches not distinguished by the division of kingdoms, *ut ecclesia sequatur imperium*, which was the primitive rule and canon, but distinguished by names of sects and men? These are all become instruments of hatred, thence come schisms and parting of communions, and then persecutions, and then wars and rebellion, and then the dissolutions of all friendships and societies. All these mischiefs proceed not from this, that men are not of one mind, for that is neither necessary nor possible; but that every opinion is made an article of faith, every article is the ground of a quarrel, every quarrel makes a faction, every faction is zealous, and all zeal pretends for God, and whatsoever is for God cannot be too much. We by this time are come to that pass, we think we love not God except we hate our brother, and we have not the virtue of religion unless we persecute all religions but our own; for lukewarmness is so odious to God and man, that we, proceeding furiously upon these mistakes, by supposing we preserve the body we destroy the soul of religion, or by being zealous for faith, or (which is all one) for that which we mistake for faith, we are cold in charity, and so lose the reward of both."

In pursuit of this great scheme of general union, he begins[s] by proving that "the duty of faith is completed in believing the articles of the apostles' creed," the composition of which (with the exception of the article of Christ's descent into hell) he ascribes to the apostles themselves, or to apostolical men in the first ages of christianity, and which, as it contains nothing superfluous or which does not relate to those truths "which directly constitute the parts and work of our redemption," so must it have been necessarily esteemed sufficiently minute by its composers, and by that primitive church which adopted it as "the characteristic note of a Christian from a heretic, or a Jew, or an infidel." He admits indeed that it is neither unlawful nor unsafe for any of the rulers of the church, or any other competent judge, to extend his own creed to any further propositions which he may deduce from any of the articles of the apostles' creed. But he denies[t] that any such deduction or exposition (unless it be such a thing as is at first evident to all) is fit to be pressed on others as an article of faith, or can "bind a person of a differing persuasion to subscribe under pain of losing his faith or being a heretic. For," he urges, "it is a demonstration that nothing can be necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, but such propositions of which it is certain that God hath spoken and taught them to us, and of which it is certain that this is their sense and purpose. For if the sense be uncertain,

[s] [sect. i. p. 371 sqq.]

[t] [sect. xii. p. 374.]

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we can no more be obliged to believe it in a certain sense, than we are to believe it at all, if it were not certain that God delivered it. But if it be only certain that God spake it, and not certain to what sense, our faith of it is to be as indeterminate as its sense, and it can be no other in the nature of the thing, nor is it consonant to God's justice to believe of Him that He can or will require more." And he concludes the section[u] with a quotation from Tertullian, that if the integrity and unity of this rule of faith be preserved, "in all other things men may take a liberty of enlarging their knowledges and prophesyings, according as they are assisted by the grace of God."

This position he illustrates and enforces in the following sections: first, by the moderation shewn in the primitive church to such erroneous opinions as related not immediately to the fundamentals of christianity, and were maintained by their professors in sincerity and piety; secondly, from the utter impossibility of obtaining any certain and universal rule of faith which shall be more definite and minute than the apostles' creed, either from scripture, tradition, the decisions of councils, the *dicta* of the ancient fathers, the authority of the pope, or the opinion of the church universal. He thus arrives at the conclusion that no man or body of men being competent to judge for others in matters of faith, every man must judge for himself, and according to the dictates of his own reason, either by choosing what guides or teachers he will follow, (which he admits in some cases to be the wisest and in all the easiest course,) or by choosing for himself his opinions in detail, and following his guides no further than his reason agrees with their dictation. That such a course is liable to error, he admits; but he contends that such error, whether arising from confusion of understanding or honest prejudice, or any cause but such wicked and interested notions as cannot sway a pious person, is, in a pious person, innocent before God; "who is so pitiful to our crimes that He pardons many *de toto et integro*, in all makes abatement for the violence of temptation and the surprisal and invasion of our faculties, and therefore much less will demand of us an account of our weaknesses."

Having reached this point in his argument, he proceeds by a natural transition to shew the folly and wickedness of punishing, by death or other severities, the exercise of that choice which he has shewn to be in itself legitimate; a folly and wickedness which he further illustrates by the danger which exists that the same weapon which is employed to extirpate error, may in some instances be turned to the injury of truth; by the inefficacy of force in matters of opinion; by the manner in which a resort to such measures derogates from the honour of the christian religion, and by the fact that God alone has power over the soul of man, "so as to command a persuasion or to judge a disagreeing." He shews more at length than in his dedication, how strongly the stream of recedent and ecclesiastical antiquity sets against per-

[u] [p. 378.]

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secution; and defines with admirable accuracy and clearness the limit and nature of ecclesiastical censure, and the single species of severity (excommunication) which even in cases of the most notorious heresy the church has the power of exercising.

But even this mild and moderate and altogether spiritual jurisdiction can only, he repeats, be exercised to remedy practical inconveniences, or to reprove such opinions as by the rules which he had previously laid down are formal heresies. "The peace of the church[x] and the unity of her doctrine is best conserved when it is judged by the proportion it hath to that rule of unity which the apostles gave, that is, the creed, for the articles of mere belief, and the precepts of Jesus Christ and the practical rules of piety, which are most plain and easy, and without controversy, set down in the gospels and writings of the apostles. But to multiply articles, and adopt them into the family of the faith, and to require assent to such articles which (as S. Paul's phrase is) are of 'doubtful disputation,' equal to that assent we give to matters of faith, is to build a tower upon the top of a bulrush; and the further the effect of such proceedings does extend, the worse they are. The very making such a law is unreasonable. The inflicting spiritual censures upon them that cannot do so much violence to their understanding as to obey it, is unjust and ineffectual; but to punish the person with death, or with corporal infliction, indeed it is effectual, but it is therefore tyrannical."

Having thus limited the ecclesiastical authority in matters of religion, the author proceeds to the secular governor, whom he shews to be bound in conscience to tolerate all religious opinions, because an opinion is in no point of view subject to his jurisdiction; and to be bound no less, both in conscience and policy, to suffer men to teach and profess any system of christianity which they themselves believe, so long as the public peace is not broken nor endangered, either by the evident tendency of the doctrines themselves, or the manner in which their supporters endeavour to disseminate them. And he cautions him with much earnestness, before he has recourse to any measures of severity, not to "call every redargution or modest discovery of established error by the name of disturbance of the peace;" not to be himself the first to break the peace by peevishness and impatience of contradiction; to remember always the gentle spirit of christianity and the natural claim which all men have to liberty of conscience: and to remember above all the saying of Thuanus, *Hæretici qui pace data factionibus scinduntur, persecutione uniuntur contra rempublicam.*

"The sum," he concludes this section[y] by observing, "is this. It concerns the duty of a prince, because it concerns the honour of God, that all vices and every part of ill life be discountenanced and restrained; and therefore in relation to that, opinions are to be dealt with. For the understanding being to direct the will, and opinions to

[x] [sect. xv. fin.]

[y] [sect. xvi. p. 536.]

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guide our practices, they are considerable only as they teach impiety and vice, as they either dishonour God or disobey Him. Now all such doctrines are to be condemned; but for the persons preaching such doctrines, if they neither justify nor approve the pretended consequences which are certainly impious, they are to be separated from that consideration: but if they know such consequences and allow them, or if they do not stay till the doctrines produce impiety, but take sin beforehand, and manage them impiously in any sense; or if either themselves or their doctrines do, really and without colour or feigned pretext, disturb the public peace and just interests, they are not to be suffered. In all other cases it is not only lawful to permit them, but it is also necessary that princes and all in authority should not persecute discrepant opinions; and in such cases wherein persons not otherwise incompetent are bound to reprove an error (as they are in many), in all these, if the prince makes restraint, he hinders men from doing their duty, and from obeying the laws of Jesus Christ."

The following sections are taken up with the practical application of these principles to the then prevailing dissensions among Christians, with an ingenious and candid apology for the errors of the two sects who were in Taylor's time most obnoxious, the Anabaptists and the Papists, and with a brief conclusion that churches ought to allow communion to all who agree with them in essentials, and that it is the duty of private Christians to communicate with the national church where that church requires no unlawful conditions of communion. From this he takes occasion again to remark[z] on the danger and impropriety of driving men into schism by multiplying symbols and subscriptions, and contracting the bounds of communion, and the still greater wickedness of regarding all discrepant opinions as damnable in the life to come, and in the present, capital. "It concerns all persons to see that they do their best to find out truth, and if they do, it is certain that let the error be never so damnable, they shall escape the error, or the misery of being damned for it. And if God will not be angry at men for being invincibly deceived, why should men be angry one at another? For he that is most displeased at another man's error may also be tempted in his own will, and as much deceived in his understanding. For if he may fail in what he can choose, he may also fail in what he cannot choose; his understanding is no more secured than his will, nor his faith more than his obedience. It is his own fault if he offends God in either; but whatsoever is not to be avoided, as errors, which are incident oftentimes even to the best and most inquisitive of men, are not offences against God, and therefore not to be punished or restrained by men; but all such opinions in which the public interests of the commonwealth, and the foundation of faith and a good life, are not concerned, are to be permitted freely. *Quisque abundet in sensu suo,* was the doctrine of S. Paul, and that his argument and conclusion too: and they were

[z] [sect. xxi. 3, p. 604.]

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excellent words which S. Ambrose said in attestation of this great truth, *Nec imperiale est libertatem dicendi negare, nec sacerdotale quod sentias non dicere.*"

He concludes his treatise with the celebrated story of Abraham and the idolatrous traveller, which Franklin with some little variation gave to lord Kaimes as a 'Jewish parable on persecution,' and which this last-named author published in his 'Sketches of the history of man.' A charge of plagiarism has on this account been raised against Franklin; though he cannot be proved to have given it to lord Kaimes as his own composition, or under any other character than that in which Taylor had previously published it, that namely of an elegant fable by an uncertain author which had accidentally fallen under his notice. It is even possible, as has been observed by a writer in the Edinburgh Review[a], that he may have met with it in some magazine without Taylor's name. But it has been unfortunate for him that his correspondent evidently appears to have regarded it as his composition; that it has been published as such in all the editions of Franklin's collected works; and that with all Franklin's abilities and amiable qualities, there was a degree of quackery in his character which in this instance, as well as in that of his professional epitaph on himself, has made the imputation of such a theft more readily received against him than it would have been against most other men of equal eminence.

Whether Taylor himself really found this story where he professes to have done it, has been long a matter of suspicion. Contrary to his general custom, he gives no reference to his authority in the margin; and as the works of the most celebrated rabbins had been searched for the passage in vain, it has been supposed that he had ascribed to these authors a story of his own invention, in order to introduce with a better grace an apt illustration of his moral. My learned friend Mr. Oxlee, whose intimate and extensive acquaintance with talmudic and cabalistic learning is inferior to few of the most renowned Jewish doctors themselves, has at length discovered the probable source from which Taylor may have taken this beautiful apologue, in the epistle dedicatory prefixed to the translation of a jewish work by George Gentius, who quotes it however not from a Hebrew writer, but from the Persian poet Saadi. The story is in fact found word for word in the Bostàn of this last writer, as appears by a literal translation which I have received from the kindness of lord Teignmouth. The work of Gentius appeared in 1651, a circumstance which accounts for the fact that the parable is introduced in the second, not the first edition of the 'Liberty of Prophesying.' That Taylor ascribes it to 'the Jews' books,' may be accounted for from his quoting at second-hand, and from the nature of the work where he found it[b].

On a work so rich in intellect, so renowned for charity; which

[a] Edinburgh Review, Sept. 1816. [b] Note (X X.)

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contending sects have rivalled each other in approving, and which was the first perhaps since the earliest days of christianity to teach those among whom differences were inevitable the art of differing harmlessly, it would be almost impertinent to enlarge in commendation. A more useful, though by far more difficult task, will be to discriminate between these general excellencies, and those points in which the author may be thought to have extended his principles too far, or to have fallen short, in his conclusions, of that universal charity to which his principles naturally conducted him.

The leading position of his discourse, as it relates to the terms of communion, or those articles a faith in which is sufficient to entitle us when alive to the sacraments of the church, and in another world to the mercies of our Redeemer, he may be said to have incontestably established; and by so doing to have lent a full confirmation to the principles and practice of the church of England, who neither in baptism nor in the Lord's supper requires more from any of her members than a confession of the apostles' creed, and a promise to keep God's commandments. But the question becomes much more difficult, if, as Taylor seems to have meant, and as is implied in the very title of his discourse, we extend this same principle to the admission of persons into the public ministry. That office, as it cannot be exercised by all, in its very nature supposes a selection of some and rejection of others; and it is not only natural but allowable, and generally speaking a duty in the selectors, to fix on such persons as, being otherwise properly qualified, entertain not only on the essentials of religion, but on its important and practical, though possibly its subordinate features, what the *antistites religionis* themselves conceive to be the true opinion. Where a limited number only is to be admitted, this preference given to some need be considered as no reflection either on the morals or the christianity of the rest. A man may be fit for heaven himself, whom we do not reckon fit for the office of guiding others thither by his public doctrine; and whether this unfitness arise from defective abilities, defective temper, defective learning, or erroneous opinions, there is no necessary oppression or intolerance in requesting him to keep silence in the church, or forbidding him to disturb the weak, and encourage the factious, by the circulation of tenets at which the majority of his brethren are offended.

It is by no means enough to object to such a line of procedure, that the points on which we require conformity in our candidates for orders, are such as the apostles and their immediate successors passed over in silence. If it could be proved (which it cannot) that a confession of the symbol known by their name was all which the apostles required in their deacons and presbyters, it would not follow but that as false doctrines arose in the church, it might become necessary to guard against their dissemination. But in the instance which he mentions of the question which arose concerning circumcision, he ap-

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pears to have misunderstood the sacred writers, and the obvious purport of that sentence which was given in the council of Jerusalem. The point to be determined on that occasion was, not whether the Christians of the Jewish nation were to cease from circumcising their children, or from the observation of the ceremonial laws of Moses. There is no reason from scripture to suppose that such a change as this was in the first instance contemplated by either party. The uniform practice both of the apostles themselves and their immediate followers, had been, and was through life, to 'walk orderly and keep the law[c];' and however they may have held out to both Jews and gentiles the fact that the 'curse of the law was removed,' and that the religious obligation to observe the Mosaic types had expired when those types were fulfilled, they seem to have been anxious not to press the abandonment of customs which in themselves were innocent, and from their antiquity and divine appointment venerable; but to leave the abolition of such unnecessary badges of distinction to the hand of time, and to the changes introduced by Providence. Accordingly the sentence which S. Peter proposed, and which S. James by the common consent of the apostles promulgated, was that the gentiles should not be compelled to circumcise their children, not that the Jews should be restrained from doing so[d]; and the several bishops of the Jewish nation who successively presided over the church of Jerusalem till the time of Adrian, in retaining the practice of circumcision, did no more than exercise a discretion which the apostles had exercised before them, and which the holy Ghost had no where forbidden.

It is no wonder then that those Jewish Christians who adhered to the customs of their fathers, were notwithstanding this distinction accounted a sound and orthodox part of the catholic church. The wonder would have been had they received a different treatment. But a very different treatment those persons did receive, who not content with retaining the yoke of the law themselves, sought also to impose it on the gentile converts. The most careless reader of S. Paul's epistles must observe this distinction; and that of such teachers he himself expressly says[e] that 'their mouths must be stopped.' But if a christian teacher may be silenced by authority for promulgating a doctrine which, as Taylor himself would have admitted, is not expressly contradicted in the apostles' creed, nor manifestly contrary to good morals; *a fortiori* a candidate for the office of teacher may be repelled if he avows that doctrine. So that we have here a death-blow given to that entire and unrestrained liberty of prophesying which Taylor seems to call for, and the question of what doctrine shall be publicly taught in the church devolves again on those ecclesiastical rulers, to whom 'is subject the spirit,' not of preaching only, but 'of prophecy[f].'

But if in such cases a further rule is allowed besides the apostles' creed and its self-evident consequences, the question will arise, by

[c] Acts xxi. 24. [d] Acts xv. 19, 20. [e] Titus i. 11. [f] 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

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whom that rule is to be settled. Shall each individual bishop, each separate presbytery, have a rule of their own, and according to their several views of christian truth and of doctrines essentially necessary or otherwise, repel the candidate and silence the preacher? Or would not this give rise to an uncertainty and variation of the test required, far more oppressive to those subject to it, and far more injurious to the general peace and edification of the church, than any thing which subsists in christian churches as they are now constituted? And is it not far better to act as all christian churches have acted, in giving to the world beforehand a public and general exposition of the leading doctrines which they profess to teach; with which they require a conformity in those who seek for admission to the office of public instructor; and which shall neither be added to by the meddling preciseness, or detracted from by the injudicious laxity of any single ecclesiastical governor?

That there is in all such confessions a danger, and a great one, (since what human institution is exempt from abuse?) of attempting to define what God's spirit has left undetermined, and of laying an equal stress on the essentials and circumstantials of christianity, is what the advocate of tests is by no means called on to deny. But that is no sound logic which reasons from the abuse of a thing against its temperate use; and the evil, where it exists, is a question of detail, not of principle, and to be remedied not by an abolition of tests in general, but by a reformation of the particular test complained of. And to promote such reformation, and to escape such dangers, no considerations can be better adapted than those which Taylor has himself suggested at the beginning of his concluding section.

It is however necessary to observe, that the power which is here claimed for each christian church, of excluding from its public ministry the teachers of erroneous doctrines, is claimed for the church only in its spiritual capacity, and that it has no reference to those who are without its pale, and involves in itself no civil pains or penalties whatever. Such penalties, it cannot be too constantly borne in mind, the church of Him whose kingdom was not of this world has no power or title to inflict; and for the civil ruler to inflict them on religious grounds, Taylor has clearly shewn to be at once an intrusion, a tyranny, and an absurdity.

If indeed Taylor may be thought, in his zeal for the liberty of prophesying, to have made it too completely independent of ecclesiastical control, he may be said on the other hand to have been too bounded and cautious in his views of civil toleration, when he gives[s] a general power to the civil ruler to repress or punish whatever he may be taught to consider as blasphemy, or open idolatry.

The first of these crimes, if not very accurately defined, might involve within its net very many descriptions of persons whom Taylor would have been sorry to behold the victims of religious severities.

s [sect. xiii. 1, 2. vol. v. p. 514.]

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The deist and the Jew, who maintain Christ to be an impostor, unquestionably blaspheme the Divine Teacher of Christians; the modern Unitarian, who maintains Him to be a mere man of men, the son of Joseph, as surely detracts from the dignity of that Person whom the majority of Christians adore, and by departing from the apostles' creed, has completely excluded himself from its protection; and if known idolatry may be repressed by violence, or punished by the sword, we justify at once all the odious severities of the Spaniards and the Portuguese towards their heathen subjects, if we do not involve in the same snare our fellow Christians of the Greek and Roman communions.

It is probable indeed, as none of these persons were at that time in any immediate danger of persecution (since for the case of the Roman catholics he afterwards provided, and the Socinians had not as yet advanced to their modern pitch of free thinking) that Taylor was not anxious to pursue his own principles to an extent which might give offence to those whom he desired to conciliate. It is certain that his arguments against punishing men for following the dictates of an erroneous conscience, as well as that which is taken from the dishonour done to christianity by supposing it to need any other defence than those weapons of argument and good life by which it subdued the world, are no less cogent against all persecution whatever, than against that which has for its subject the minor dissensions of christendom.

Nor is there any real weight in the difficulty which appears to have perplexed him, in what manner to reconcile the duty incumbent on every magistrate to repress all open acts of sin and impiety, with the toleration which the same magistrate may be called on to grant to the worshippers of idols, or to the assailant of christianity. That difficulty arises from a misapprehension of the magistrate's power, whose office, as it is purely civil and secular, has no direct concern with the souls of men, and who is neither bound nor authorized to interfere between man and his Maker, or to take on himself the punishment of offences against God, except where those offences disturb the temporal peace, or endanger the temporal property, of the subject.

Thus, as idolatry abstractedly considered is a crime against God and not against man, it is a crime the punishment of which God may be conceived to have reserved to Himself, and which the secular prince is not called on to punish, or to repress any otherwise than by his own example, and by securing to his subjects the means of religious instruction. Nor can the precedent of the Jewish law avail to lead us to a different conclusion; since that which might be expedient and necessary under the peculiar circumstances of their theocracy is no example for us who live under dispensations entirely different; and since, though God may be conceived, as He did in this instance, to delegate a part of His power to a particular magistrate, yet other

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magistrates who have no such express commission or direct command would be guilty of usurpation no less than cruelty if they presumed to determine on the conduct of 'another man's servant.'

But if the particular species of idolatry complained of be attended with obscene or cruel rites; or if the public processions or ostentatious sacrifices of its votaries have an evident tendency to shock the feelings of the majority of their fellow-citizens, and disturb the public tranquillity, the magistrate is not only permitted, but obliged in conscience to punish or restrain them according to his power, and in such measure as the interests of the community under his charge may require.

Thus the Persians did ill under Xerxes, in destroying the Grecian temples, because not only has a foreign power no right to interfere in the national religion of any state, but because the idolatry of Greece involved no practices, that we know of, inconsistent with the general peace of society. But the Roman senate did well in repressing and punishing the bacchanalians, because they had sufficient evidence of the debauchery and violence with which those infernal rites were celebrated. Nor is it useless to observe that the picture which is handed down to us of the open whoredom and human sacrifices with which the gods of the Canaanites were worshipped, would be in itself and without any divine injunction, a good reason why Moses should have prohibited, under the severest penalties, the practice among his own people of such forms of pollution and bloodshed.

In like manner, though it would indeed be the height of wickedness and folly to forbid the Hindoos, in their own country, to address their devotions to whatever idols and in whatever form they pleased; yet if certain Hindoos, resident in London, were to institute a public procession in honour of Juggernaut, it would be no persecution to command them to perform their acts of faith in private; while, if in the course of those acts any thing actually criminal took place, it would not be the less an offence against the laws, and punishable by the hand of justice, however it might have arisen from the dictates of a real or pretended superstition. Nor, whatever religious prejudice might be pleaded, did our Indian government do wrong in forbidding the murder of female children, nor would it do wrong (however a real or mistaken policy may forbid the measure) in preventing the sacrifice of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands[h].

The distinction which has been laid down as to 'actions,' will apply with equal accuracy to 'doctrines.' Those which are immediately, or in their evident and avowed consequences, injurious to civil society, and those only, are fit subjects for suppression and punishment; and they are so, not because they are offences against

[h] [A few years after the above sentence was written, the practice of Sati (or Suttee) was prohibited by the Governor general of India, lord W. Bentinck; and although attempts are sometimes, though rarely, made to evade the law, the measure in general has been attended with entire success, and has been acquiesced in by the natives in a remarkable manner.]

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God, but because they are dangerous to mankind. Thus if a man maintains in argument the falsehood of the apostles' creed, he is perhaps a blasphemer, certainly an infidel or an heretic; but his crime is not one which it belongs to the magistrate to punish. But the man who persuades his neighbours to insurrection, murder, incest, a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, or the invasion of private property; the preacher of atheism, who lays the axe to the root of all moral obligation, and the impugner of a future state of retribution, who deprives morality of its only effectual sanction; such men as these, being common enemies to the peace of the world, are to be put down and repressed by whatever severities are necessary to abate the nuisance. With these exceptions, I know no limit to the toleration of speculative opinions. It is true indeed that the teacher of any opinion, false or true, who seeks to inflame in his cause the bad passions of the multitude; who violates the decency due even to established error, and who assails not only the opinions but the characters and motives of those opposed to him; will under all circumstances be deserving of general indignation, and under particular circumstances may be a proper subject of legal coercion. But this is as a breaker of the public peace, not as an enemy to that religion, which, as it is founded on argument alone, can by argument alone be legitimately or effectually defended.—The length of this digression will I trust be pardoned, on account of the importance of the interests which its subject involves, and the necessity which there appeared of defining more clearly what Taylor had left uncertain. On the beauty of particular passages in the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' on its general eloquence and clearness of reasoning, as well as on the admirable temper and moderation which throughout distinguish it, any further observations are needless.

'The Doctrine of Repentance, or *Unum Necessarium*,' is introduced by two letters dedicatory: the first to lord Carbery; the second, which also is the preface, inscribed to Duppa bishop of Sarum, and Warner of Rochester, as well as to the general body of the English clergy.

In the first of these[1] he apologizes for his so constant recurrence to the inculcation of repentance, by the necessity which there was of counteracting the devices which men had found out to excuse themselves from this necessary labour. In the second he describes his work as suggested by the many false principles and dangerous errors respecting a death-bed repentance, venial sins, and sins of infirmity,—contrition and attrition,—confession, penance, and absolution,—which (during his preparatory studies in order to his great undertaking on the Rule of Conscience) he had met with in the works of preceding casuists. "It was in vain," he tells us, "to dispute concerning a single case whether it were lawful or no, when by the general discoursings of men it might be permitted to live in states of sin with-

[1] [vol. vii. p. 3.]

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out danger or reproof as to the final event of souls. I thought it therefore necessary, by way of address and preparation to the publication of the particulars, that it should appear to be necessary for a man to live a holy life: and that it could be of concern to him to enquire into the very minutes of his conscience: for if it be no matter how men live, and if the hopes of heaven can well stand with a wicked life, there is nothing in the world more unnecessary than to enquire after cases of conscience. And if it be sufficient for a man at the last to cry for pardon for having all his life-time neither regarded laws nor conscience, certainly they have found out a better *compendium* of religion, and need not be troubled with variety of rules and cautions of carefulness and a lasting holiness; nor think concerning any action or state of life, whether it be lawful or not lawful; for it is all one whether it be or no, since neither one nor the other will easily change the event of things."

To illustrate his meaning more fully, he goes on to suppose a person in known habits of sin, fortifying himself against the rebukes of conscience by the topics of comfort usually suggested either by those who extenuate their personal faults by ascribing them to the infirmity of nature, or by those who rely on the chance of a death-bed repentance, and on that 'attrition,' or terror of God's judgments against sin, which the approach of death and the clamours of conscience may reasonably be expected to generate.

In this, in a tone of lofty sarcasm, he instances what he esteems the dangerous encouragements held out to sin by those who have been more careful of the sinner's ease than his soul; and after a digression to which I shall hereafter have occasion to refer, he exhorts the clergy to employ the full influence of their prayers, their authority, and their wisdom, to effect "that the strictnesses of a holy life be thought necessary, and that repentance may be no more that trifling little piece of duty to which the errors of the late schools of learning, and the desires of men to be deceived in this article, have reduced it."

Such an opening would lead us to expect a severe book, and as "a severe book" he describes it in his dedication to lord Carbery. It does indeed inculcate the necessity of an earlier and more lasting, a more earnest, and a more particular and minute repentance than the indolence of man is often willing to undertake, or his self-flattery to consider necessary.

Yet I am not aware that he has at all exceeded the strictness of his rules as laid down in his previous writings, or that he has expressed any greater austerity than is justified by the danger of sin, by the uncertainty of life, and the further uncertainty that, if life is spared, God's grace may be also continued to us. In discussing the probable event of a death-bed repentance, he has even expressed himself with more caution than he had done on some former occasions, referring men not only to the secret mercies of God, but to the fact

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that no precise period of time is laid down in scripture as absolutely necessary to the work of repentance; and concluding with some admirable rules for the conduct of a penitent under such unhappy circumstances. Such a man, he tells us, by self-examination, confession, restitution, submission to God's will, and a readiness to suffer whatever can come, by pouring out his complaints with great fervour and humility, and adding the best resolutions and the warmest charity in his power, may do "all that can be done at that time, and as well as it can then be done." He concludes this branch of his subject, as he does all his other chapters, with very moving and appropriate prayers, which are remarkably plainer, and therefore I think much better, than those in his Life of Christ, and his Holy Living.

I have mentioned this particular case of penitence in the first instance, because it was this in which the harshness which Taylor predicates of his own work was chiefly likely to have appeared, and in which his previous expressions had been such as to excite a prejudice against the whole treatise. This however was not a question on which Taylor so much differed from contemporary divines, as he did on some other and very important topics which were naturally involved in the Doctrine of Repentance, and more particularly of sins of infirmity; I mean the question of the origin and amount of man's natural inability to serve or please his Maker.

On this point Taylor has expressed himself, in his preface, prepared to expect the charge of a departure from the doctrine of the church of England; and as we have seen, he had already in a former work used language which might justly expose him to that suspicion. It may therefore be desirable to enter a little more fully into the principles which he really maintained, and the grounds on which he maintained them, both because those principles, though not always cautiously expressed, were in fact much nearer the truth than they have been sometimes represented; and because it will not be very difficult to shew wherein consisted that inaccuracy of reasoning which led him into a partial heterodoxy.

The plan of Taylor's Essay on Repentance, if not necessarily, at least naturally, involved a discussion of original sin, and its consequences. He began by proving the necessity of repentance; secondly, he went on to discuss its nature; thirdly, he proceeded to examine the things which are to be repented of.

Having under the third head discussed and overturned the Romish distinction between mortal and venial sins (proving that all presumptuous and unrepented sin must be mortal) and having prescribed the manner in which 'actual single sins' and 'habitual sins' were to be sorrowed for and forsaken, he was led to enquire what other sins (if any) there were which needed a particular repentance?

And here two questions occurred, first, whether men are bound to repent of original sin? and secondly, in what light are sins of infirmity to be regarded?

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The first question naturally arose from the tenets then popular among divines: the second from the large allowance which men of carnal minds were apt to make themselves, when they contended that the existence of extremely sinful habits might not be inconsistent with a state of grace, inasmuch as the corruptions of nature still clung to the elect, and it was not they who transgressed, but sin which dwelt in them.

These points disposed of, the remainder of the discussion proceeded in its regular channel. The author, in the ninth chapter of his work, went on to shew the possibility of repentance, and its efficacy to the remission of sin. Under this head were involved some very curious secondary topics, as to the principles and practice of the ancient church with regard to those who had fallen into transgression after baptism; and the nature of "the sin against the holy Ghost, and in what sense it is or may be unpardonable."

The tenth chapter treated of the fruits of repentance; of the efficacy or inefficacy of that imperfect sorrow for sin which the Roman catholics call 'attrition;' of the vanity of confession, absolution, penance, and all the other machinery of the Romish system, to procure pardon without a real 'contrition;' accompanied with some admirable observations on the nature and proper use of these ecclesiastical helps to repentance and comforts to the penitent.

Each portion of the work concludes with applicable prayers, conceived in Taylor's warmest spirit of devotion, and in his improved and more simple style. The whole treatise evidently marks a man in earnest for the salvation of souls, and actuated by the feeling which he describes as his principal motive for undertaking it, *Tu autem conversus confirma fratres!* "I hope," are his words[k], "I have received many of the mercies of a repenting sinner, and I have felt the turnings and varieties of spiritual entercourses; and I have often observed the advantages in ministering to others, and am most confident that the greatest benefits of our office may with best effect be communicated to souls in personal and particular ministrations. In the following book I have given advices, and have asserted many truths in order to all this: I have endeavoured to break in pieces almost all those propositions upon the confidence of which men have been negligent of severe and strict living; I have cancelled some false grounds upon which many answers in moral theology used to be made to enquiries in cases of concience; I have according to my weak ability described all the necessities and great inducements of a holy life; and have endeavoured to do it so plainly that it may be useful to every man, and so inoffensively that it may hurt no man."

I have stated these particulars both to shew the manner in which the offensive section is connected with the body of the work, and still more to convince those who might otherwise have turned away from that work as controversial, or perhaps heretical, that by far the great-

[k] [p. 17.]

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est proportion of its contents is purely and valuably practical; that they who may dissent most strongly from his conclusions in particular chapters, may read the rest with abundant approbation and advantage, and that more particularly his observations on mortal and venial sins, on the sin against the holy Ghost, and on the devices of the Romish clergy, are distinguished by great originality and justness of sentiment, by acute argument, and a wide and critical acquaintance with scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity.

The question, Whether men are bound to repent of original sin, he might perhaps have answered by observing simply (as he has incidentally noticed) that by the consent of those theologians who have attached most importance to it, original sin is remitted in baptism as to any punishment which might accrue from it; that though it adheres to us, it is not penally imputed to us, and that what is innate and unavoidable is a misfortune, not a transgression, and therefore no proper subject for repentance.

Nor is the solidity of this answer shaken by the opinion of Augustine, that "all our life-time we are bound to mourn for the inconveniences and evil consequences derived from original sin;" or by the determination of our church that "concupiscence" (which is allowed on all hands to be a necessary consequent of Adam's fall, and a mode in which the original corruption shews itself) "partakes of the nature of sin."

It is, no doubt, a legitimate cause for concern, in those who either desire God's glory or the happiness of their fellow-creatures, that they have no worthier sacrifice to render to the one than such imperfect services as only are in our power, and that the other are (under the present state of things) exposed to so much misery which we can neither remove nor materially alleviate. And a knowledge of our fallen condition, as it must necessarily make us humble and cautious, so it may well serve to excite in us an aspiration after a better and happier existence, the very glories of which, while we are banished from them, must make the heart sick with hope delayed.

If this however be called repentance, it is an improper use of the term, which is usually and correctly applied to such a sorrow as is excited by the commission of actions which we might have left undone, or by a neglect of such wise or virtuous deeds as have been in our power. It follows therefore that repentance, in its proper meaning, is not applicable to original sin.

It is very true (though Taylor has, in vain and very needlessly, laboured to get rid of the supposed difficulty) that whatever is displeasing to God and contrary to the purposes of His creation, is a sin; though if it arises from causes over which we have no control, a merciful God will not impute it to us. And it is thus that 'concupiscence,' like every evil thought, is said by our church to 'partake of the nature of sin,' inasmuch as the overt act of an unclean desire is in itself offensive to the God of purity, though, unless we en-

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courage or indulge in it, the God of mercy may overlook it in us, as a necessary consequence of our fallen condition; a monument of that wretchedness from which we are made free by Christ. But this will not put it into our power to repent of what we cannot help, though it may exalt our notions of God's goodness, as well as of our own daily dependence on His bounty and daily need of His forgiveness.

Still however the question remained, If we cannot repent of original sin, why are we to be punished for it? A difficulty which Taylor solved by cutting the knot at once, and denying that any man for original sin alone would be punished with damnation. A conclusion this was which all Arminians and some Calvinists would join him in maintaining, but in arriving at which his process was not a happy one.

The answer apparently most obvious, and which, as I conceive, would have been most consistent with the general language of inspiration, would have been, that without extenuating the amount of human corruption, or the fatal consequences which, if things had been left to their natural course, must have been incurred by all Adam's posterity; it is plain from scripture that, in point of fact, the world never was thus left to itself. Where iniquity abounded, grace did much more abound. The promise of a Redeemer was made as soon as our first parents had sinned, and before they had earned their name of parent; and the sacrifice of Christ is allowed on all hands to have had a retrospective as well as a prospective efficacy, which in all those who were brought to a knowledge of Him, either before or after His coming, was fruitful of grace to enable them to struggle against their innate corruption, and of merciful atonement to free them from the punishment of those stains which still adhered to their nature.

To the objection that this dispensation only applied to the converted and baptized, to those who had received the knowledge and badge of salvation, while infants unbaptized, and heathens, remained liable to God's wrath, and heirs of utter damnation,—he might have rejoined, that all such must be left to the uncovenanted mercies of a good and gracious Father; or he might have given perhaps a more plausible answer still,—that the merits of Christ's death and intercession may extend far beyond the limits of His visible church; that His grace may supply the unavoidable deficiencies of those who have not heard His name; and that many may be led by His spirit, and saved by His blood, who have only known of God that 'He is, and that He is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him.' This is pretty nearly the account which is given by the bishop of Winchester, in his able commentary on the eighteenth article of our church; nor do I know any solution which can more satisfactorily reconcile the certainty and greatness of the natural corruption of man, and his consequent need of a Redeemer, with the fact that the name of this Redeemer is not yet made known to all, and the presumption that a just

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and merciful God will not treat the impotent as if they were wilfully rebellious.

Unfortunately Taylor went to work by another process, and busied himself first, in extenuating the greatness and evil consequences of Adam's fall; next, in exalting the free-will and remaining powers of man; lastly, in denying that concupiscence could be in itself sinful, unless it proceeded to a deliberate and cherished image to which the soul reverted with pleasure.

His opinion as to the first of these points was the same with some of the schoolmen[l], who believed that Adam, as first created, was no better nor wiser than any of his descendents; but that when he was placed in paradise a supernatural grace was given to him, which enabled him to please God, to resist temptation, and by the use of the appointed and sacramental means to live for ever.

Accordingly, the effect of his fall was, when thus explained, no more than a return to his natural condition, and his children lost nothing but the prospect of succeeding to certain valuable privileges which were theirs in reversion only, and were not inherent but superadded gifts, even in the instance of their first parent.

If he erred in the adoption of this doctrine, he certainly erred in good company, inasmuch as the same was maintained by Bull and by archbishop King[m]. It is however a doctrine which can hardly stand the test of scripture, which not only is silent as to any superadded qualifications conferred on Adam to enable him to keep the first covenant, but which moreover expressly tells us that God created man upright. The question however is apparently of no practical importance, since at whatever time Adam received the perfections of his being, whether at or after his creation, the consequences of the loss of those perfections would be the same both to himself and his descendents.

Taylor however went on to deny that the depravation of man's nature after the fall was so total as had been generally apprehended; and to attack the conclusions of the Westminster divines, who maintained not only that man was 'very far gone from original righteousness,' but that he was altogether perverted, and incapable of any thing but evil.

He asserted on the contrary, that amid the deplorable ruin of the world some fragments of the divine image might yet be discovered; that not only freedom of will remained, but that in some particular cases the tendency of man was on the side of virtue. "A man cannot naturally hate God[n], if he knows any thing of Him . . . A man naturally loves his parents; he naturally hates some sort of uncleanness: he naturally loves and preserves himself; and all those sins which are unnatural, are such which nature hates; and the law of

[l] Note (YY.)

[m] Bull, Discourse on the First Covenant. Sermons, vol. iii. p. 1065. [8vo. Lond. 1714.]—King on the Origin of Evil, chap. iv. sect. 8. p. 211. ed. Cantab. [et Lond. 8vo. 1732.]

[n] [vol. vii. p. 275.]

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nature commands all the great instances of virtue, and marks out all the great lines of justice." "Here only our nature is defective: we do not naturally know, nor yet naturally love, those supernatural excellencies which are appointed and commanded by God as the means of bringing us to a supernatural condition; that is, without God's grace, and the renovation of the Spirit, we cannot be saved."

Here too it is probable that most Arminians will agree that he had a juster view of human nature as it now exists, and pursued a more correct interpretation of some well-known passages of scripture, than his opponents. He has here in fact said no more than bishop Butler and the bishop of Winchester have both maintained in discussing the same intricate subject[o].

The fact is indeed that with the allowances which all these divines have made, the difference between their view of man's corruption and that which is taken by the Calvinists, is not as to any practical consequence worth disputing. Both sides allow that man is so far fallen as to be unable without grace to rise to heaven or escape everlasting punishment; and Taylor in particular has in many of his argumentative, and all his devotional passages, admitted in the humblest language his vileness, his helplessness, his worthlessness. But if the ruin be effectual, it signifies little whether it be total; and if man is by nature the heir of wrath, it is a question of very inferior importance whether there may or may not be some scattered good qualities yet remaining about him which may make a difference in his final lot, so far at least as a mitigation of punishment. Augustine himself never taught that Socrates and Marcus Aurelius were to be ranked in the same category of eternal suffering with Simon Magus and Nero; but Augustine nevertheless, like the Romish church, and the Calvinists, was peremptory in consigning them to some portion of everlasting misery: and in fact if it be allowed that no flesh can escape except through Christ, it seems absolutely necessary, if we would escape from these revolting consequences, to suppose, as has been already hinted, an extension of the merits of Christ's blood, and the help of His holy Spirit, beyond the limits of the visible church, and the list of those who have heard the tidings of salvation.

This Taylor appears, from some expressions in his 'Further explications,' to have suspected[p]. But he has not followed up this presumption to any length, and in consequence fluctuates between Augustine and Pelagius, too deeply impressed with the mercy of God to assent to the harsh doctrines of the first; too conscious of the necessity of spiritual illumination to embrace the self-flattery of the second.

This is not the only instance however in which he has underrated the consequences of Adam's transgression. He conceives that the sin of Adam and its immediate consequences, were answerable

[o] Butler's Analogy, pp. 81 and 135, [cited by] Tomline, Refut. Calv. [chap. i.] pp. 2—4.

[p] [vol. vii. p. 318 sq.]

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only for a small, 'the smallest part,' of the present corruption of our species. "It is not his fault alone, nor ours alone, and neither of us is innocent." . . "A great part is a natural impotency, and the other is brought in by our own folly." He imputes it in great part[q] to the "many concurrent causes of evil which have influence upon communities of men, such as are, evil examples, the similitude of Adam's transgression, vices of princes, wars, impurity, ignorance, error, false principles, flattery, interest, fear, partiality, authority, evil laws, heresy, schism, spite and ambition, natural inclination, and other principiant causes, which, proceeding from the natural weakness of human constitution, are the fountain and proper causes of many consequent evils."

Surely to represent those as 'concurrent' causes, which, by his own account of them, proceed from the great and common cause, is neither good logic nor good divinity. It is not even correct to say that the evil which is within us, and always ready to break forth on occasion, is materially increased by what are at most its exciting causes, and some of which are only the different modes and places in which the same internal corruption shews itself.

If it were true which he supposes, after S. Chrysostom[r], that "Adam having begun the principal of sin, we have added the interest;" that "every age grows worse, and adds some iniquity of its own to the former examples," we should have long since arrived at an insuperable and insufferable height of iniquity; the earth would have loathed us as she loathed the Canaanites, and the 'cursed race' would have been ere now exterminated by its increasing vices and violence.

But experience reads us a lesson extremely different. She gives us no reason to believe that any given form of society which the world has yet seen, has less than its share of peculiar occasions of evil. If civilized and polished society has more temptations, it has also more salutary restraints; and even the dangers which beset such a state of existence, are, if more numerous, hardly so formidable as those of the earlier and ruder pages of history, where force is the law, and the strong man, and he only, 'does that which is right in his own eyes.'

So far from a progressive increase of wickedness, from the hypothesis of a golden age, deteriorated slowly into silver, brass, and iron; we find on the contrary, while the family of man was small, and the intercourse of man with God not yet unfrequent; while want and tyranny, and the snares of larger communities, were unknown, and while the recent punishment of the species, and the dreadful forms of the cherubim yet visible on the ascent to paradise, must have prevented all causes of depravity, but the one great cause, from operating, the first-born of Adam, for a very small offence, if any offence at all, became the deliberate murderer of his brother. And while the natural life of man was yet a thousand years; while the penitent father and

[q] [p. 277 sq.]

[r] [p. 288.]

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monarch of men was scarcely cold in his grave, we read of the earth being full of violence, and of sins which called down a common destruction on all but a single family.

These facts may convince us that we suffer not from a slowly accumulated burden, but from a malady at once contracted; that there is no reason to believe that the first access of wickedness was slighter than its more confirmed stages; or that any one age of the world has sufficient reason to complain of a greater abundance of iniquity than its fellows. On the whole perhaps the more polished and educated ages have the advantage, and the admonition of Protagoras[s] might apply to those who desire the homeliness of a more simple state of society;—

Οὕτως οἷον καὶ νῦν, ὅστις σοι ἀδικώτατος φαίνεται ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἐν νόμοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις τεθραμμένων, δίκαιον αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ δημιουργὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, εἰ δέοι αὐτὸν κρίνεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους οἷς μήτε παιδεία ἐστι μήτε δικαστήρια, μήτε νόμοι, μηδὲ ἀναγκὴ μηδεμία διαπαντὸς ἀναγκάζουσα ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' εἶεν ἄγριοί τινες, οἷοί περ οὓς πέρυσι Φερεκράτης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ· ἢ σφόδρα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνθρώποις γενόμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χορῷ μισάνθρωποι, ἀγαπήσαις ἂν εἰ ἐντύχοις Εὐρυβάτῳ καὶ Φρυνώνδᾳ, καὶ ἀνολοφύραι' ἂν ποθῶν τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν.

There are other incidental topics in the essay on Repentance, and its apologies, on which the *dicta* of Taylor must be received with caution. He in one passage, while reckoning up the causes which have added to the stock of Adam's original corruption, mentions as one of them the silence of God, during the earliest ages of the world, on the subject of a life beyond the grave[t].

"The first great cause of an universal impiety is that at first God had made no promises of heaven; He had not propounded any glorious rewards to be as an argument to support the superior faculty against the inferior, that is, to make the will choose the best and leave the worst, and to be as a reward for suffering contradiction." .. "If God had been pleased to have promised to Adam the glories He hath promised to us, it is not to be supposed he had fallen so easily. But He did not, and so he fell, and all the world followed his example, and most upon this account; till it pleased God, after He had tried the world with temporal promises, and found them also insufficient, .. to cause us to be born anew by the revelations and promises of Jesus Christ."

To say nothing of the inconsistency with which a writer, who is the strenuous advocate of man's free-will, lest God should be suspected to be the author of sin, imputes to God in almost express words, a suppression of those lights which only are effectual to keep men from sin; there are few mistakes more palpable, or more easily refuted, than that which supposes the ancient Israelites, or their patriarchal

[s] Plato, Protag. opp. tom. iii. p. 121, ed. Bipont. [8vo. 1782.]
[t] [vol. vii. p. 276 sq.]

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ancestors, to have been without a knowledge of the immortality of the soul. The book of Job (perhaps the oldest in the world) expressly acknowledges it; S. Paul, when reasoning on the words of Jacob respecting his pilgrimage, speaks in a manner which proves that, in his opinion, the father of the tribes expected such an enduring city; the repeated promises of the Messiah to arise from the race of Abraham, could have been no comfort to those who were, many generations before His coming, to be laid to sleep in the cave of Macpelah, unless they expected that they also were to awaken, and, with their descendents, to share in the privileges which that great Redeemer was to purchase. It is humiliating to see any men of genius and learning involved in the defence of such a paradox; but what shall be said, when those men are Jeremy Taylor and Warburton?

Still, as has been already shewn, in the practical and devotional parts, and even in those chapters which exclusively contain the erroneous assertions to which I have alluded, there is abundance which may be read with admiration and improvement. He has sifted with uncommon force and learning the errors of Calvinism, as they respect the absolute decrees of God, and the damnation of unbaptized infants. His defence of free-will from the writings of the early fathers will, though shorter, bear no unfavourable comparison with bishop Tomline's learned and able treatise on the same subject; and on the whole, though the work is by no means faultless, it is still the work of the same author with the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' and the 'Holy Living and Dying.'

Having thus largely discussed the difference which on the topic of original sin existed between Taylor and the majority of the church of England, it is unnecessary for me to take any further notice of the works in which he re-stated and justified his peculiar opinion, the letters to Warner, and that to the countess of Devonshire.

I pass on therefore to the essay which follows next in the series, and which is also dedicated to Warner; his 'Real presence and spiritual of Christ in the blessed Sacrament, proved against the doctrine of Transubstantiation:' a powerful and learned disquisition, of which the conclusions and doctrines deserve unqualified praise; though even here a desire to conciliate his antagonists, or an anxiety to raise as high as possible the honour of the christian altar, has involved him occasionally in an illogical mode of reasoning, and thrown a needless obscurity around a plain doctrine of the protestant church, and some very clear and comfortable texts of scripture.

Thus he begins[u] with stating the doctrine of the protestants as to Christ's presence in the sacrament, as if it were that "the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, that is, in a spiritual, real manner; so that all that worthily communicate do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, and to all

[u] [vol. vi. p. 13 sq.]

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the purposes of His passion." In these words his meaning is pretty evident, but his manner of expression is hardly accurate.

How does he understand the word 'sacramental?' He would probably answer, that a sacrament is a symbol; a sign of something besides itself, 'a means whereby we receive the thing intended, and a pledge to assure us thereof;' in the present instance then it is a sign of Christ's body and blood; it is a means whereby our souls partake in the graces flowing from His sacrifice, and a pledge to assure us of our participation in those benefits. But with 'sacramental,' in this sense, the term 'real' is utterly inconsistent, inasmuch as the change which 'sacramental' implies is figurative and conventional only. If a counter is taken to pass for a guinea, a change has undoubtedly taken place in its virtues and its effects, but it has not become a real golden coin. It is conventionally worth more than it was, but it is ivory and a counter still. And though we reverence the bread and wine after consecration, as the authentic image of the body and blood of Him who died for us, it is not correct to say that any 'real' change has taken place in their nature, though they have undoubtedly become the means of our obtaining a spiritual blessing. There are in scripture two meanings of the word 'spiritual:' the one, something detached from and superior to matter; which is apparently the sense in which S. Paul (in Taylor's own illustration) contrasts the heavenly or spiritual tabernacle with that tent which Moses set up as its image: the other, what we should more usually express by 'virtual,' as when the same apostle speaks of himself as present in spirit, in the sentence pronounced in his absence, but by his authority, on the incestuous Corinthian. In this latter sense, the thing signified or represented is always spiritually present with its sign or representation, provided that this last is, in the first place, authentic; and, secondly, empowered to produce the same effect which its principal, if present, would have done. Thus Christ was spiritually present as a Redeemer and a sacrifice for sin, in all the rites of the Jewish law which by God's appointment shadowed out the benefits which His death was to bestow, and conveyed a share in those benefits to the Israelites who partook in them faithfully. And this, as I conceive, is the sense in which He is also apprehended to be present in His capacity of victim, and to give His body and blood for our spiritual support in the sacrament of the eucharist.

But this virtual presence is so far from a 'real' one, that it is absolutely opposed to it. And this is the reason why the Romanists, who maintain the latter in its grossest sense, contend so strongly against the former; so that the word 'real,' as Taylor has introduced it, is unmeaning or worse; inasmuch as for the elements to be 'really' changed into the body and blood of Christ, is the very thing for which the Romanists plead, and which is at complete variance with Taylor's previous statement, as well as with all his subsequent arguments.

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Still, it may be urged, the doctrine of Taylor is really the doctrine of the reformed churches; as, where the church of England teaches that "the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper;" and where Calvin maintains that "in the supper, Jesus Christ (viz. His body and blood) is truly and indeed given under the signs of bread and wine."

But neither of these expressions favour the reality of the presence, though both explicitly set forth the efficacy of the symbols. These are very different assertions, and in common life a distinction is continually made between them. An estate is conveyed by the delivery of the title-deeds, a kingdom by the imposition of a crown. The enjoyment and possession both of the one and the other become from that time real and actual, though the estate may be in Cumberland, while the transaction of exchange or purchase takes place in London; and though unquestionably the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland are not really within that golden circle which is the pledge and sign of sovereignty. What indeed is the meaning of any thing being present under its symbols or representations, unless it be that the thing itself is not there, but that there is something else which supplies its place? Or what but this can be the meaning of the spiritual presence of a substance? It is plain then that our reformers, in denying the bodily change of the elements, admitted no real change in them at all; though they did not fail to recognise the presence of a divine power, which communicated to those who partook in them faithfully, a share in the sacrifice, and an union with the mystical body, of the Lamb slain on Calvary.

But though he has thus encumbered his proposition with unnecessary difficulties, and expressed it in terms which hardly express the meaning of those whom he defends; yet the proposition itself, that Christ's body is no otherwise than spiritually present in the sacrament, he has established in his following sections with great acuteness and learning.

He begins[x] by proving that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not found in scripture: first, by the admission of some of the most celebrated doctors of the Romish church; secondly, by a critical examination of the two principal passages which are usually urged in its behalf, the sixth chapter of S. John, and the words in which our Saviour instituted the sacraments.

On the first of these he has perhaps gone too far in denying that it relates to the sacrament at all, or to any but Christ's doctrine, and the faith which lays hold on it. This is contrary to the general opinion of the church; and it is strange that, if Christ had not in this instance also intended to allude to the eucharist, He should afterwards, when speaking of another thing, describe it in words not merely like, but identical.

Taylor indeed urges, that if the eucharist were intended, it would

[x] [p. 20.]

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follow that no man could be saved without partaking in it; and therefore that infants, fools, and persons who are impeded by restraint or distance, must all necessarily perish. But this argument is worth little, since it would only put the one sacrament on the same footing with the other, as being *in subjecto capaci* the ordinary means of grace and salvation, without necessarily inferring that they who have not the means of obtaining are to perish, any more than the penitent thief perished for want of baptism. No man is bound to an impossibility; but a neglect of the appointed means, when in our power, may be damnable in the one case as well as in the other. And this is all which necessarily follows from the supposition that Christ intended the sacrament, when He said, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you."

He is more successful however, when he goes on to observe that supposing it to refer to the sacrament, it is plain that the eating and drinking here spoken of must not be material but spiritual; first, because the men of Capernaum were reproved for understanding His expressions in their gross and literal sense; secondly, because whoever eats Christ's flesh hath eternal life: but this must be meant of a spiritual eating, and one which is effected by faith alone; since, if the eating were bodily, and the elements, as the Romanists pretend, were changed in substance, the wicked might eat Christ as well as the worthy communicant. But again, what Christ calls His body, He also calls bread, ver. 51, 8; if therefore the words are taken literally, they may prove consubstantiation, but not transubstantiation, since the last implies a total change of the element: and consubstantiation even the Romanists allow to be impossible.

The argument drawn from the words of institution he invalidates with equal success. In the first place he observes, that out of the whole sentence, "Take, eat, this is My body," &c. the church of Rome separates, *Hoc est corpus meum*, and says that "these words, pronounced by the priest with due intention, do effect the change of the bread into Christ's body." "But by what argument can it be proved that these words, 'take and eat,' are not as effective of the change as *Hoc est corpus meum?* If they be, then the taking and eating do consecrate, and it is not Christ's body till it is taken and eaten; and then, when that is done, it is so no more; and besides that reservation, circumgestation, adoration, elevation of it, must of themselves fall to the ground, it will also follow that it is Christ's body only in a mystical, spiritual, and sacramental manner. That Christ used these words is true, and so He used all the other; but did not tell which were the consecrating words, nor appoint them to use these words, but to do the thing, and so to remember and represent His death."

S. Basil, he goes on to urge, affirms that the form of the consecration of the eucharist is not delivered to us; and S. Gregory

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teaches that "the apostles consecrated the eucharist only by saying the Lord's prayer; and above all, it is apparent that the apostles did not suppose these words to be of so vital importance to the efficacy of the sacrament as the church of Rome maintains, since the evangelists and S. Paul write these very expressions differently.

But if the Roman catholics make use of these words in a proper, not in a figurative sense, then it is a declaration of something already in being, and not effective of any thing after it. *Est* is 'is,' not 'shall be;' but "by the confession of the Roman doctors, the bread is not transubstantiated till the *um* in *meum* be quite out." "They affirm that it is made Christ's body, by saying it is Christ's body; but their saying so must suppose the thing done, or else their saying so is false; and if it be done before, then to say it, does not do it at all, because it is done already." The thing is simple, if the words are regarded as declaratory only of the designation of the elements; but if a change is to be operated, at what time does this change begin? and how, when it is at most only inchoate, can we speak of it as completed?

But, what is stronger and more to the purpose than all this ingenious fencing with the Romanists at their own weapons, he reminds us[y] that 'as the eucharist itself was in the external and ritual part an imitation of a sacramental custom already in use among the Jews; so also were the very words which Christ spoke an imitation of the words which were used' in that ancient ceremony. The Jews said, 'This is the bread of sorrow which our fathers ate in Egypt, this is the passover;' and this passover was called 'the body of the paschal lamb;' nay, it was called 'the body of our Saviour,' and 'our Saviour' himself. "So that here the words were made ready for Christ, and made His by appropriation. . . He is the true passover, which He then affirming, called that which was the antitype of the passover, . . the 'body' of the true passover, to wit, in the same sacramental sense in which the like words were affirmed in the Mosaical passover."

But, as an additional reason to make us conclude that Christ called the bread His body in a figurative sense, he urges that, in the language which He spoke there is no word which can express *significat;* but they use the word 'is.' "The Hebrews and the Syrians always join the names of the signs with the thing signified; and since the very essence of a sign is to signify, it is not an improper elegancy in those languages to use *est* for *significat.*" In the New testament the same manner of speaking is retained, as he proves from, 'The field 'is' the world,' 'I 'am' the door,' 'My Father 'is' the husbandman,' 'the candlesticks 'are' the churches,' &c.

It is reasonable therefore to believe that Christ spoke on this occasion as He spoke on others; more particularly since the very institution of the sacrament is in itself representative, significant, and

[y] [p. 46.]

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commemorative (according both to S. Paul and our Saviour himself) of the death and sufferings of the latter.

And that all sacraments and transactions of the kind were in ancient days accompanied with figurative and significant words and actions, he proves by the fact that μυστήριον is the word used by the Greeks to express our word 'sacrament;' that in Exodus the paschal lamb is called 'the passover,' that is, the passing of the angel over the houses of Israel; and that this instance is so much the more apposite, because it is the forerunner of the blessed eucharist, which succeeded that, as baptism did circumcision.—In this manner six sections are occupied.

In the seventh section[1] he establishes the same figurative explication of the words from the manner and circumstances of the institution; from the fact that before His passion His body was not really broken nor His blood shed, so that the broken bread and the wine poured out must have been His body, not truly, but figuratively; from the presumption that it cannot be imagined that the apostles understood it in the literal sense, when they saw His body stand by, unbroken, alive, integral, hypostatical; and that, as the words of institution shew that it was designed to represent His death which was then future, it could not be necessary or useful to introduce on such an occasion His real body; since if this had been the case, the shadow would have become the substance, and the sacrifice of Christ for the sins of the world would have taken place before His sufferings on mount Calvary.

What follows[2] is admirably clear and rational:—

"It is but an imperfect conception of the mystery to say it is the sacrament of Christ's body only, or His blood; but it is *ex parte rei* a sacrament of the death of His body: and to us a participation or an exhibition of it, as it became beneficial to us; that is, as it was crucified, as it was our sacrifice. And this is so wholly agreeable to the nature of the thing, and the order of the words, and the body of the circumstances, that it is next to that which is evident in itself, and needs no further light but the considering the words and the design of the institution: especially since it is consonant to the style of scripture in the sacrament of the passover, and very many other instances. It wholly explicates the nature of the mystery, it reconciles our duty with the secret, it is free of all inconvenience, it prejudices no right, nor hinders any real effect it hath or can have; and it makes the mystery intelligible and prudent, fit to be discoursed of and inserted into the rituals of a wise religion."

In the eighth and ninth sections he discusses the arguments advanced from scripture in favour of transubstantiation, and adduces many scriptural arguments for the opposite side. In the tenth he shews at considerable length the absurdity of believing any thing which is in direct opposition to the senses.

[1] [p. 67.] [2] [p. 70.]

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This is one of the most curious and able parts of the treatise, in which he discusses many important questions; of God's power; of the distinction between things which may be the proper subject of a miracle, and things naturally impossible; of the different properties of body and of spirit; of the distinction between a belief in transubstantiation and in the holy Trinity; of the remarkable circumstances under which Christ appeared to the apostles after His resurrection; of the impossibility of conceiving an accident in a state of separation from its substance, and of the absurd and even blasphemous consequences which result from representing the body of Christ as contained under the accident of bread and wine. The whole is a treasury of sound logical argument and acute criticism; but it would be difficult to find any particular specimen which would not be too long for selection.

The twelfth section is employed in shewing the comparatively recent introduction of the doctrine in question into the church, and that it was unknown, or at least not received, by the most considerable of the fathers. In discussing the sentiments of some of these, he had certainly expressions to encounter which might have perplexed an ordinary controversialist; but Taylor's knowledge of their writings and their peculiar style was so extensive, that he was able to distinguish with remarkable acuteness between assertions which really apply to the point in question and those which are equally reconcilable with either hypothesis; those which prove too much, or those which only seem to tell against the protestants through an ignorance of the hyperbolical language usual with the writers of those ages.

To these alleged testimonies he opposes many others, from Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, Eusebius, Ephrem Syrus, Epiphanius, Macarius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Augustine and Gelasius.

He very sensibly remarks that as his object is to prove a negative, and to shew that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not the universal or catholic doctrine of the church, it was not necessary for him to produce a general consent, or even a majority of the ancient writers; since if even a smaller number of the eldest and most considerable dissented, it is plain that the doctrine which he opposed could not answer to the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. He also observes that though rhetorical exaggeration, hyperbolical expressions of love and reverence, and other causes of the same kind, may have led the fathers to use many phrases stronger than their sober opinion warranted on the side of the Romish doctors; yet in opposition to the hypothesis of a real bodily presence they would never have spoken that which they did not seriously believe and intend to maintain, inasmuch as it could never be their object to undervalue or diminish from the intrinsic dignity of the holy sacrament.

He remarks, that so far was transubstantiation from being a

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catholic doctrine, that it was fiercely disputed among catholics in the time of Charles the bald; when the contrary was maintained by Rabanus, Bertram, and above all by the illustrious scholar Duns Scotus[b]. In England, much later, the same opinion might be held unblamed; and even the Lateran council pronounced nothing against it; though thirty-six years after, in MCCLI, a council of only fifty-four prelates, held at Rome, thought fit to declare the real presence an article of faith. Stephen bishop of Augustodunum in MC, first invented the word 'transubstantiation.' "He christened the article and gave the name, and this congregation confirmed it."

In the thirteenth and concluding section he examines the practical part of the dispute, and demonstrates, against the Romanists, the danger of paying divine honour to that which, even on their own principles (through many circumstances of secret imperfection, in the words spoken, the intention, or the personal character of the minister,) may be no more than bread, and which no good or sufficient argument has been advanced to prove that it can be God.

He relates, on the authority of bishop Andrewes, a remarkable instance in which the Jesuits who were to die for the gunpowder treason, refused to stake their salvation on their assurance that the bread and wine were the very body and blood which had been sacrificed for their sins; and when Garnet replied that though the general doctrine was certain, a man might well doubt of the particular instance. And he urges that "as we must pray with faith and without doubting, so it is fit we should worship; and yet in this case, and upon these premises, no man can choose but doubt, and therefore.. he ought not to worship: *Quod dubitas ne feceris.*"

He concludes with an eloquent picture of the scandal thus given to Jews and Turks, and the ill effects of the example on heathen idolaters.

The style of this essay, as well as of those which follow it, is easy, clear, flowing, and vigorous, with less of his characteristic eloquence than some of those productions which I have already noticed, but extremely well calculated to sustain attention, and to carry his reader without fatigue through an intricate and lengthened argument. There are however some instances of eloquence as well as power, and there are several in which he has indulged in a tone of sarcastic humour, which seems to shew that his talent for satire might have been (had he chosen to employ it) as considerable as any of his other powers of composition. Such a passage occurs in his dedication[c], where he observes that because the doctrines of the Romish church "met with opponents at all hands, they proceeded to a more vigorous way of arguing: they armed legions against their adversaries, they confuted at one time in the town of Beziers sixty thousand persons, and in one battle disputed so prosperously and acutely, that they killed about ten thousand men that were sacramentaries: and this Bellarmine gives as an instance of

[b] [Rather, by Erigena; Duns Scotus was later.] [c] [p. 6.]

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the marks of his church; this way of arguing was used in almost all the countries of christendom, till by crusados, massacres, and battles, burnings, and the constant *carnificia* and butchery of the Inquisition, which is the main prop of the papacy, and does more than *Tu es Petrus*, they prevailed far and near, and men durst not oppose the evidence whereby they fought." Such indignant satire was not ill employed on the sanguinary follies of popery. But of this kind of talent more instances are to be found in his two succeeding essays.

The former of these was, as I have already had occasion to notice, a task imposed on him by the bishops of the Irish church, and elicited in a great degree by the gross and prevalent superstitions of the Irish populace. It is however not a work addressed to that populace; indeed from some expressions in his preface, he seems to have early despaired of its rendering such persons any immediate service. It is addressed throughout to the Irish clergy, and the educated part of the Irish laity; nor am I aware of any work (out of the many which have appeared, and in their time done good service to the cause of protestantism) so well calculated to answer its object, or to excite in the mind of a well-informed papist a conviction of the necessity of reformation in his own church, and a belief that this necessary work has been competently effected in ours.

The style is never oratorical, seldom even eloquent, in that sense and character of eloquence which a person who has formed his notions of Jeremy Taylor from his sermons and devotional works would anticipate. But it is easy, buoyant, and elastic, effectually removed from the opposite evils of languor or inflation, or that tediousness which is the immediate consequence of both. The English is thoroughly good, natural, and unaffected; with some considerable admixture indeed of scholastic terms; but these, for a reason which will be shortly given, entirely appropriate to his subject and his readers. The tone of his controversy is simple, friendly, and affectionate; it is such as a christian bishop may well hold towards the people of his charge; and he throughout abstains, with christian care, from imputing to the individuals of the party opposed to him a concurrence in, or even a knowledge of, the odious consequences which he frequently deduces from their opinions. Against penal courses of every kind he, in his preface, speaks with the same abhorrence as when he wrote his 'Liberty of prophesying;' and the spirit of his treatise is the mild and ingratiating spirit of an apology for differing from the Romanists, rather than of a formal attack on their principles. Even his satire (of which formidable weapon he makes abundant and able use) is conveyed under the form of 'banter,' rather than of scoff or insult. Without flattering their prejudices, without even sparing them, he talks to his adversaries as if they were already his friends, or one day to become so. And above all, he talks to them as a Romanist; he addresses them with a perfect knowledge of their writers, their ecclesiastical history, their schoolmen, their traditions, and their prejudices; a per-

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fect familiarity with both their strong and their weak grounds; a power and habit of appealing to their own writers as his best and most frequent authorities, and a dexterity which has never been exceeded in opposing the contradictions of those writers to each other, laying bare their fallacies, and gently but not insolently exciting indignation against their corruptions, and a smile against their absurdities.

To confirm protestants in their religion, it may or it may not have power. It presupposes a familiarity with Romish writers which protestants rarely possess; and those protestants who are tempted to change their religion for a worse, are generally, as I apprehend, impelled to do so by some single broad and powerful, though mistaken principle or feeling, which is too concentrated and too closely intrenched in some peculiarity of habit or intellect, to give way to such a war of detail as is carried on by Taylor.

But to shake the former opinions of an intelligent Roman catholic, and to conciliate him for the reception of new,—to detach him from an implicit confidence in his ancient guides, without inclining him at the same time to a sceptical aversion from all guides whatever,—to point out the contradictions of a false religion, without making all religion appear ridiculous,—I know no work which has greater power than the 'Dissuasive' of Taylor; except that which in many respects it greatly resembles, the *Lettres provinciales* of Pascal. As a composition these last perhaps have the superiority in dramatic effect, from the lively and eloquent dialogue in which the first part is conveyed, and which is in some degree carried on by the tone and spirit of the following letters. But it is of more importance to observe, in an estimate of the merits of the two authors, that all the arguments, the instances, the examples, the *badinage* of Taylor, are urged for the sake of a definite and calculated end; while Pascal's exposition of the morals of the Jesuits and the politics of the court of Rome, conduct to consequences which the author was not prepared to adopt, and from which he would have shrunk back in horror.

The 'Dissuasive' is divided into three chapters; the first devoted to the exposure of the different innovations which the church and court of Rome have introduced into the faith and devotions, and ecclesiastical government of Christians. In this he shews that the power of imposing new articles of belief is in itself a comparatively modern usurpation; that the same charge of novelty and departure from apostolic and primitive authority may be brought against indulgences, purgatory, transubstantiation and half-communion, the injunction of public prayers in a foreign or obsolete language, the veneration of images, the pictures of God, the papal supremacy, the invocation of saints, and the supposed insufficiency of scripture without tradition.

On all these subjects he evinces a knowledge not only of the fathers, but the schoolmen, the divines of the middle ages, and the modern Romish disputants, which few of his antagonists could equal, and perhaps still fewer protestants could have supplied.

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Against the alleged power of the church to dictate an article of faith, he urges the words of S. Paul, Gal. i. 8; the sentence of the third general council, held at Ephesus; and the notorious abuses of this power by the Romish church, who have determined points of history in opposition to known authorities, and continually, though gradually, added to the ancient staple of orthodoxy.

Against the antiquity of indulgences he brings the testimony of many of their own writers, and fixes their commencement either in the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. He urges the perfect silence of all antiquity on the subject, and that in their origin they were no abatement of any supposed sufferings in purgatory, but a simple absolution from some part of that penance which the confessor had imposed on his living penitent. And though indulgences were in the time of the fathers unknown, and no definite censure of them is therefore to be looked for in their writings, yet there are in those writings, as well as in scripture, very many passages destructive of the principle on which indulgences rest; as, where the greatest saints are enjoined to regard themselves as unprofitable servants; where we are taught that repentance merely consists in a return to a good life and a sound and active faith; and more particularly where we find, as in S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, and S. Bernard, the custom discommended of going to seek pardon of sins by pilgrimage.

The same subject he pursues when discussing the question of purgatory, which doctrine he judiciously distinguishes from the really ancient doctrine or practice of prayer for the dead, and of which he proves the origin to reach no further back than the eleventh century after Christ, and then to have been held as no article of faith, but merely a speculative opinion. He proves its derogation from the merits of the blood of Christ, and instances the folly of those legends on the credit of which the notion first gained ground among mankind. The other instances contained in the first chapter[c] he follows up with the same critical acumen, and concludes with the observation, that the Romanists "have taught every priest that can scarce understand his breviary (of which in Ireland there are but too many) and very many of the people, to ask, where our religion was before Luther? Whereas it appears by the premises, that it is much more easy for us to shew our religion before Luther, than for them to shew theirs before Trent. And although they can shew too much practice of their religion in the degenerate ages of the church, yet we can and do clearly shew ours in the purest and first ages; and can and do draw lines pointing to the times and places where the several rooms and stories of their Babel was builded, and where polished, and where furnished.

"But when the keepers of the field slept, and the enemy had sown tares, and they had choked the wheat, and almost destroyed it; when

[c] [p. 225.]

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the world complained of the infinite errors in the church, and being oppressed by a violent power, durst not complain so much as they had cause; and when they who had cause to complain were yet themselves very much abused, and did not complain in all they might; when divers excellent persons, .. when almost all christian princes did complain heavily of the corrupt state of the church and of religion, and no remedy could be had, but the very intended remedy" (the general council) "made things much worse: then it was that divers christian kingdoms, and particularly the church of England,

(Tum primum senio docilis sua sæcula Roma
Erubuit, pudet exacti jam temporis, odit
Præteritos fœdis cum religionibus annos,)

being ashamed of the errors, superstitions, heresies, and impieties, which had deturpated the face of the church, looked in the glass of scripture and pure antiquity; and washed away those stains with which time and inadvertency and tyranny had besmeared her; and being thus cleansed and washed, is accused by the Roman parties of novelty, and condemned because she refuses to run into the same excess of riot and deordination. But we cannot deserve blame who return to our ancient and first health by preferring a new cure before an old sore."

The second chapter relates to those doctrines and practices of the Roman church, which are "in themselves, or in their true and immediate consequences, direct impieties, and give warranty to a wicked life."

In this part of his work, after exposing the danger of the Romish doctrines as to the legality of delaying repentance; proving the inefficacy of what they call attrition, and the defective estimate which they make of that contrition which only can find favour with God; pointing out the practical mischief resulting from confession, penance, and satisfaction, as now used by them; and cross-examining and comparing the various and contradictory requisites which, even according to the estimate of their own doctors, are necessary to make indulgences available; he goes on to discuss their erroneous distinctions between mortal and venial sins; and their fancy that the opinion of one grave doctor is enough to make a matter of faith or duty 'probable.'

He here instances many of the abominable practical tenets which have on this pretence been received, or at least tolerated; the cases in Toletanus, noticed by Pascal[d], that "if a nobleman be set upon, and may escape by going away, he is not tied to it, but may kill him that intends to strike him with a stick;" that 'mortal sins become venial when done in the violence of passion or drunkenness;' that "it is lawful for a man to expose his bastards to the hospital, to conceal his own shame;" that 'if one of a married couple falls into heresy, the marriage is dissolved, and the other may marry another;' with many similar circumstances of horror and absurdity.

[d] [See Lettres Provinc. vii.]

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Nor can it be pleaded, he observes, in any of these cases, that such an opinion is but the private opinion of one or more of their doctors. This would indeed in an article of faith be an insufficient proof of the opinion of the church in general; but as a rule of life, and in questions between virtue and vice, it is their own avowed and general principle, that "a private opinion of any one grave doctor may be safely followed, or the example of good men." Accordingly, he observes, "if an evil custom get amongst men, that very custom shall legitimate the action, and Christ is not your rule, but the examples of them that live with you, or are in your eye and observation." Those who shall compare these sections with the corresponding passages in the *Lettres provinciales* will receive no small share both of amusement and advantage; but they will see little reason to postpone the genius of Taylor to that of the learned and witty Frenchman. In piety, it is useless and unnecessary to compare such men as they were, the daily conversation of each of whom was elevated above the world, and who have long since met in peace and happiness amid the quiet shades of paradise.

The following sections are taken up with discussing the foreign or obsolete language of the Romish prayers, the idolatrous nature of many of them, the strange impiety of their system of exorcism (where he goes over much of the same ground with Reginald Scott, in his 'Discovery of Witchcraft;') their confidence in observances merely superstitious and unauthorized; their reliance on the *opus operatum* of the sacraments, so as to make them not the 'instrument' but the 'suppletory of virtue;' their direct idolatry in honouring the cross and certain images even with *latria*, or the highest degree of worship which can be paid to the Deity. And he winds up all[e] by observing, that "although we do not doubt but that the goodness of God does so prevail over all the follies and malice of mankind, that there are in the Roman communion many very good Christians, yet they are not such as they are papists, but by something that is higher and before that, something that is of an abstract or more sublime consideration. And though the good people amongst them are what they are by the grace and goodness of God, yet by all or any of these opinions they are not so; but the very best suffer diminution and allay by these things; and very many more are wholly subverted and destroyed."

In the last chapter he returns again to the casuistry of the church of Rome, and the immoral tendency of many of her doctrines, more particularly those which teach that the pope may, under certain circumstances, and to obtain a greater good, dispense with even lawful oaths, and the most solemn and innocent engagements. He urges also the exemption pleaded by their clergy from the temporal power; and the extravagant notions of the right of popes to excommunicate, depose, and even condemn to death, heretical princes. In these observations however I am not aware that there is any thing worth par-

[e] [p. 272.]

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ticular notice. Enough may have been already said to prove the work of which I am speaking to be, for its length, one of the fullest and ablest expositions of the errors of popery, and to place Jeremy Taylor on as high an elevation among controversial as among devotional and practical writers.

The second part of the 'Dissuasive from Popery' was written in vindication of the former from the attacks of two priests, White and Serjeant, the latter of whom more particularly he severely chastises in the Introduction for the slighting manner in which he had spoken of scripture, and the absurd and illogical character of many of his objections. In the same place he discusses, at considerable length and with much acuteness, the nature and real value of tradition, and he exposes the Romish notion of the infallibility of the fathers, laying down some admirable rules for the manner in which their authority may be used in the interpretation of scripture, and in ascertaining the sense of the church at the times in which they respectively flourished. He concludes, that Mr. Serjeant and his party were in truth the men that went on no adequate grounds: that "in the church of Rome there is no 'sure footing,' no certain acknowledged rule of faith; but while they call for an assent above the nature and necessity of the thing, they have no warrant beyond the greatest uncertainty."

The work itself is divided into two books, each containing several sections. In the first he treats of the meaning of the term 'church,' under which he includes not the clergy only, nor a small part of them, but the great body of believers. He shews that even those assemblies which under the name of 'general councils' have passed for representatives of the church, were in ancient times composed not of bishops only, but other eminent clergymen, and not infrequently of laymen; and he examines in a very free tone, and one which in many instances reminds us of the better parts of Jortin, the slight claims which most of those councils have had to pass for œcumenical; the variable and capricious distinctions which the church of Rome has made in the different degrees of authority which she ascribes to different councils, and the vague and in some cases impossible tests which she proposes of their validity. He then proceeds to the decisions of the popes, proving—from the innumerable contradictions of those briefs themselves, from the impossibility, which their own canonists mutually allow, of knowing which is the true pope when there are different pretenders to the see, or whether he that is acknowledged pope may not have vitiated his election by simony, heresy, or (as in the case of Constantine the second) defect of holy orders,—how hard it may be for a Roman catholic, even on the received principles of his faith, to determine whether he is in the church or no, or what head he ought to follow. And after examining and exposing, in a striking peroration, the fifteen marks of the true church proposed by Bellarmine, he concludes[f] with exhorting them[g] to demonstrate their

[f] [p. 379.]

[g] [scil. in the words of S. Augustine.]

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church, if they can, "in the prescript of the law, of the prophets, of the psalms, of the evangelists, and all the canonical authorities of the holy books."

Having thus shewn the utter insufficiency of the guides relied on by the Romish church, he now proceeds to shew, in his second chapter, the sufficiency of the sacred volume as a guide to salvation.

To prove that the scriptures are the only rule of faith acknowledged by antiquity, he pleads the testimonies of almost all the most considerable ecclesiastical writers, and the very name of canon or 'rule,' which the universal church has given to the Bible. "The word itself," he observes, "ends this enquiry; for it cannot be a canon, if any thing be put to it or taken from it, said S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, and Varinus."

The pretence of the difficulty of the scriptures, which the Romanists have always urged, and which some protestants, to answer a temporary purpose, have sometimes too largely asserted, he answers by the declarations of Cyril, Chrysostom, Clemens Alexandrinus, Athanasius, and Augustine; confining the δυσνόητα to such points alone as are not necessary to salvation; stating the rule of antiquity, that scripture is to be expounded by scripture; and that though God has given other helps, in the appointment and preservation of an order of men as guides of souls, yet these last are bound to draw all their doctrines from this single and sacred fountain. A very interesting and amusing chapter on 'Traditions' follows, in which he proves that no necessary article of faith depends on tradition alone, except it be that which is in the first instance necessary to the reception of the scriptures themselves, the tradition that they are the word of God, and a sufficient guide to heaven.

Of the particulars which cardinal Perron and others have pretended to rest on tradition only, he shews that (1) the Trinity may be proved from scripture, and was so proved at the Nicene council; that (2) for the baptism of infants there is at least a strong presumption from the words and analogy of scripture; and that after all, as he seems to account it, it is hardly an essential of salvation. The validity of the baptism of heretics, which is instanced (3), could never, he says, have been doubted, if men had duly weighed the commission which Christ gave to all ministers of His religion. (4.) The procession of the holy Ghost both from the Father and the Son, he treats with little ceremony, as an obscure and doubtful question, which cannot be esteemed a necessary article of faith without damning all the eastern churches, but which may nevertheless be probably shewn from the sacred writings. (5.) The observation of the Lord's day he denies to be an article of faith, or essentially necessary doctrine; regarding it as a matter of discipline and external rite, and so far from being a successor or substitute for the Jewish sabbath (which was done away with entirely in the abolition of the Mosaic law) that both days were at first kept by the Christians with equal reverence; yet "both with

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liberty, but with intuition to the avoiding offence, and the interests of religion."—He observes however[h], it may be abundantly proved from scripture that there should be some time sanctified and set apart for the service of God, and "that the circumstances of religion are in the power of the presidents of religion; and then it will follow from scripture that the apostles, or their successors, or whoever did appoint the sunday festival, had not only great reason but full authority."

He then proceeds to give many instances of alleged traditions of contradictory import, of inherent absurdity, and of dates notoriously modern. He lays down, as a proper criterion in all such controversies, the well-known canon of Vincentius Lirinensis; and by the application of this rule arrives at the consequence that "all the doctrines of faith and good life are contained in the plain places of scripture; and besides it there are, and there can be, no articles of faith."

The same topic he discusses in the two following chapters, to nearly the same effect, and employing nearly the same arguments, as he had done in his 'Liberty of prophesying;' establishing the apostles' creed as the only necessary rule of belief, and exposing with considerable energy the monstrous power assumed by the court of Rome, of introducing into the confessions of the church new articles of faith, and altering and suppressing the catholic doctrine. That they claim and exert such a power, he proves by the writings of their own doctors; by the alterations which they have notoriously introduced in the practice and professions of the ancient church; by the frauds and pretended miracles to which they have recurred in order to establish such novelties; frauds which have been in many instances acknowledged with shame by their own ablest partizans; and miracles which, by the common testimony of scripture and the ancient fathers, however pretended, ought to be of no force to establish a doctrine against scripture and the consent of antiquity. In the sixth section he proceeds still further to make good his charge by a curious history of expurgatory *indices;* and in the seventh he charges them, that "having done these things to propagate their new doctrines, and to suppress those which are more ancient and catholic, they are so implacably angry at all that dissent from them, that they not only kill them where they have power, but damn them all, so far as their sentence can prevail."

This is a very impressive and interesting chapter. He shews the unchristian spirit of such a procedure by the fact that God has reserved all judgment to Himself; that His mercy absolves many persons who in His just judgment were condemned; and that it becomes a Christian to act therefore on the principle generally adopted by protestants, and to judge no man's person, far less any states of men.

"Besides these things," he proceeds[i], "there is a strange spring and secret principle in every man's understanding, that it is oftentimes turned about by such impulses of which no man can give an account.

[h] [p. 421.] [i] [p. 476.]

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But we all remember a most wonderful instance of it in the disputation between the two Reynolds', John and William; the former of which, being a papist, and the latter a protestant, met and disputed with a purpose to confute and to convert each other; and so they did: for those arguments which were used prevailed fully against their adversary, and yet did not prevail with themselves; the papist turned protestant, and the protestant became a papist, and so remained to their dying day." .. "But further yet, he"—the consistent protestant—"considers the natural and regular infirmities of mankind; and God considers them much more; he knows that in man there is nothing admirable but his ignorance, and weakness; his prejudice, and the infallible certainty of being deceived in many things: he sees that wicked men oftentimes know much more than many very good men; and that the understanding is not of itself considerable in morality, and effects nothing in rewards and punishments: it is the will only that rules man, and can obey God. He sees and deplores it, that many men study hard, and understand little; that they dispute earnestly, and understand not one another at all; that affections creep so certainly, and mingle with their arguing, that the argument is lost, and nothing remains but the conflict of two adversaries' affections; that a man is so willing, so easy, so ready to believe what makes for his opinion, so hard to understand an argument against himself, that it is plain it is the principle within, not the argument without, that determines him. He observes also that all the world (a few individuals excepted) are unalterably determined to the religion of their country, of their family, of their society; that there is never any considerable change made, but what is made by war and empire, by fear and hope. He remembers that it is a rare thing to see a Jesuit of the Dominican opinion, or a Dominican (until of late) of the Jesuit; but every order gives laws to the understanding of their novices, and they never change. He considers there is such ambiguity in words, by which all lawgivers express their meaning; that there is such abstruseness in mysteries of religion, that some things are so much too high for us that we cannot understand them rightly; and yet they are so sacred and concerning, that men will think they are bound to look into them as far as they can; that it is no wonder if they quickly go too far, where no understanding, if it were fitted for it, could go far enough, but in these things it will be hard not to be deceived, since our words cannot rightly express those things; that there is such variety of human understandings, that men's faces differ not so much as their souls; and that if there were not so much difficulty in things, yet they could not but be variously apprehended by several men; and then,—considering that in twenty opinions it may be not one of them is true;" .. "and every man is too apt to overvalue his own opinion, .. and as he loves those that think as he does, so he is ready to hate them that do not; and then, secretly, from wishing evil to him, he is apt to believe evil will come to him, and that it is just

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it should: and by this time, the opinion is troublesome, and puts other men upon their guard against it; and then while passion reigns, and reason is modest and patient, and talks not loud like a storm, victory is more regarded than truth, and men call God into the party, and His judgments are used for arguments, and the threatenings of the scripture are snatched up in haste, and men throw 'arrows, firebrands, and death,' and by this time all the world is in an uproar;—all this, and a thousand things more, the English protestants considering, deny not their communion to any Christian who desires it, and believes the apostles' creed, and is of the religion of the four first general councils; they hope well of all that live well; they receive into their bosom all true believers of what church soever; and for them that err, they instruct them, and then leave them to their liberty to stand or fall before their own master."

Such were the latest opinions (for this, as I have already elsewhere observed, was the latest work) of the author of the 'Liberty of prophesying;' and so far, I repeat[k], was he, when himself in possession of power and dignity, from renouncing or obscuring his own previous sentiments.

Of the remaining sections of the work a less exact account may be sufficient.

In the ninth section he goes on to urge that the church of Rome 'teaches as doctrines the commandments of men;' and in the tenth and eleventh, with which the first book concludes, he discusses the topic of auricular confession, at greater length, but to nearly the same purport with the language which he had held in his sermon on the gunpowder treason. The second book, which is divided into seven sections, is occupied in making good and extending the arguments employed in the first part of the 'Dissuasive,' on the subjects of Indulgences, Purgatory, Transubstantiation, the Half-communion, Service in an unknown tongue, the Worship of images, and Picturing God the Father and the holy Trinity. These subjects he may be almost said to have exhausted. It is certain at least that he has accumulated on each a vast body of various and recondite information, applied to the point in question with great acuteness and good sense, and conveyed in very easy and spirited language. On the whole, though it is no more than natural and reasonable that essays which apply to the daily actions and the necessary belief of all Christians, should be preferred, in the daily studies of the greater number, to those which have reference to subordinate distinctions, and lead us through the thorny mazes of controversy; yet as specimens of talent and acquirement, the two 'Dissuasives' are, I conceive, not inferior to any of his most popular productions; and it is even possible that they will be read by many with less weariness, and a more sustained, though a different kind of pleasure, than the unmingled and almost

[k] [See p. xxxii. above.]

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interminable wilderness of sweets, which characterizes his earlier and less argumentative writings.

Nor are they only those immediately interested in the disputes between the protestants and the Roman catholics, who may find themselves amused and instructed by the manner in which Taylor discusses them, and derive abundant information, and rational entertainment, from the two parts of the Dissuasive. Whoever takes a pleasure in the history of christianity, and of the human mind: in tracing the progress from small beginnings of the most extensive and portentous changes; in estimating the amount of those corruptions which in the lapse of ages, and from various causes, have been introduced into doctrines and practices the most simple and sacred; and in observing nevertheless, even amid the greatest spread of those corruptions, how strangely the providence of God has raised up eminent persons to bear witness against them; will find the time very profitably and agreeably employed which he bestows on Taylor's controversial writings.

There is a trifling error in the beginning of his Introduction to the second part[1], which would in another person have been hardly worth notice; but which I should not have expected to meet with in one who, like Taylor, had paid a more than common attention to the works of the rabbins.

"When our blessed Saviour," he tells us, "was casting out the evil spirit from the poor demoniac in the gospel, He asked his name, and he answered, 'My name is Legion, for we are many.' Legion is a Roman word, and signifies an army, as Roman signifies catholic." &c. It is singular that he had overlooked the fact, that 'legion' among the Jews was the name usually given to the individual who commanded a large body of soldiers, and answered in fact to 'general' or 'colonel.' It was therefore properly assumed by the single spirit who spoke in the name of the rest, and exercised authority over them; whereas had it been used as a noun of multitude, it would have been, not 'my name,' but 'ours.' The observation is of some use in clearing up an expression of scripture; but Taylor's witticism will in consequence fall to the ground[m].

In his 'Great Exemplar,' while commenting[n] on the second commandment, he had said, "God forbade to the Jews the very having and making images and representments, not only of the true God, or of false and imaginary deities, but of visible creatures." In the second part of the Dissuasive[o] he says on the contrary, "Neither the second commandment, nor the ancient fathers in their commentaries on them, did absolutely prohibit all making of images; but all that were made for religious worship and in order to adoration, according as it is expressed in him who among the Jews collected the negative precepts

[1] [p. 289.]

[m] See Buxtorf, Lexic. Talmud., p. 1123, ad voc. נֵס, and Schleusner, ad voc. Λεγεὼν.

[n] [vol. ii. p. 419.]

[o] [vol. vi. p. 620.]

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which Arias Montanus translated into Latin; the second of which is *Signum cultus causa ne facito;* the third, *Simulacrum divinum nullo pacto conflato;* the fourth, *Signa religiosa nulla ex materia facito.*

Of the two opinions, it is hardly necessary to observe that the latter is shewn by the brazen serpent of Moses, and by the cherubim, oxen, and lions of Solomon, to be the ancient and true explication of the second commandment.

The letters to persons seduced or tempted to the church of Rome, are not ill adapted to their object, but offer nothing which calls for particular observation here. One which accompanies them, and stands second in the series, to a lady converted from the church of Rome to that of England, is however highly characteristic of its author, as endeavouring to recall the attention of his pupil from polemics to practical religion and morality, and evincing that he had been chiefly anxious to make her a protestant in order that she might be more pure, more holy, more eminently christian, in proportion as her mode of faith was rational and apostolical.

The 'Discourse of Confirmation' is preceded by a dedication to the duke of Ormond, in which the author, after some lamentations over the dilapidated and divided state of the Irish church, advances with apparent approbation a whimsical fancy of "some wise and good men," that "when baptized Christians are confirmed and solemnly blessed by the bishop, then it is that a special angel-guardian is appointed to keep their souls from the assaults of the spirits of darkness." This solemn trifling (for in our profound ignorance of the world of spirits it is nothing more) is not calculated to give a very advantageous impression of the work which it introduces; and in fact I cannot consider it as a favourable specimen of his genius.

In the Introduction however is a passage[p] of no common eloquence, where, while describing the assistance of the holy Ghost as supplied to Christians, he compares the new to the old creation, and describes the Spirit as a second time "moving upon the face of the waters." "By Him we live, in Him we walk, by His aids we pray, by His emotions we desire: we breathe, and sigh, and groan, by Him: He helps us in all our infirmities, and He gives us all our strengths: He reveals mysteries to us, and teaches us all our duties: He stirs us up to holy desires, and He actuates those desires: He makes us to will and to do of His good pleasure."

The work itself consists of seven sections, in which he undertakes to prove the divine institution of the rite of confirmation,—its perpetuity,—its practice by the primitive churches,—its exclusive administration by bishops,—its essential parts, which he defines to be prayer and imposition of hands,—its blessed effects, and the preparation necessary for it.

[p] [vol. v. p. 615.]

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To shew that confirmation is a divinely instituted rite, and to be proved from scripture, he alleges first, the descent of the holy Ghost on our Lord, not during but after His baptism; and secondly, the words of Christ to Nicodemus declaring the necessity of baptism 'by water and the Spirit.'

Neither of these can, as I conceive, be esteemed conclusive. The former is no more an example for Christians than any other of the long train of wonders and displays of supernatural power which accompanied and established His divine mission can be said to be examples to us. If it proved any thing with respect to the manner of initiating new members into His mystical body, it would rather prove that the grace of the holy Ghost was, without any further outward ceremony, to be a necessary consequence of baptism; and this in fact is all which those expressions of the fathers can be fairly said to imply which Taylor quotes as agreeing in his application of the miracle.

The second is at first sight more plausible, since our Saviour is, throughout His discourse with Nicodemus, impressing on the mind of the Jewish elder the necessity of an entrance into His religion by the public and usual rites of initiation. But the fact that confirmation was really one of those rites will yet remain to be proved; and as regeneration by the holy Ghost is on all hands allowed to be the consequences of baptism, by itself, and even where no confirmation is superadded, the expression is more naturally understood, and has been in fact so understood by the greater part of orthodox commentators, as merely declaratory of the spiritual benefits which were to follow the external rite of water.

There is indeed a dangerous consequence attendant on both Taylor's arguments, that by limiting the gift of the holy Ghost to confirmation, he makes baptism, taken by itself, of none effect, or at most of no further effect than as a decent and necessary introduction to that which would be on this hypothesis the main and distinctive consignation of a Christian. To this objection Taylor himself was not insensible; and he endeavours[q] to escape from it by a still more dangerous admission, that confirmation is really as generally necessary as baptism or the Lord's supper, which is in fact to contradict the express doctrine of our church, and formally to elevate it to the rank of a sacrament. How little he is borne out in such doctrines by the figurative expressions of the fathers, when speaking of baptismal regeneration, will appear from a reference even to those passages on which he relies. And how unnecessary such a novel hypothesis is to the obligation and importance of the ceremony in question, may appear from the far better arguments which he afterwards produces in its favour; from the known practice of the apostles in the case of the Samaritan converts; and from the fact that imposition of hands is classed by S. Paul[r] among the fundamental doctrines of christianity.

[q] [p. 627. See note (YY*.)]

[r] Hebrews vi. 1, 2.

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That confirmation was not a temporary rite, or to lose its inward and ordinary blessing when the visible and miraculous gifts were withdrawn which in the first ages of the church attended it, he proves from the analogy of other external rites, which had equally in the first ages extraordinary effects and miraculous consignations, but which, as in the case of preaching, prayer, &c., are allowed by all parties to be still necessary, though such obvious and wonderful fruits are no longer to be anticipated from them.

The ordinary and internal graces of the Spirit are promised, as he observes, to all ages of the church; and though our consignation is by a secret power, and the work is within, "it does not therefore follow[s] that the external rite is not also intended," wherever that consignation is spoken of in scripture: "for the rite is so wholly for the mystery, and the outward for the inward, and yet by the outward God so usually and regularly gives the inward, that as no man is to rely upon the external ministry as if the *opus operatum* would do the whole duty, so no man is to neglect the external because the internal is the more principal. The mistake in this particular hath caused great contempt of the sacraments and rituals of the church, and is the ground of the Socinian errors in these questions."

That it was the uniform custom of the primitive church, and every where (except perhaps in Egypt, where he does not satisfactorily get rid of a strong testimony[t] of S. Ambrose) confined to the ministration of the bishop alone,—that the essential parts of the rite are prayer, and imposition of hands,—and that the use of oil, though very ancient, is of ecclesiastical institution only, he proves with sufficient clearness in the three following sections. In the sixth he ably, though in a simple and unambitious style, states the spiritual benefits of which confirmation is the outward and appointed means; and in the last, discusses the proper age and preparation for the ceremony.

In speaking of the proper age of candidates, he holds an opinion at variance with the usual practice of the church of England, which is seldom to admit them to the solemn rite till they are fourteen or fifteen years of age. He on the contrary recommends receiving them much earlier, "the sooner the better, I mean, after that reason begins to dawn;" provided only that "the children be catechized, and well instructed in the fundamentals of religion."

He proceeds, with an earnest recommendation of the ancient custom of catechizing, in which he observes, by the way, that what is called 'exorcism' in the ancient church was not, as is vulgarly supposed, an attempt to eject the devil out of innocent children, but that the exorcist was only another word for 'catechist;' and he then winds up his argument with a short and energetic peroration on the blessings derived from, and the obligations attached to, an attendance on the rite which he has thus vindicated.

On the whole, the learning and piety of this little tract are not un-

[s] [p. 634.] [t] [But see the note; vol. v. p. 646.]

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worthy of Taylor, and he deserves at least the praise of having made out his point satisfactorily; but except this learning and this piety, there is perhaps scarcely any thing else in the essay on Confirmation which would mark it as his writing. He has not indeed slept over his task; but it cannot be said that he has drawn his bow to the full extent of his usual force and vigour: and we shall be perhaps the more struck with this inferiority, if we compare it with the little essay on Friendship[s], which follows next in the present series, and which may be considered without impropriety as the earliest of his casuistic writings.

Of the lady to whom it is addressed I have already spoken; and she certainly deserves some credit for having suggested such a theme to Taylor, inasmuch as it was calculated more than most others to elicit the fires of his peculiar eloquence. It was a topic also on which his good sense and practical wisdom (of which qualities few men of equal genius have had a larger share) were likely to furnish very valuable rules, for the maintenance of affection in its just temper,—for the increase and preservation of our interest in the breast of the beloved individual,—and for the subjection and devotion of even our best and strongest feelings to that common Father from whom all pure affection flows. Accordingly he has produced a splendid and powerful essay, which, though the fair and enthusiastic Orinda should seem to have preferred the forgotten one of Mr. Francis Finch, will not appear to the generality of readers to derogate from the high character of his greater and more laboured performances.

He begins however with a paradox of which I am not sure that it does not rest on a quibble. He tells his correspondent that friendship, in the sense under which we commonly use the term, "is not so much as named in the New testament;" and he accounts for this by saying that "the greatest love, and the greatest usefulness, and the most open communication, and the noblest sufferings, and the most exemplar faithfulness, and the severest truth, and the heartiest counsel, and the greatest union of minds, of which brave men and women are capable," are, under the christian term of 'charity,' potentially due from us to all mankind, and directly therefore opposed to that affection which is "like the sun peeping through a chink[t]," or "his beams drawn into the centre of a burning glass."

That charity in this sense is not friendship, is most true, since it is the general principle of affection, of which friendship is an application to particular instances, in compliance with that imperfection of our nature, and those circumstances of society, which limit our active affections and our confidential intercourse (like our alms, and our personal intercessions) to those with whom we are brought in contact, and who only are therefore susceptible of our service or our tenderness.

But this limitation, and particular application of the common prin-

[s] [vol. i. p. 71.]

[t] ['like the sun drawn in at a chink,' ed.]

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ciple, he himself allows to be natural and necessary; and he admits that the good and glorious Person who in His human nature has given us the most perfect example of the best application and employment of all our natural affections, has left us instances in His own conduct of that condensed and distinctive love which He felt for one of the apostles in a greater degree than for the remaining eleven, and for the family of Lazarus more than for the great mass of those who believed on Him.

This, which the christian scriptures call 'charity,' as being a particular application of the general grace, he admits in philosophy is called 'friendship.' But if the thing be named, though under a different term, in the New testament, his assertion that it does not occur must resolve itself into a quibble only. And in fact, though we have translated *ἀγαπάω* and *ἀγάπη* perhaps too indiscriminately by the common and genuine term of 'love,' and the almost technical term of 'charity,' it would be easy to shew, not only that the corresponding word in Hebrew is applied to the 'friendship' of David and Jonathan[u], but that *ἀγαπάω* is used in the New testament as strictly synonymous with the proper Greek term of friendship, *φιλέω*, and that it is applied both there and in the classical writers to express not only 'love' in its exalted sense, but a much slighter degree of 'liking' or 'approbation[x].'

His doctrine however that friendship is the application to a particular person of the love which, but for the weakness of our nature, we should feel for all, is strictly philosophical as well as christian; and there are few passages in his works more characteristic, more appropriate, or more beautiful, than the following illustration of the general principle[y].

"Thus the sun is the eye of the world, and he is indifferent" (impartial) "to the negro, or the cold Russian; to them that dwell under the line (qu. pole?) and them that stand near the tropics; the scalded Indian, or the poor boy that shakes at the foot of the Riphean hills. But the flexures[z] of the heaven and the earth, the conveniency of abode, and the approaches to the north or south respectively, change the emanations of his beams; not that they do not pass always from him, but that they are not equally received below; but by periods and changes, by little inlets and reflections, they receive what they can. And some have only a dark day and a long night from him; snows and white cattle; a miserable life, and a perpetual harvest of catarrhs and consumptions, apoplexies and dead palsies. But some have splendid fires and aromatic spices, rich wines and well digested fruits, great wit and great courage; because they dwell in his eye, and look in his face, and are the courtiers of the sun, and wait upon him in his chambers of the east. Just so is it in friendships: some are

[u] [1 Sam. xx. 17.]
[x] Schleusner ad voc. 'Αγαπάω.
[y] [vol. i. p. 73.]
[z] [al. 'fluxures.']

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worthy, and some are necessary; some dwell hard by, and are fitted for converse; nature joins some to us, and religion combines us with others; society and accidents, parity of fortune and equal dispositions, do actuate our friendships; which, of themselves and in their prime disposition, are prepared for all mankind, according as any one can receive them."

Having thus defined and explained the nature of friendship, he goes on[a] to observe, that "there may be a special friendship contracted for any special excellency whatsoever; because friendships are nothing but love and society mixed together, that is, a conversing with them whom we love; now for whatsoever we can love any one, for that we can be his friend; and since every excellency is a degree of amability, every such worthiness is a just and proper motive of friendship or loving conversation."

But all excellencies can only so far become the objects of friendship as they are or may be advantageous to ourselves. Even virtue itself, in the abstract, or as displayed towards God and mankind in general, though it be the best motive for esteem and honour, is not enough, he observes, to make a man 'my *privado*, . . my special and peculiar friend; but if he be a 'good man'—χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ, a kind and useful and amiable person,—he is then such an one as 'some will even dare to die for.'

"If you can suspect[b] that this discourse can suppose friendship to be mercenary, and to be defective in the greatest worthiness of it, which is to love our friend for our friend's sake, I shall easily be able to defend myself; because I speak of the election and reasons of choosing friends. After he is chosen, do as nobly as you talk, and love as purely as you dream; and let your conversation be as metaphysical as your discourse, and proceed in this method till you be confuted by experience; yet till then, the case is otherwise when we speak of choosing one to be my friend. He is not my friend till I have chosen him or loved him; and if any man enquires whom he shall choose, or whom he should love, I suppose it ought not to be answered, that we should love him who hath least amability; that we should choose him who hath least reason to be chosen. But if it be answered, he is to be chosen to be my friend who is most worthy in himself, not he that can do most good to me; I say, there is a distinction but no difference; for he is most worthy in himself who can do most good; and if he can love me too, that is, if he will do me all the good he can, or that I need, then he is my friend, and he deserves it." . . "True and brave friendships are between worthy persons; and there is in mankind no degree of worthiness but is also a degree of usefulness, and by every thing by which a man is excellent I may be profited: and because those are the bravest friends which can best serve the ends of friendships, either we must suppose that friendships are not the greatest comforts in the world; or else we must say, he

[a] [p. 75.] [b] [p. 78.]

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chooses his friend best, that chooses such a one by whom he can receive the greatest comforts and assistances."

Still this obligation to choose our friends for their aptness to give us the greatest help, comfort, or pleasure, does not lay on us the necessity of choosing always the best. You must not, he observes, choose a friend who is deficient in the essentials of friendship, who is not "honest and secret, just and true to a tittle; but if he be wise at all, and useful in any degree, and as good as you can have him, you need not be ashamed to own your friendships, though sometimes you may be ashamed of some imperfections of your friend."

Even 'fancy,' and 'little partialities,' 'a conformity of humours, and proportionable loves, and the beauty of the face, and a witty answer,' he admits of as circumstances which may in the first instance produce a liking; though he urges, with reason, that this Platonic and fanciful regard will never be maintained at the rate of a real friendship, "unless it be fed by pure materials, by worthinesses which are the food of friendship." .. "I will," he concludes, "when I choose my friend, choose him that is the bravest, the worthiest, and most excellent person; and then your first question is soon answered: to love such a person, and to contract such friendships, is just so authorized by the principles of christianity, as it is warranted to love wisdom and virtue, goodness and beneficence, and all the impresses of God upon the spirits of brave men."

Under the next head, that of the limits of friendship, he assigns no boundary to the affection and service which friend may shew to friend, but the borders of vice and virtue: a man may die for his friend, if that friend be a worthy and useful person; he may sacrifice his property for his friend, if he does not transgress against the duty which he owes to his natural relations; but he must not, like Pollux, kill the person who speaks slightingly of his friend, nor must he transgress the laws of God or man to serve him.

In the same section are some very sensible observations as to the difference between friendship and filial or fraternal love, on the circumstances which may render a friend more intimate than either a parent or a brother; though no friend, he forcibly urges, can prudently or lawfully take precedence of a wife or a husband.

"The reason is, because marriage is the queen of friendships, in which there is a communication of all that can be communicated by friendship; and it being made sacred by vows and love, by bodies and souls, by interest and custom, by religion and by laws, by common counsels and common fortunes; it is the principal in the kind of friendship, and the measure of all the rest. And there is no abatement to this consideration, but that there may be some allay in this as in other lesser friendships, by the incapacity of the persons. If I have not chosen my friend wisely or fortunately, he cannot be the correlative in the best union; but then the friend lives as the soul does after death; it is in the state of separation, in which the soul

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strangely loves the body and longs to be re-united, but the body is an useless trunk, and can do no ministries to the soul, which therefore prays to have the body reformed and restored, and made a brave and a fit companion: so must these best friends, when one is useless or unapt to the braveries of the princely friendship; they must love ever, and pray ever, and long till the other be perfected and made fit: in this case there wants only the body, but the soul is still a relative, and must be so for ever."

In the next enquiry, 'How friendships are to be conducted?' he has given some very wise and useful, though moderate and indulgent advice, for the case of an intimacy between persons of different sexes; where "not only the interest of their religion, and the care of their honour, but the worthiness of their friendship requires that their entercourse be prudent and free from suspicion and reproach." Yet even here he does not enjoin an implicit deference to 'the noises of people:' and he subjoins a spirited and affectionate eulogium of the female character, and its fitness for all the noblest duties of friendship.

He concludes his essay with some short rules of duty and prudence to be observed by one friend towards another, of which the practical wisdom is not inferior to the simplicity; but for which it is necessary to refer my readers to the work itself, if they read the whole of which they will find the short labour well repaid[c].

That which follows next is of far greater bulk and labour. The necessity of such works as the *Ductor dubitantium* had very plainly its origin in those times and among those sects of Christians with whom auricular confession and priestly absolution were regarded as the duty of every penitent, the preliminary of all celestial mercy. When a body of many thousand persons, of various ages and all degrees of acquirement or capacity, were liable to become the depositaries of the most important or the most trifling secrets, and called on to pronounce authoritatively on the spiritual condition of all ranks and under all possible circumstances, it was absolutely necessary that the more skilful of these confidential monitors should lay down rules for the less learned; and that all precedents should be collected and preserved which might lighten the labour, or guide the judgment, or diminish the responsibility, of the busy, the uninformed, the timid, or the diffident ministers of religion.

And this necessity became the greater in proportion as the abuses of the Romish superstition were multiplied. While the rules of faith were drawn from the apostles' creed, and the rules of conduct from the ten commandments; while the terms of church communion were easy and perspicuous, and the church had laid no further burden on her members than those few and simple customs and ceremonies which derived their sanction from the apostles and from Christ; there was

[c] Note (Z Z.)

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the less occasion to wander from so wide a road, and from one so plain whoever wandered was more easily detected and censured.

But when the commandments or inventions of men were taught under the same sanction with the doctrines of inspiration; when prohibitions of things lawful or indifferent were multiplied without warrant or necessity, and states of life and society in themselves unnatural were grafted on a creed which was at first the perfection of natural religion; the feelings of men revolted against rules thus arbitrarily imposed; while their consciences were not sufficiently enlightened to make them satisfied that their revolt was innocent. The multitude of cases was thus greatly increased which sought at the hands of the confessor for ghostly counsel and comfort; and so inevitably does the commission of one supposed fault lead to others, that the habitual transgression of the commandment of the church seldom failed to carry men further into a neglect of the divine commandments also; till offences against general morality became more numerous in proportion as the breach of ecclesiastical laws became more inevitable.

It had been thus in more ancient times with the Jewish doctors, whose 'hedge' of traditions and ceremonies[d] had only served to encroach on and block up the path of duty, and whose volumes of casuistry are sufficiently bulky, though they had not among their institutions so fruitful a mother of quibbles as the practice of confession.

Among Christians of the Romish church it may be easily understood how the indulgence of some spiritual guides,—the ostentatious ingenuity of others,—the desire in a third party of conciliating wealthy and powerful sinners,—and in a fourth the refinements of an impure curiosity, excited and employed by a great majority of the cases which came before them,—would produce a plentiful harvest of distinctions, provisions, abatements, and aggravations, sufficient when duly stated to distort to almost any extent the features of almost any action or course of actions.

What mischief had in this respect been done by the Jesuit confessors and casuists, may be seen in several parts of Taylor's 'Dissuasive from popery,' and still more in the spirited invective of Pascal. But the matter grew still worse when cases of conscience were brought into courts of law; when the institutions of penance and ecclesiastical censure, as managed in the church of Rome, and as commuted for by pecuniary fines, became the subjects of legal argument, and of that perverse ingenuity which a counsel is generally expected to exert on behalf of his client.

[d] Ponere sepem legi. [Per sepem legi faciendam intelligunt traditiones, quibus aiunt arceri homines a prævaricatione legis divinæ. Exempli gratia. Vetitum olim fuit populo Israelitico ne fœdus inirent cum gentibus; jam ne ad legis hujus prævaricationem venirent, statuerunt illorum Rabbini ne vinum quidem bibendum esse cum ethnicis; atque istiusmodi constitutiunculis suis patrocinium quærunt ex isto loco Levit. xviii., 'Et custodite custodiam meam.'—Paul. Fagius, 'Pirke avoth,' p. 2; cf. p. 56.]

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In civil courts indeed that ingenuity can produce but little harm; since it is avowedly exercised on the laws of man alone, and since the eternal sanctions of morality remain entire and unbroken, whatever temporal consequences are incurred or averted by the parties. But the misfortune was that the spiritual tribunal professed to exert an influence beyond the present world; and when an equal danger of purgatory was incurred by a breach of a canon as of a commandment, and when the consequences of both the one and the other might be got rid of by a flaw in the indictment; it is less strange that offences were multiplied, than it is that they were so far repressed by the general good feelings of mankind, and that efficacy which yet remained in the obscured and neglected gospels. But as offences multiplied, distinctions multiplied also; and we cannot wonder therefore that the very title of the canon law was *Concordantia discordantiarum;* that "the easy commandment[o] was wrapped up in uneasy learning; and by the new methods, a simple and uncrafty man could hardly be wise unto salvation." "There is a wood before your doors, and a labyrinth within the wood, and locks and bars to every door within that labyrinth; and after all, we are like to meet with unskilful guides; and yet of all things in the world, in these things an error is the most intolerable."

But while such had been the original occasion, and such the gradual but appalling progress, of casuistry in the church of Rome; it was not very apparent why the reformed churches, who had shaken off the accumulated load of ages, were again, without the same occasion, to begin to rebuild the fabric. Why, when their rule was brought back to its primitive simplicity, and the scriptures which contained that rule were made accessible to all; when they had restricted the lash of ecclesiastical censure to a very few, and those very palpable and notorious cases of public scandal; and when, by leaving confession optional, they had cut off the necessity which made every parish minister a casuist,—why were they to darken what was so plain by needless explanation, or encourage a nearer approach to forbidden things by an attempt to define the precise limits of the prohibition?

That first thoughts are generally best in cases of duty, has been observed by Taylor as well as by Paley. I have myself had sufficient experience of what are generally called scruples, to be convinced that the greater proportion of those which are submitted to a spiritual guide are nothing more than artifices by which men seek to justify themselves in what they know to be wrong: and I am convinced that the most efficacious manner of easing a doubtful conscience is, for the most part, to recall the professed penitent from distinctions to generals; from the peculiarities of his private concerns to the simple words of the commandment. If we are too curious, we only muddy the stream: but the clearest truth is, in morals, always on the surface.

[o] [vol. ix. p. *xii.* sq.]

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Still there were yet remaining, in the two first centuries after the Reformation, circumstances (besides the precedent of the Roman church, and the secret regret of the influence formerly enjoyed by their order, which, however unsuspected by themselves, was likely to actuate the more learned of the protestant clergy) which might well impress on the mind of Taylor and of many of his contemporaries, the opinion that a work of casuistry was a *desideratum* in the church of England, and its want a defect which might be with reason objected to that church by its adversaries.

There were probably more genuine and conscientious scruples at that time busy in the public mind than are likely to occur at present. The religious ferment, and the spirit of enquiry which it excited, which accompanied the reformation of religion, had been kept up by the Puritans, and after them by the Independents, with unfailing force and activity: and though the Reformation in England had been conducted on wiser and more moderate principles, and had in fact overlooked all trifles in order to make the better clearance of essential abuses: yet had the minds of men been drawn, by the weakness of some, and the mischievous arts of others, to trifles and external circumstances, in a degree of which our present religious divisions afford us no conception.

There are few even of the dissenting divines who now preach against, there are fewer still who really care for, the peculiarities of the established church in its habits and ceremonies. Its liturgy is praised almost by all. Yet not avowed dissenters only, but no small party of those who had been episcopally ordained, and appointed to offices within the limits of the establishment, were in the days of Charles the first conscientiously miserable at the thought of standing in a surplice, or saying any prayer but of their own composing. Many thousand good and pious men, and probably a still greater number of women, were distressed between the fear of schism, and the crime of attending in a place of worship where even the minutest particular was not warranted by some explicit text of scripture.

The wickedness of mince-pies and plum-porridge, and the question how far these abominations might be winked at when believers were unequally yoked with a prelatist, agitated many well-meaning minds; while there were others, of a contrary faction, who looked with horror on the marriage of second-cousins, and were seriously troubled if during the forty days any flesh-meat were seen in their houses.

The law of Moses; the question how far it was repealed or how far it still subsisted in the particulars of blood, perhaps of pork, and certainly of a sabbatical rest on the Lord's day, was also a frequent cause of secret distress or domestic litigation; while on the other hand individuals were not wanting who, despising all ordinances, exclaimed against their kindred and neighbours as legalists and foolish Galatians.

It is possible that in the present age of sects some of these wild

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tenets may still be active and mischievous; but the greater part of our divisions arise from other causes, and above all, the habits of the time lead men rather to decide their scruples for themselves and in their own way, than to recur to their spiritual pastors.

But to how great an extent such feelings then prevailed, may be learned from the fact that during the time that the celebrated Dr. Owen was dean of Christ Church, a regular office for the satisfaction of doubtful consciences was held in Oxford. How long it continued, or what were the numbers that resorted to it, I am not informed. It possibly was of the shorter duration from the ludicrous name of 'scruple-shop' which was given it by the younger students.

Nor was it a slight aggravation of the mischief that the emissaries of the church of Rome were in the mean time always active; ready to remind every uneasy conscience of the rest and relief to be found within the pale of their communion; vaunting the acuteness and learning of their doctors, and the comfort of their absolution; and obtaining the more abundant draughts of fishes the more the waters were troubled.

Under such circumstances, it was an expedient which would naturally occur to the clergy of the episcopal church, to meet both puritans and papists at their own weapons, and to supply from a rational and legitimate source that satisfaction to restless spirits, which the others professed to furnish by a false stimulus, or a still more deceitful opiate.

Accordingly, the work now executed by Taylor had been projected by many eminent persons before him. Besides some writings of the same sort by different Lutheran divines (who, as still retaining before the administration of the sacrament a shadow of the old confessional, have more reason than those of the English church for affixing a value to such assistances) the excellent bishop Hall had made a beginning which he did not live to complete; and Sanderson, whose lectures *De conscientia* had shewn very considerable talent in the eristical part of morality, was urged by Charles the first, in his last attendance on him, to employ the remainder of his life in writing cases of conscience[f].

It was not however to the detail of individual scruples that Taylor gave up his learning and genius. This indeed had been the usual practice of previous writers on the same subject. The Romish casuists at least (for the Lutherans I only know through the notices of them in Michaelis and in Taylor himself) have contented themselves for the most part with filling their enormous volumes with cases, sometimes classed indeed under general heads, but not often submitted to any general or steady principles; a wilderness of precedents, of which (as they were rather selected for curiosity than for their frequent occurrence) hardly a twentieth part could be expected to be really useful.

Taylor on the other hand has introduced his cases as illustrations

[f] Walton's Life of Sanderson. Wordsworth, Eccles. biog, vol. v. p. 487.

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and examples only, and by far the greater part of his work is devoted to the exposition of general principles, in which, with far more learning, and perhaps (the time at which he wrote considered) with equal originality, but with a clearness of arrangement and expression altogether much inferior, he has preceded in the same track the labours of Tucker and of Paley.

To give a regular analysis of so extensive a work, would be either to repeat the table of contents, or materially to exceed the bounds of a critical essay. I shall therefore content myself with offering to the reader a very slight outline of the plan, selecting only those parts for further comment, which for their acuteness, their curiosity, their eloquence, or sometimes even their erroneous nature, appear to me to call for such a distinction.

After a preface, in which the importance and necessity of the attempt is throughout assumed, and which is chiefly directed against the sophistry and interminable length of his Romish predecessors, he has divided his work into four books, each containing several long chapters.

In the first, he defines the nature of conscience, its uses, and their impediments, pointing out the different characteristics of a 'right or sure conscience,'—a conscience confident in error,—a 'probable or thinking,'—a 'doubtful,' and a 'scrupulous conscience.' Of all these, his definitions, though a little overlaid with words and misplaced eloquence, are distinct and forcible, and his illustrations often very fine and appropriate.

Such a one occurs where he has been observing[g] that "we cannot take any direct account of the greatness or horror of a sin by the affrightment of conscience."

"For," he proceeds, "it is with the affrightments of conscience as it is in temporal judgments; sometimes they come not at all, and when they do, they come irregularly, and when they do not, the man does not escape." .. "But as he who is not smitten of God, yet knows he is always liable to God's anger, and if he repents not, it will certainly fall upon him hereafter; so it is in conscience. He that fears not, hath never the less cause to fear, but oftentimes a greater, and therefore is to suspect and alter his condition, as being of a deep and secret danger; and he that does fear, must alter his condition, as being highly troublesome. But in both cases, conscience does the work of a monitor and a judge. In some cases, conscience is like an eloquent and fair-spoken judge, which declaims not against the criminal, but condemns him justly; in others, the judge is more angry, and affrights the prisoner more; but the event is the same. For in those sins where the conscience affrights and in those in which she affrights not (supposing the sins equal but of differing natures) there is no other difference, but that conscience is a clock, which in one man strikes aloud and gives warning; and in another, the hand points silently to the

[g] [vol. ix. p. 31.]

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figures, but strikes not; but by this he may as surely see what the other hears, that his hours pass away, and death hastens, and after death comes judgment!"

The rules which he gives to distinguish a true peace of conscience, which he defines[h] to be "a rest after a severe enquiry," are full of holy and practical wisdom; as when he remarks that "peace of mind is not to be used as a sign that God hath pardoned our sins, but is only of use in questions of particular fact: What evils have I done? What good have I done?"—This is a very useful caution to two different classes of men; those who afflict themselves without knowing why, and those who are satisfied when they ought to be afflicted.

The rule of a right conscience he expresses[i] to be "the speculative determination of the understanding," and subjoins as the single necessary caution, "that we be as sure of our speculation as of any other rule which we ordinarily follow, and that we do not take vain philosophy for true speculations." And while establishing this assertion, he maintains at some length, and with much acuteness, the use of reason in matters of religion, answering the different objections which are ordinarily made against it, and proving that, though reason may not be able to render an account of mysteries which are but imperfectly revealed to us, yet the authenticity of the revelation is in the first instance cognizable by reason; while, though things may be true which our reason cannot comprehend, yet what our reason rejects we cannot receive as revealed by God; so that "although right reason is not the positive and affirmative measure of any article, yet it is the negative measure of every one." Obedience of the understanding to God he acknowledges to be our undoubted duty; "but that," he observes, "is only when God speaks: but because we heard Him not, and are only told that God did speak, our reason must examine whether it be fit to believe them that tell us so."

In the course of this enquiry many interesting corollaries occur, as to the question of two wills in God; the conformity of reason and faith; and the vanity of judicial astrology, which last he condemns, not on the score of its supposed impiety and contradiction to scripture, but as the instrument of imposture and delusion, and therefore against religion; not as an unlawful exercise of reason, but as mere folly and knavery, and on account of the "dangerous and horrid consequents[k] which they feel that run a whoring after such idols of imagination."

His examination of mixed motives[l], and the censure which he passes on good actions when done from secular or incompetent arguments, are useful and well-founded; though under this last head, and while discussing[m] the incidental question, 'whether it be lawful and ingenuous to go about to persuade a man to the belief of a true proposition, by arguments with which we ourselves are not persuaded,'

[h] [p. 82.] [i] [p. 52.] [k] [p. 79.] [l] [p. 82.] [m] [p. 93.]

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he has made some admissions which a severe lover of truth will hardly allow to pass without reprobation.

An *argumentum ad hominem* is indeed perfectly allowable which proceeds on the supposition, not upon the concession and granting of an error. But this, which is no more than taking a man on his own grounds, has no natural tendency to make him believe that I agree with him in that particular. The argument is good because the premises are conventionally so; and the effect is not so much to convince a man of the truth of our inference, as to unsettle his prejudices against that inference, and, by proving his own principles to be inconsistent, to make him the more ready to submit himself to ours.

But the case is very different when I use arguments which I know or believe to be bad, because 'there may be something in my opponent[n] that can make the argument to become perfect and effectual.' This is like feeding a hungry man with chaff, because there may be some peculiarity in his digestion which can extract its nutritive qualities.

If other competent judges have laid stress on such an argument, we may indeed advance it as theirs, and in deference to their authority. But even here it can hardly be allowed us to advance it without premising the caution that it is not our own opinion which we express, and that we therefore can lay no stress on it. And as arguments thus brought forward are likely to be of little service to our cause, it is apparently both wiser and better to confine ourselves to such arguments only as are really satisfactory to our understanding[o].

This however will of course not conclude against our stating as possible, or probable, such consequences as, though they do not certainly follow from the premises, may yet without contradiction do so. But the premises are by their very nature and employment presumed to be truths; nor can we honestly use any thing as a premise, which we do not either believe to be true or at least state hypothetically.

He speaks more justly, when he will not allow of any distinction between a man's public conscience as a magistrate, and his private conscience as an individual[p]; and where he observes that "conscience hath power in obligations and rules[q], but not so much nor so often in permissions[r]." Thus a person may in no case do that which conscience forbids, but may not always go so far as she allows.

Under the head of 'a probable or thinking conscience,' he teaches[s], with great justice, that "a conscience that is at first and in its own nature probable, may be made certain by accumulation of many probabilities operating the same persuasion." And of this kind of 'moral demonstration' he gives an instance in a magnificent sketch of the different probabilities on which a faith in christianity is founded. Few of his most splendid passages in the most popular of his writings exceed some parts of this argument: as, when he speaks of the doctrine

[n] ['in him that hears me,' ed.]
[o] [p. 94 sqq.]
[p] [p. 106.]
[q] ['and necessities,' ed.]
[r] [p. 125.]
[s] [p. 152.]

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of Christ, "hunting the demons from their tripods, .. their 'navels[t],' their dens, their hollow pipes, their temples, and their altars;" as 'flourishing, like the palm, by pressure; growing glorious by opposition; thriving by persecution, and demonstrated by objections[u];' or where, contrasting it with the local rites and restricted worship of the Jews, he says[x] of the christian religion, that it is "as eternal as the soul of a man, and can no more cease than our spirits can die; and can worship upon mountains and in caves, in fields and churches, in peace and war, in solitude and society, in persecution and in sunshine, by night and by day, and be solemnized by clergy and laity in the essential parts of it, and is the perfection of the soul, and the highest reason of man, and the glorification of God."

There are many other valuable principles laid down in this part of his work, of which a few are all that I can instance. Such are his positions[y] that 'reason weighs more than authority;' that 'a multitude of authorities, when they are deducible from one or a few, add nothing to the strength of that on which they themselves rest;' that 'authority alone is no sufficient proof after a new doubt has been started;' and that 'an apparent interest in the person who maintains a proposition is no more reason for disbelieving than for believing it.'

Some of his illustrations of a doubtful conscience are not over delicate, or even decent, and some of his positions dangerous. Of the first description is a very injudicious quotation from Toletus; and of the second, his admission that private evil may be done by public men and for the public necessity; which, though with many limitations, and in very few instances, as in that of war, the employment of spies, &c., it may possibly be true, yet is hardly to be allowed in any instance without peril. It is however a very just and reasonable observation which he makes in the same chapter, that 'positive and temporary' ought to give way to higher duties. Such also is his distinction between a doubting and a scrupulous conscience, that "against the first a man may not work, but against the second he may." All his advice indeed to scrupulous persons[z], is excellent.

His second book begins with an examination of the law of nature, which he defines to be "the universal law of mankind concerning common necessities, to which we are inclined by nature, incited by consent, prompted by reason; but (which) is bound upon us only by the command of God."

Its two sanctions he defines to be fear and love: the first, of a bad conscience, a bad name, or the other penal consequences which Providence and society inflict on guilt; the next is not so much born with us, as implanted in us by education, and by the hopes of future reward which God has in revelation held out to us.

[t] Delphi, called γῆς ὀμφαλὸς. [Eurip. Med. 668. Soph. Œd. tyr. 898]
[u] [p. 170.]
[x] [p. 176.]
[y] [pp. 197, 204, 11.]
[z] [p. 271 sq.]

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To the law of nature thus defined, he assigns an authority superior to all positive institutions, though its laws (as he observes) may be capable of interpretation, and may be allayed by equity, piety, and necessity.

In speaking of contracts, he allows that an unlawful or impossible contract cannot hold; but he materially limits the permission given by the lawyers to annul contracts made under false impressions[a]. When a contract is made against the positive institutions of man, in points where the law of God is silent; though the parties may have sinned in entering into it, yet "the after actions, being no sins, cannot be invalidated;" and even "if the contract be made against a divine law," if it can be fulfilled on our part without sin, and "the contract be extrinsical to the nature of the sin incurred," the contract is binding, though its occasion is to be repented of[b].

In this last case he agrees with Paley (Moral Philosophy, book xi. chap. 5,) and has to all appearance taken a clearer view of the moral obligation of contracts than Sanderson did on a similar question. It is probable that Sanderson judged differently, from the same sense of the inexpediency of such contracts becoming general, which has induced Paley, inconsistently enough, to reject his own principle (where it ought *a fortiori* to hold good, and does hold good according to Taylor) in the case of a promise made to a robber[c].

To the law of nature in general, the christian law succeeds, which he describes[d] as "the law of Nature, or of all mankind, as it is commanded, digested, and perfected by our supreme lawgiver Jesus Christ."

This, as the great rule of conscience, he distinguishes from the Mosaic law, which has entirely ceased to bind, any further than as it contains some particulars which belong to the moral law, or law of nature. From the list of those particulars he does not exclude the prohibition of eating blood, which he interprets, with good reason, not to mean the use of black puddings, but the hateful practice, common in the East and amongst barbarous nations, of devouring the members of a living creature[e]. But the judicial law he excludes in all its branches, more particularly in that which was then the subject of frequent discussion, the intermarriage of persons within the degrees of consanguinity. On this head he exposes the unwarranted additions to the Mosaic prohibition which had been made in the case of cousins, brothers' widows, &c., by the Roman canonists; and on the whole appears to take nearly the same view of the question as has been since taken by Michaelis: though he does not state so plainly as Michaelis[f] has done, the reasons which have in all ages and countries made some prohibitions necessary; and the local and temporal inconveniences

[a] [p. 329 sq.]
[b] [p. 332.]
[c] [vol. x. p. 643.]
[d] [vol. ix. p. 350.]
[e] [p. 358 sq.]
[f] Law of Moses, [book iii.] ch. 7. vol. iii. [read ii.] p. 39 sq. Smith's Translation, [8vo. Lond. 1814.] note (A A A.)

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which have obliged human lawgivers to extend in some instances those prohibitions still further.

The Decalogue he refuses to consider as a perfect digest of the law of nature; inasmuch as our duty extends to many particulars which are not expressed on those tables. "It was intended," he conceives[g], "as a digest of all those moral laws in which God would expect and exact the obedience of the Jewish nation, leaving the perfection and consummation of all unto the time of the gospel."

Here I conceive he goes too far; inasmuch as, though he insists on the violence which is necessary to reduce all the different parts of a Christian's duty to these ten principal heads, it is certain that this has been and is done with sufficient exactness for any practical purpose, and that he himself in his exposition of the ten commandments has ably and eloquently accomplished it. Nor is it true, as his hypothesis seems to suppose, that no other and more express moral laws were given to the Jews than these commandments. To give alms to the poor; to help their enemy whose beast had fallen under his load; to pray for the peace of the land whither they were led captive; to eat no living animal, which, as he himself allows, is part of the moral law:—all these laws are not only implied in the decalogue, but explicitly laid down in different parts of the Mosaic volume; and it would be very difficult to instance any particular of natural law, strictly so called, to which the Jews were not obliged as well as ourselves, though the stream of the commandments had been disturbed and defiled by their rabbins, and though the Son of God, in His sermon on the mount, and by the still stronger lesson of His example, has vindicated them from corruption, and held them up a second time, and more clearly and gloriously than before, to our obedience and imitation.

Taylor is correct however in his inferences[h],—'that we acknowledge Christ to be our Lord and master, our lawgiver and teacher; that we understand the ten commandments according to His commentary;'—'that we expect not justification by our conformity to the decalogue;'—'that we endeavour to go on to perfection, not according to the pattern which Moses, but which Christ shewed in the mount:' and 'that we do not think it sufficient to live according to nature, but that we live according to grace, that is, the measures of reformed nature.' And he himself has in fact abandoned whatever was dangerous in his position simply taken, when he admits that all the precepts of morality 'were potentially in the great commandments;' and that 'there are the same general lines of religion and of justice in the Old testament and the New, though the special and particular precepts are severally instanced by Christ and Moses.'

He argues also more justly when he says that "every thing in the decalogue is not obligatory to Christians," though he is unfortunate in the first instance which he produces[i], that "the having or making

[g] [p. 408.] [h] [ibid.] [i] [p. 420.]

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of images, though it be forbidden to the Jews in the second commandment, yet it is not unlawful to Christians." Of this I have said enough already; and will here only observe, that it is strange that any man should hold such an interpretation of the commandment in question, who at the same time, in order to prove it not obligatory on Christians, has instanced the golden lions of Solomon. Solomon surely was a Jew: he was also a very conspicuous person, and one whose faults are related in scripture with due severity. If then he used such ornaments unblamed, it is plain from this instance, as well as from Cæsar's image on the Jewish coin, that the second commandment was interpreted by them, as by the generality of protestants, to forbid idolatry only[k].

His observations on idolatry however, and on the grievous presumption of picturing God, are excellent, and I think unanswerable. His opinion of the sabbath and the Lord's day I have already had occasion to mention.

In the third chapter of the second book, which treats of the "interpretation and obligation of the laws of Christ," though there is much which is curious and valuable, there are few things which call for particular notice. Much of it indeed is more historical and controversial than casuistical, and refers to the great disputes which have always agitated the christian commonwealth since the period of the reformation. On these Taylor thought with all protestants; and an abundant store of weapons may be drawn from his armoury for the future battles of the church. The maxims which strike me as most generally applicable, and at the same time most characteristic of their author, are, 1) that "all acts of virtue[l] are to be preferred before the instruments of it, and that which exercises it before that which signifies it." 2) The difference[m] between positive and negative laws, that, namely, when any thing is commanded, the means of doing it are left to our choice; but when any thing is forbidden, all those things also by which we come to that sin, are understood to be forbidden by the same law.

"Every temptation," he observes[n], "is then certainly to be reckoned as a sin, when it is procured by our own act, whether the temptation ministers to the sin directly or accidentally," and "although the usual effect does not follow the instrument. For there is sometimes a fantastic pleasure in the remembrances of sin, in the approaches of it, in our addresses to it; and there are some men who dare not act the foul crime, who yet love to look upon its fair face; and they drive out sin as Abraham did Ishmael, with an unwilling willingness, God knows; . . and they look after it, and are pleased with the stories of it, and love to see the place of its acting." "Now they that go but

[k] "The opinion that the Jews admitted in no case the introduction of images, is ungrounded." Michaelis, Introd. to N. Test. [ch. ii. sect. 12.] Marsh, vol. i. p. 57. [8vo. Cambridge, 1793.]

[l] [p. 521.]

[m] [p. 526.]

[n] [p. 528.]

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thus far, and love to tempt themselves by walking upon the brink of the river, . . they have given demonstration of their love of sin when they make so much of its proxy."

"But there are others who have great experience of the vanity of all sin, and the emptiness and dissatisfaction that is in its fruition; and know [that] as soon as ever they have enjoyed it, it is gone, and that there is more pleasure in the expectation than in the possession; and therefore they had rather go towards it than arrive thither, and love the temptation better than the sin. These men sin with an excellent philosophy and wittiness of sinning; they love to woo always, and not to enjoy, ever to be hungry and sitting down to dinner, but are afraid to have their desires filled. But if we consider what the secret of it is, and that there is in these men an immense love to sin, and a perfect adhesion to the pleasure of it, and that they refuse to enter lest they should quickly pass through; and they are unwilling to taste it, lest they should eat no more; and would not enjoy, because they will not be weary of it; and will deny any thing to themselves, even that which they most love, lest for a while they should loathe their beloved sin; we shall see reason enough to affirm these men to be the greatest breakers of the laws of Jesus Christ: though they only tempt themselves, and handle the instruments of sin; and although these instruments serve nothing but the temptation, and the temptation does not serve the sin, whither in its own nature it is designed."

At page 624 of this volume he betrays what I should hardly have expected from him, an ignorance of a legend very generally known, and which is the oldest and most curious of all religious novels; I mean, the 'Acts of Paul and Thecla:' which he supposes, without any sufficient reason, to have been originally circulated as the work of S. Paul himself, and which he calls (I know not why) 'the vision of Paul and Thecla.' The work in fact could never have been pretended to be S. Paul's writing, without ascribing to the apostle an incredible degree of vanity, both personal and theological. Hierome indeed does not say that the Asiatic presbyter who was its author, wished to father it on the saint as his own composition, but that he was degraded by S. John for having, though with a good intent, circulated an untrue history concerning an apostle. Nor has the history as it has descended to our time (whatever might have been the case with Hierome's copy) any mention *baptizati Leonis*[o].

Here again he resumes, and resumes with admirable power, and without intermixture of doubtful or extraneous matter, his favourite topic of secure and immediate repentance. He quotes[p] S. Eucherius, saying, "Propound to yourself the example of the thief on the cross; do as he did." "Yes," proceeds Taylor, "we are too ready to do so, that is, to defer our repentance to the last, being encouraged by his

[o] See Grabe, Spicileg. Patr., vol. i. p. 81 sqq. [8vo. Oxon. 1714.] [p] [p. 676.]

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example and success. No: we do not as he did; . . he did not defer his repentance and his faith unto the last; but in the very first hour in which he knew Christ, in that very instant he did believe, and was really converted. He confessed Christ gloriously, and repented of his sins without hypocrisy; and if we do so too, this question is at an end, and our repentance shall never be reproved."

He concludes this second book with a splendid peroration[q] on the measures and motives of a Christian's duty, exhorting him to do all his works "in faith and love; in faith, to make them accepted though they be imperfect; in love, to make them as perfect as they can be: . . he that loves, will think every thing too little; and he that thinks so, will endeavour to do more, and to do it better." "In the measures of the practice of this rule there is no difficulty but what is made by the careless lives of Christians, and their lazy and unholy principles. At the rate as Christians usually do live, it is hard to know how, and in what instances, and in what degrees, our obedience ought to be more humble and more diligent than that of Moses's disciples. But they that love, will do the thing, and so understand the rule; *Obedite et intelligetis*, Obey, and ye shall understand."

In the first chapter of the third book, which treats of Human Laws and their obligation, a case occurs, in illustration of rule IV. that "a law founded on a false presumption does not bind the conscience," in which the Romish canonists seem to have given a more just decision than Taylor. Biretti, a Venetian gentleman, pretends a desire to marry Julia Medici, the daughter of a neighbour, with a purpose to seduce and desert her. A contract is made; but before its execution, he gains his end, and leaving her marries another. The canonists declare the former contract, followed by congress, to be a marriage, and that he is bound to return to Julia. "No," says Taylor, "if he did not lie with her *affectu maritali*; . . he was extremely impious and unjust, but he made no marriage; for without mutual consent marriages are not made." Surely mutual consent is expressed by a public contract, as plainly as by any indication of a man's will that can be conceived. And if Biretti were a hypocrite, it can be no reason why he should be free from the obligation implied by his own deliberate action! I cannot account for the obliquity of this verdict, but I could not pass it over lest my silence should seem like approbation.

The second chapter examines the power of princes to enact penal and tributary laws, and the obligation which rests on their subjects to obey such laws: in which he discusses the lawfulness or obligation of resisting a legal sentence; of prison-breaking; of self-chastisement; and of suicide. The first he admits of when the sentence is palpably unjust, and pronounced by an usurped authority; the second, in all cases where life or limbs are to be preserved; the third he confines to certain ecclesiastical cases; and the fourth he condemns in all, even when perpetrated by a virgin to save herself from pollution. Yet of

[q] [p. 704.]

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such instances of self-murder he speaks with a sort of respectful pity, observing that he only knows that the fact is unlawful. "But how they shall fare in the other world[r], who upon such great accounts are tempted, is one of God's secrets which the great day will manifest."

In the same chapter is an injudicious attempt to justify the supposed fraud of the children of Israel in borrowing jewels of the Egyptians without any intention of restoring them. He justifies the action by saying that God commanded the Israelites so to spoil their enemies. But this is only removing the imputation from the Israelites to the Almighty; and though the Almighty may dispose of the property of His creatures as He pleases, it is not to be supposed that He would command any set of men to obtain their neighbours, goods by fraud. The true answer seems to be that which is given by Michaelis[s]; that though God knew that the Israelites would not return, and though He had communicated a share of His own prescience to Moses, yet the Israelites in general, as they had only asked for a short holiday from their toil, so they never expected or intended more, till the Egyptians, by thrusting them out of the land first, and afterwards by pursuing them with hostile intentions, had deprived themselves of all claim to whatever property they had previously intrusted to them.

He has mis-stated the story[t] in ancient Spanish history, of the princes of Lara or Carion, and the daughters of the Cid Rodrigo of Bivar. The princes fought, not one with another, but both of them against two of the kindred of the Cid, and were beaten, as they well deserved. This is however a trifle, and the wonder is rather that in so multifarious reading, and amid references to all writers and languages, his facts are so generally accurate.

In discussing Laws of Tribute, though, when just, he allows them to be binding on the conscience of the subject, and to oblige him not only to a passive but an active obedience, he stoutly inveighs against the oppression frequently practised by sovereigns and senates. But when he arrives at the question of obedience to kings, princes, and supreme civil powers, his doctrines are, as might be expected from a suffering loyalist of Charles the first's day, sufficiently devoted and unqualified. He assigns a greater degree of sacredness to kingly than any other government; he misrepresents the monarchy of Israel, which was in fact the most limited, except the Lacedæmonian, of any on record in ancient history; and he not only believes the legend of the martyred Thebæan legion, but insists with much apparent exultation on such an illustrious example of non-resistance. His arguments are however more to the purpose, when, following on the same side with Hooker, he justifies the power of the civil sovereign over persons and in causes ecclesiastical. They are directed both against the Roman catholics and the presbyterians; and, as well as the following chapter

[r] [vol. x. p. 97.]

[s] 'Law of Moses,' translated by Smith, art. clxxix. vol. iii. p. 44 sqq. [ed. ut sup.]

[t] [p. 139.]

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on church censures and canons, breathe throughout a moderate and christian spirit, and are well calculated to place in their true light those ecclesiastical powers, whose thunders sound so formidably in the church of Rome, and against which even in protestant churches many of the laity are strongly prejudiced, from a misconception of their limits, of their fitness, and their necessity. And I cannot help again observing that here also he speaks as strongly as ever against the interference of the civil sword in matters of religion;—

"This power"—he is speaking[u] of the commission given by Christ to His apostles and their successors—"this power and these commissions were wholly ministerial, without domination, without proper jurisdiction, that is, without coaction; it being wholly against the design of the religion that it should be forced, and it being far removed from persons so disposed, so employed, so instructed, to do it." "And therefore one of the requisites of a bishop is, 'he must be no striker:' he had no arms put into his hand to that purpose; the ecclesiastic state being furnished with authority, but no power; *auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate*... That which the ecclesiastics[x] can do" in the case of church censures "is a suspension of their own act, not any power over the actions of other men: and therefore is but an use of their own liberty, not an exercise of jurisdiction. He does the same thing in sacraments as he does in preaching; in both he declares the guilty person to be out of the way to heaven, to be obnoxious to the divine anger, to be a debtor of repentance: and refusing to baptize an evil catechumen, or to communicate an ill-living Christian, does but say the same thing; he speaks in one by signs, and in the other he signifies by words... This is *judicium*, not *jurisdictio*, a judging a man worthy or unworthy, which does not suppose a superiority of jurisdiction, but equals do it to their equals; though in this the clergy hath a superiority and a commission from God to do so." Even of this moderate and natural right he condemns the public exercise in the case of sovereign princes, who, as it is obviously unfit to subject them to open reproof or penance; so, when private reproof and private warnings and entreaties have failed, they may, as he conceives, be admitted, if they command it, to the communion[y].

This is indeed a difficult question, and one which is not likely to be a practical one. A wicked prince is not very often a hypocrite, and unless he be a hypocrite, it is not probable that he will force himself on rites for which he does not care. There is more courage and dignity in the conduct of S. Ambrose towards Theodosius; there is less danger to the public peace, and an almost equal certainty of obtaining the desired end, in the course recommended by Taylor.

The latter however makes another admission, which, if his life had been prolonged a few more years, might have involved him in a very serious difficulty of conscience, and would have divided him, if he had

[u] [p. 266.] [x] [p. 274.] [y] [p. 304.]

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acted on it, from all the best and wisest of his own order and religion. "The unlawful proclamations and edicts of a true prince may be published by the clergy in their several charges[z]!" I wish I had not found this in Taylor; and I thank heaven that this principle was not adopted by the English clergy in 1687. Yet for Taylor many allowances may be made, and many excuses offered for this and the other ultra-monarchical features of his creed. Accustomed as he was to see and feel all the tyranny which then plagued the land, from those who, under the colour of freedom, had disturbed and enslaved their country, it was hardly to be expected that his attention could be equally alive to the possibility of the same evils occurring under a legitimate sovereign. And above all let it be remembered, that his inclination for absolute monarchy, if it were unwise, was at least not interested or servile; that if he carried too high the power of a lawful king, it was when that lawful king was in exile. The *Ductor dubitantium*, though published at the moment of the Restoration, was written and printed while no such event could be looked for, and when all that could be gained by an unlimited loyalty was the suspicion or persecution of the ruling powers; imprisonment, fine, and aggravated indigence.

In examining the different institutions which are usually deduced from apostolical authority, he lays down as a general rule, though one, he admits, which can be very seldom applicable to practice, and which without some cogent reason it would be the height of presumption to put in force, that institutions merely of apostolical tradition, and relating to things in themselves indifferent, may be by the authority of the church in after times dispensed with. This liberty however he will not concede in the instances of the Lord's day, of the manner of administering the sacraments, or of episcopacy. The first he excepts not only on account of the fitness of the day itself, but because no other day can be preferred without a causeless neglect of apostolic authority; the others because they relate to the ministries of grace, which can only under ordinary circumstances be obtained or hoped for when sought after in the appointed manner.

To the forty days' Lent he refuses the character of an apostolical institution. He shews in fact with great learning, and very convincingly, that the primitive Lent was not of forty days, but of forty hours, being confined to the friday and saturday immediately preceding Easter[a]. To the weekly fasts of wednesday and friday he assigns however a much greater antiquity, both being named by Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian, though neither can on competent grounds be ascribed to any commandment of the apostles.

From some expressions in Rule xv. p. 370, it is evident that he regretted, as Wesley afterwards did, the discontinuance of the ancient practice of baptizing by immersion, and even of dipping three times in honour of the Trinity. Like Wesley, he condemns the practice of sprinkling altogether, as contrary both to the analogy of the cere-

[z] [p. 304.]

[a] [p. 383 sqq.—But see Gunning on the Lent fast.]

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mony, the apostolic tradition, and the canons of the English and Irish church. How in our climate, and with the contrary prejudices of the people, he would have settled his dispute with mothers and nurses, it is not very difficult to conjecture. The number of those neophytes who would be certified 'well able to endure immersion,' would probably be very limited.

Fond as he appears, from many passages in his writings, of chanting and psalmody, it may be suspected that he had no ear for music. It is singular to compare the reluctant permission which he gives to the use of organs in church, with the glow of feeling which their majestic tones excited in the breast of Milton[b].

The Romish prohibition of marriage, and the sacred authority assigned by their canonists to the decrees of general councils, he exposes[c] with nearly the same arguments, and an equal show of learning, as we have already seen him producing on the same topics in his two Dissuasives from Popery.

He closes the fourth chapter with a discussion of the case of subscription to ecclesiastical articles and forms of confession; which he insists with becoming strictness can only be done in the instance of the English church by those who sign in the sense of the imposers of the law, and who sincerely approve of that to which they thus express their consent. On the inexpediency of such subscriptions "to any articles which are not evidently true and necessary to be professed," he expresses the same opinions which he had previously urged in his 'Liberty of prophesying.' Opinions they are so amiable in themselves, and proceeding from a spirit so enlarged and so thoroughly christian, that our respect for the man is increased by them, even when we are not convinced by his arguments. Yet it may be thought, as I have already endeavoured to shew, that a subscription which would admit the papist, the protestant, the Arian, and the anabaptist within the walls of the same establishment, would in fact be equivalent to no subscription at all; and that though men may beyond a doubt be saved by the profession of the apostles' creed alone, yet of those who are to teach others, some further examination may well be accounted necessary. After all, Taylor's strongest arguments, both here and in the 'Liberty of prophesying,' apply less to such confessions in themselves than to the abuses to which they are liable; and while the supporters of every confession will plead "that it contains in their opinion no uncertain or unnecessary articles," no Christian that is worthy of the name will deny what Taylor[d] in the next place contends for, "that great regard be had, and great ease be done, to wise and peaceable dissenters."

His observations on parental authority, and on the 'interpretation, diminution and abrogation of human laws,' conclude this part of his subject.

The former is perhaps overlaid with too much unnecessary learning,

[b] [p. 411.] Compare *Il penseroso*. [c] [p. 415 sqq.] [d] [p. 450.]

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and with obsolete precedents of the power exercised by fathers in the ruder ages of society; and in the instance of marriage, he gives to parents a control too absolute over their children.

The latter contains some maxims of great truth and practical utility, as where he tells us, "There are some tacit exceptions in all laws that would not be tyrannical." Again, "When the reason of a law, commanding an action otherwise indifferent, does cease universally, the very negative ceasing, passes into the contrary of itself." "The subject may still do it without sin, but the prince cannot without sin command it to be done, when it is to no purpose." This rule, which Taylor applies to the trifling and absurd trials of obedience which some of the modern Romish saints imposed on the monks in their convents, will apply equally to all cases of obsolete and vexatious regulation, such as, for the very love of authority, are sometimes too dear to men in power.

There is one passage however in this chapter, which must not be allowed to escape without strong and unqualified reprobation; I mean the manner in which he coolly instances, and in some degree even justifies, that horrible law of the Roman republic[e] which decreed that if any single slave had killed his lord, all the slaves in the house should die for it. Had Taylor considered twice, he could not have thus expressed himself; but of such hideous cruelty and injustice, our detestation ought to be instinctive and immediate.

The fourth and last book, which discusses "the nature and causes of all human actions, good and evil," is perhaps the ablest part of the work, as it is certainly the most generally and practically useful.

It is divided into two chapters of very unequal length, of which the first treats of efficient, the other of final causes.

The former is an illustration and expansion of the principle, that the will of man is the seat of good and evil, and that actions are either good or evil according to the intention of the agent. He proves however, not only that an act of the will alone is imputed, both by God and man, to good or evil; but that a virtual and interpretative consent of the will may make us sharers in the action of another; while the involuntary consequences of a voluntary action are imputed to us as parts of that action, and as if themselves directly chosen.

All these propositions however he guards with many distinctions; and introduces many interesting discussions on the legality of different actions or habits connected with or illustrative of his principles.

Thus in his discussion of the rule that "the virtual and interpretative consent of the will is imputed to good or evil," besides some curious cases of "ratihabition and confirmation," he enters into two different enquiries, as to the lawfulness of indulging a guest with an excess of wine, ourselves remaining sober; and whether it be lawful to play at cards or dice?

The first, as may be believed, he answers with an indignant nega-

[e] [p. 512.]

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tive. The second he treats more tenderly, though he nevertheless inclines to the opinion that all playing for money is dangerous, if not unlawful.

As diminutions of voluntary actions, he reckons ignorance and fear, of which the first, when total and inevitable, he accounts a perfect annihilation of moral good or evil, the second only in those cases where the understanding is overpowered by the intensity of the danger.

Under the first head, he enquires what those things are of which a man may be innocently ignorant? what degree of diligence is required to exempt us from the charge of wilful or presumptuous ignorance? what is a probable ignorance? &c. He refuses the name of innocent ignorance to those professed Christians, who know not that which the universal church accounts necessary for salvation, though of disputed points he allows a man to doubt or to be ignorant with impunity. And he incidentally discusses the responsibility of children, at what time and according to what measures good or evil can be first imputed to them. Here also there are some expressions and illustrations which a reader of delicacy will wish away; but the whole work, it may be considered, is scarcely such as females, or very young persons, would study; and it is after all perhaps a curse inseparable from works of casuistry, that questions of a certain kind are always more or less involved in them.

On the final causes of human actions (his chapter concerning which is in fact an amplification of the principle that 'christianity is a religion of motives') his rules are only three; first, that to constitute a good action, the means and end must be symbolical; secondly, that for actions in themselves lawful, secondary motives are allowable; thirdly, that we are bound to regard the end and object of God's commandments, as well as the action commanded in order to the end.

All these he inculcates with his usual force and eloquence, but they offer nothing which calls for any peculiar comment. He concludes[f] with observing that "if our actions be designed well, they are likely to end well; for in the service of God a golden head shall never have the feet of clay. *Nomini tuo da gloriam!*"

Many, perhaps the greater part, of his positions are illustrated by examples or by apologues; the former chiefly extracted from the volumes of the Roman casuists, the latter sometimes, as he tells us in his preface, containing real facts, and cases of conscience which had fallen under his own knowledge, conveyed under fictitious names and circumstances.

Among the first of these is the famous story which Walpole has worked up into his tragedy of the 'Mysterious mother;' the scene of which has been often laid in England, and the time a little anterior to the Revolution, but which Taylor[g] relates as a Venetian anecdote, to be found in the writings of Comitolus. He uses it to illustrate the

[f] [p. 659.] [g] [vol. ix. p. 149.]

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position that "if an error be invincible, and the consequent of the persuasion be consistent with the state of grace, the error must rather be suffered than a grievous scandal, or an intolerable, or very great inconvenience;" and he approves of the conduct of those learned and charitable casuists who in that case determined to conceal from the young married couple the dreadful and complicated incest of which by that union they were innocently guilty.

It is not however from casuists or divines that he quotes alone. Historians, fathers, rabbies, poets, essayists, and jesters, are all ransacked for examples or illustrations, and he has given us one tale[h], not over decent, from (as he whimsically calls him) 'my lord Montaigne,' as well as the celebrated story from the *facetiæ* of Poggio, of the Italian robber, who, though his conscience was at rest as to the murders he had committed, was inconsolable for having accidentally broken his fast in Lent.

On the whole, the *Ductor dubitantium* is the work of a mind acute, vigorous, and imbued with an extent and variety of information which would have overburdened a meaner intellect, and by which Taylor himself is perhaps sometimes encumbered rather than adorned. A mind it is essentially poetical rather than critical, ardent in conception more than lucid in arrangement. Yet his conceptions in themselves are almost always clear, though he overlays them not unfrequently with a profusion of words and metaphors, and though he is apt to derive his first principles from springs of action in themselves circumstantial and secondary. But though it offers in some respects a less profound and original view of human motives than is to be met with in later writers; though its length renders it less readable, and the author's anxiety to say every thing on both sides of every question may leave a careless reader sometimes in suspense as to his final determination; it is still a work which few can read without profit, and none I think without entertainment. It resembles in some degree those ancient inlaid cabinets (such as Evelyn, Boyle, or Wilkins might have bequeathed to their descendents) whose multifarious contents perplex our choice, and offer to the admiration or curiosity of a more accurate age a vast wilderness of trifles and varieties, with no arrangement at all, or an arrangement on obsolete principles; but whose ebony drawers and perfumed recesses contain specimens of every thing that is precious or uncommon, and many things for which a modern museum might be searched in vain.

On the two works which conclude the fourteenth volume of this collection, I know not that many observations are necessary. 'The divine institution and necessity of the office ministerial[i]' enforces the same doctrines, and by nearly the same arguments, as have been already considered in speaking of his 'Episcopacy asserted.' The application however of those principles is in this place more general, and levelled

[h] [vol. ix. pp. 141, 695.]

[i] [p. 3 above.]

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rather at those fanatics who without any ordination intrude on the ministerial office, than against those who reject the apostolic form of ecclesiastical government in favour of an aristocracy of presbyters. As such it is perhaps better adapted to the evils of the present time than the work which I have formerly examined.

On the difficult question of lay-baptism, which naturally arises from his present subject, he expresses himself with a becoming doubt and moderation. The tendency of his mind is very plainly to the high-church doctrine, not only that the practice is illegal and presumptuous, but that the rite thus administered is invalid, and ought to be repeated. He admits however that the general practice of all christian churches has been different, and he joins with Augustine in expressing[k] his own hesitation, *Nescio an pie repetendum.*

Those who wish to see the difficulty discussed at greater length, or to learn what has been the practical decision of the church of England on this interesting enquiry, will find much curious learning and much sound sense in Bingham's 'Scholastic history of lay-baptism' (published in the second volume of his 'Ecclesiastical antiquities') and in the excellent 'Elucidation of the Common-prayer' by the late learned and amiable Mr. Shepherd[l]. In his 'Essay on Confirmation,' it is remarkable that Taylor himself[m] has varied from his severer opinion, and assents apparently to the usual and ancient principle of *Fieri non debuit, factum valet.*

His 'Rules and advices to the clergy[n]' are in a great degree extracted from his two sermons[o] already noticed on 'The minister's duty in life and doctrine.' They are methodized however, and in some instances enlarged and rendered more practical. They can hardly be read too often, or, with the necessary allowance for some difference of circumstances between Ireland and England, and between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century, be too carefully or too closely followed.

The 'Golden Grove[p]' begins with a short and simple catechism for young persons, but neither so short, so simple, nor so complete, as that which our liturgy supplies. It has the merit however of furnishing a more detailed explanation of some important circumstances in our religion than a more general and complete system of instruction could contain with the necessary regard to brevity; and may therefore be with advantage used in schools and families, conjointly with that of good dean Nowell.

The exposition of the creed which follows, deserves no higher praise than that of enumerating, under the different heads of the old and compendious confession, the various items which make up the sum of each. Sometimes he mistakes, like Doddridge, amplification for

[k] [See p. 26 above.]
[l] vol. ii. p. 415. [ed. 1828.]
[m] [vol. v. p. 646.]
[n] [p. 101 above.]
[o] [vol. viii. p. 499.]
[p] [vol. vii. p. 589.]

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explanation; and I do not know that a devout Christian gains much either of knowledge or edification by having the single word 'buried' decomposed into a statement which tells us how Christ, "that He might suffer every thing of human nature, was, by the care of His friends and disciples, by the leave of Pilate, taken from the cross and embalmed (as the manner of the Jews was to bury) and wrapt in linen, and buried in a new grave hewn out of a rock," &c. His commentaries however on the 'holy Ghost,' the 'holy catholic church,' and the 'communion of saints,' as they are more necessary and useful, so they are executed with his usual force and doctrinal precision. His *agenda* too, though in some particulars they are too ascetic and calculated (it may be thought) to make men formalists rather than sincerely and actively holy, are generally speaking excellent; and his *postulanda* better still. The 'Litanies for all things and persons' only rank inferior to that in our church service; and the other prayers, though some of them too wordy, are such as can hardly be uttered or even read without exciting a spirit of devotion.

At the end of the 'Golden Grove' are some hymns for different festivals, which, had they no other merit, would be interesting as the only remaining specimens of that which a mind so intrinsically poetical as Taylor's was, could effect when he attempted to arrange his conceptions in a metrical form. They are however in themselves, and on their own account, very interesting compositions. Their metre indeed, which is that species of spurious Pindaric which was fashionable with his contemporaries, is an obstacle, and must always have been one, to their introduction into public or private psalmody; and the mixture of that alloy of conceits and quibbles which was an equally frequent and still greater defilement of some of the finest poetry of the seventeenth century, will materially diminish their effect as devotional or descriptive odes. Yet with all these faults, they are powerful, affecting, and often harmonious: there are many passages of which Cowley need not have been ashamed; and some which remind us, not disadvantageously, of the corresponding productions of Milton.

Such is the whole of the second hymn for Advent. Such too is the passage[q] in his 'Meditation on heaven,' where he describes—

> That bright eternity
> Where the great King's transparent throne
> Is of an entire jasper stone:
> There the eye
> O' th' chrysolite
> And a sky
> Of diamonds, rubies, chrysoprase,
> And above all, Thy holy face,
> Makes an eternal clarity.
> When Thou Thy jewels up dost bind, that day
> Remember us, we pray;
> That where the beryl lies,
> And the crystal, 'bove the skies,

[q] [p. 656.]

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There Thou mayst appoint us place,
Within the brightness of Thy face;
And our soul
In the scroll
Of life and blissfulness enroll
That we may praise Thee to eternity.

A more regular metre, and words more applicable to public devotion, may be found in the 'Prayer for charity[r].'

Full of mercy, full of love,
Look upon us from above!
Thou who taught'st the blind man's night
To entertain a double light,
Thine, and the day's (and that Thine too;)
The lame away his crutches threw;
The parched crust of leprosy
Return'd unto its infancy;
The dumb amazed was to hear
His own unchain'd tongue strike his ear:
Thy powerful mercy did even chase
The devil from his usurp'd place,
Where Thou thyself shouldst dwell, not he.
Oh, let Thy love our pattern be;
Let Thy mercy teach one brother
To forgive and love another,
That copying Thy mercy here,
Thy goodness may hereafter rear
Our souls unto Thy glory, when
Our dust shall cease to be with men.

His work on the psalter[s] has no resemblance to those of Hammond, Horsley, or even Horne. It merely consists of one or more prayers to each psalm, more or less appropriate to their respective subjects, and followed by a collection of devotions for various occasions. All these last are not original; all however are devout and practical, and in the alternations of a regular and systematic piety may be useful. His recommendation, in the preface, of the psalter as a guide to, and foundation for, as well as an unfailing accompaniment of our daily prayers, is at once characteristic and sensible, and deserves the serious attention of those who have hitherto paid a less habitual deference to the most devotional and one of the most instructive parts of the sacred volume.

The 'Collection of Offices[t]' was intended as a substitute for the Common-prayer, when the use of this last was proscribed. As a substitute, it is certainly well adapted to its end, and this being the case, it is no disparagement to say that it falls extremely short of its original. There are however some beautiful prayers in the occasional offices, for widows,—the persecuted,—the prisoners,—the sick and the lunatic, which are admirably qualified to give comfort and relief to the broken heart, and may afford very valuable assistance to the clergy in the most popular and one of the most important of their ministries. The

[r] [p. 662.] [See additions to note (J) p. cclvii. below.] [s] [vol. viii. p. 573.]

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penitential litany at the end of the work, is a striking summary of human crimes and follies.

The last in date, and one of the best and most useful of his devotional works, is his 'Worthy communicant,' which is indeed, as its subject required, not only devotional but practical, and embraces in itself many of the same powerful and persuasive arguments against the self-flattery of the unrepenting sinner, and the needless terrors of the scrupulous conscience, which are detailed at greater length, and with a larger display of authorities, in the controversial and casuistical works which occupy the preceding volumes. This indeed, with the 'Holy living and dying,' may be said to offer a complete summary of the duties and specimen of the devotions of a Christian; in which, while no necessary question of practice or piety is passed over, no doubtful or merely controversial question is admitted. In the lessons which flow from this chair, in the incense which flames on this altar, the sound of worldly polemics is hushed, the light of worldly fires becomes dim. We see a saint in his closet, a christian bishop in his ministry, and we rise from the intercourse impressed and softened with a sense how much our own practice yet needs amendment, and how mighty has been that faith of which these are the fruits, that hope of which these are the pledges and prelibations.

Of the broader and more general lines of Taylor's literary character, a very few observations may be sufficient. The greatness of his attainments, and the powers of his mind, are evident in all his writings, and to the least attentive of his readers. It is hard to point out a branch of learning or of scientific pursuit to which he does not occasionally allude; or any author of eminence, either ancient or modern, with whom he does not evince himself acquainted. And it is certain, that as very few other writers have had equal riches to display, so he is apt to display his stores with a lavish exuberance, which the severer taste of Hooker or of Barrow would have condemned as ostentatious, or rejected as cumbersome. Yet he is far from a mere reporter of other men's arguments, a textuary of fathers and schoolmen, who resigns his reason into the hands of his predecessors, and who employs no other instrument for convincing his readers than a lengthened string of authorities. His familiarity with the stores of ancient and modern literature is employed to illustrate more frequently than to establish his positions; and may be traced not so much in direct citation (though of this too there is perhaps more than sufficient) as in the abundance of his allusions, the character of his imagery, and the frequent occurrence of terms of foreign derivation, or employed in a foreign and unusual meaning.

It is thus that he more than once refers to obscure stories in ancient writers, as if they were of necessity as familiar to all his readers as himself; that he talks of 'poor Attilius Aviola,' or 'the Lybian lion' that 'brake loose into his wilderness and killed two Roman boys,' as if the

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accidents of which he is speaking had occurred in London a few weeks before. It is thus that in warning an English (or a Welsh) auditory against the brief term of mortal luxury, he enumerates a long list of ancient dainties, and talks of 'the condited bellies of the *scarus*,' and 'drinking of healths by the numeral letters of Philenium's name.' It is thus that one of his strangest and harshest similes, where he compares an ill-sorted marriage to 'going to bed with a dragon,' is the suggestion of a mind familiar with those *lamiæ* with female faces and extremities like a serpent, of whose enticements strange stories are told in the old dæmonologies. And thus that he speaks of the 'justice' instead of the 'juice' of fishes; of an 'excellent' pain; of the gospel being preached not to 'the common people' but to 'idiots;' and of 'serpents' (meaning 'creeping things') devouring our bodies in the grave. It is this which gives to many of his most striking passages the air of translations, and which in fact may well lead us to believe that some of them are indeed the selected members of different and disjointed classics.

On the other hand, few circumstances can be named which so greatly contribute to the richness of his matter, the vivacity of his style, and the harmony of his language, as those copious drafts on all which is wise, or beautiful, or extraordinary, in ancient writers or in foreign tongues; and the very singularity and hazard of his phrases have not unfrequently a peculiar charm, which the observers of a tamer and more ordinary diction can never hope to inspire.

One of these archaisms, and a very graceful one, is the introduction of the comparative degree, simply and without its contrasted quantity, of which he has made a very frequent use, but which he has never employed without producing an effect of striking beauty.

Thus, he tells us of 'a more healthy sorrow;' of 'the air's looser garment, or the wilder fringes of the fire;' which, though in a style purely English they would be probably replaced by positive or superlative epithets, could hardly suffer this change without a considerable detraction from the spirit and raciness of the sentence. The same observation may apply to the use of 'prevaricate' in an active sense; to 'the temeration of ruder handlings;' and to many similar expressions, which, if unusual, are at least expressive and sonorous, and which could hardly be replaced by the corresponding vernacular phrases without a loss of brevity or beauty. Of such expressions as these it is only necessary to observe that their use, to be effectual or allowable, should be more discreet perhaps, and infrequent, than is the case in the works of Taylor.

I have already noticed the familiarity which he himself displays, and which he apparently expected to find in an almost equal degree in his readers or hearers, with the facts of history, the opinions of philosophy, the productions of distant climates, and the customs of distant nations. Nor in the allusions or examples which he extracts from such sources is he always attentive to the weight of authority, or the probability of

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the fact alleged. The age indeed in which he lived was in many respects a credulous one. The discoveries which had been made by the enterprise of travellers, and the unskilful and as yet immature efforts of the new philosophy, had extended the knowledge of mankind just far enough to make them know that much yet remained uncertain, and that many things were true which their fathers had held for impossible. Such absence of scepticism is, of all states of the human mind, most favourable to the increase of knowledge; but for the preservation of truths already acquired, and the needful separation of truth from falsehood, it is necessary to receive the testimony of men, however positive, with more of doubt than Boyle, Wilkins, or even Bacon, appear to have been accustomed to exercise.

But Taylor was any thing rather than a critical enquirer into facts (however strange) of history or philosophy. If such alleged facts suited his purpose, he received them without examination, and retailed them without scruple; and we therefore read in his works of such doubtful or incredible examples as that of a single city containing fifteen million of inhabitants; of the Neapolitan manna, which failed as soon as it was subjected to a tax; and of the monument 'nine furlongs high,' which was erected by Ninus the Assyrian.

Nor in his illustrations, even when they refer to matters of daily observation, or of undoubted truth, is he always attentive to accuracy. "When men sell a mule," he tells us, "they speak of the horse that begat him, not of the ass that bore him:" it is singular that he should forget that of mules the ass is always the father. What follows is still more extraordinary, inasmuch as it shews a forgetfulness of the circumstances of two of the most illustrious events in the Old testament. "We should fight," says he, "as Gideon did, with three hundred hardy brave fellows that would stand against all violence, rather than to make a noise with ram's horns and broken pitchers, like the men at the siege of Jericho." Had he thought twice, he must have recollected that 'making a noise' was at least one principal part of the service required from Gideon's troops, and that the 'broken pitchers' were their property alone, and a circumstance of which the narrative of the siege of Jericho affords not the least mention.

An occasional occurrence of such errors is indeed unavoidable; and, irrelevant as some of his illustrations are, and uncertain as may be the truth of others, there is none perhaps of his readers who would wish those illustrations fewer, to which his works owe so much of their force, their impressiveness, and their entertainment. As a reasoner, I do not think him matchless[a]. He is indeed always acute, and in practical questions almost always sensible. His knowledge was so vast, that on every point of discussion he set out with great advantage, as being familiar with all the necessary preliminaries of the question, and with every ground or argument which had been elicited on either

[a] [See note (E *) p. cclii. below.]

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side by former controversies. But his own understanding was rather inventive than critical. He never failed to find a plausible argument for any opinion which he himself entertained; he was as ready with plausible objections to every argument which might be advanced by his adversaries; and he was completely master of the whole detail of controversial attack and defence, and of every weapon of eloquence, irony, or sarcasm, which was most proper to persuade or to silence. But his own views were sometimes indistinct, and often hasty. His opinions therefore, though always honest and ardent, he had sometimes occasion in the course of his life to change; and instances have been already pointed out, not only where his reasoning is inconclusive, but where positions ardently maintained in some of his writings are doubted or denied in others. But it should be remembered how much he wrote during a life in itself not long, and in its circumstances by no means favourable to accurate research or calm reasoning. Nor can it be a subject of surprise that a poor and oppressed man should be sometimes hurried too far in opposition to his persecutors, or that one who had so little leisure for the correction of his works should occasionally be found to contradict and repeat himself.

I have already had occasion to point out the versatility of his talents, which, though uniformly exerted on subjects appropriate to his profession, are distinguished, where such weapons are needed, by irony and caustic humour, as well as by those milder and sublimer beauties of style and sentiment which are his more familiar and distinguishing characteristics. Yet to such weapons he has never recourse either wantonly or rashly: nor do I recollect any instance in which he has employed them in the cause of private or personal, or even polemical hostility, or any occasion where their fullest severity was not justified and called for by crimes, by cruelty, by interested superstition, or base and sordid hypocrisy. His satire was always kept in check by the depth and fervour of his religious feelings, his charity, and his humility.

It is on devotional and moral subjects however that the peculiar character of his mind is most, and most successfully, developed. To this service he devotes his most glowing language, to this his aptest illustrations: his thoughts, and his words, at once burst into a flame, when touched by the coals of this altar; and whether he describes the duties, or dangers, or hopes of man, or the mercy, power, and justice of the Most high; whether he exhorts or instructs his brethren, or offers up his supplications in their behalf to the common Father of all, his conceptions and his expressions belong to the loftiest and most sacred description of poetry, of which they only want, what they cannot be said to need, the name and the metrical arrangement.

It is this distinctive excellence, still more than the other qualifications of learning and logical acuteness, which has placed him, even in that age of gigantic talent, on an eminence superior to any of his immediate contemporaries; which has exempted him from the compa-

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rative neglect[v] into which the dry and repulsive learning of Andrewes and Sanderson has fallen; which has left behind the acuteness of Hales, and the imaginative and copious eloquence of bishop Hall, at a distance hardly less than the cold elegance of Clark, and the dull good sense of Tillotson; and has seated him, by the almost unanimous estimate of posterity, on the same lofty elevation with Hooker and with Barrow.

Of such a triumvirate, who shall settle the precedence? Yet it may perhaps be not far from the truth to observe, that Hooker claims the foremost rank in sustained and classic dignity of style, in political and pragmatical wisdom; that to Barrow the praise must be assigned of the closest and clearest views, and of a taste the most controlled and chastened; but that in imagination, in interest, in that which more properly and exclusively deserves the name of genius, Taylor is to be placed before either. The first awes most, the second convinces most, the third persuades and delights most: and (according to the decision of one whose own rank among the ornaments of English literature yet remains to be determined by posterity) Hooker is the object of our reverence, Barrow of our admiration, and Jeremy Taylor of our love[x].

[v] [It was within the period of one generation from Taylor's death, that Shaftesbury, having spoken of 'his many devotional works' was able to add, concerning their popularity, as follows,—'In effect, we see the reverend doctor's treatises standing, as it were, in the front of this order of authors, and as the foremost of those 'good books' used by the politest and most refined devotees of either sex. They maintain the principal place in the study of almost every elegant and high divine. They stand in folios and other volumes, adorned with variety of pictures, gildings, and other decorations, on the advanced shelves or glass cupboards of the lady's closets. They are in use at all seasons, and for all places, as well for church-service as closet-preparation; and, in short, may vie with any devotional books in British christendom. And for the life and character of the man himself, I leave it to you, gentlemen, . . to except against it if you think proper.' Characteristics, vol. iii. misc. 5. ch. 3.

About the same time the most popular of all Taylor's devotional works was made to play a part in the quarrels of a court;—The Duchess of Marlborough 'wrote the queen' (Anne) 'a long letter, in some passages extremely insolent, but finishing with a schooling lecture on the necessity of forgiveness of injuries before communication' at the Lord's supper. 'She likewise obliged the queen with a Prayer-book, interlined, and a copy of Jeremy Taylor's 'Holy Living and Dying,' with the leaves marked and turned down of the passages by which her majesty's soul was to profit before partaking of the sacred rite.'—Miss Strickland's Life of Queen Anne.

Narcissa, in Pope's 'Characters of Women,' is described as

'Now deep in Taylor and the Book of Martyrs,
Now drinking citron with his grace and Chartres.']

[x] [Πάντες μὲν σοφοί· ἐγὼ δὲ] Ὤκηρον μὲν σέβω· θαυμάζω δὲ Βάρρουον, καὶ φιλῶ Ταίλωρον. Note to Parr's Spital sermon, [who refers to Lucian, Demonax 62. Ἐρωτηθείς δέ ποτε, τίς αὐτῷ ἀρέσκοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἔφη, Πάντες μὲν θαυμαστοί· ἐγὼ δὲ Σωκράτη μὲν σέβω, θαυμάζω δὲ Διογένην, καὶ φιλῶ Ἀρίστιππον.] This characteristic and powerful sentence has been already noticed by archdeacon Bonney.

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NOTES.

NOTE (A.)

Mr. Bonney supposes him to have been their second son; but I am indebted to the kindness of my friend and connexion, Mr. Julius Hare, fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, for the following list, extracted from the parish register, which makes it apparent that he had two elder brothers, and one elder sister. There are other persons of the same name mentioned in the register, but none whom we have any reason to suppose connected with the bishop's family. Nor is it quite certain that the surname of Nathaniel Tayler's wife is correctly spelled, the writing in the register being very indistinct. As their first son was named Edmond, it is probable that the Edmond Taylor entered as churchwarden, was Nathaniel's father or near relation.

"1589. Edmond Taylor, churchwarden.
1605. Nathaniel Taylor and Mary Dean, married the 13th of October.
1606. Edmond Taylor, churchwarden.
—— Edmond, son of Nathaniel and Mary Taylor, bapt. August 3.
1607. Edmond Taylor, buried 22d September.
1609. Mary Taylor, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 11th June.
1611. Nathaniel Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 8 December.
1613. Jeremy Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 15 August.
1616. Thomas Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 21 July.
1619. John Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 13 April.
1621. Churchwardens, Tobias Smith and Nathaniel Taylor."

There are two old houses in Cambridge, which tradition points out as claimants for the honour of having been the place of Taylor's birth. The preference seems to rest with that which is now the Bull inn, opposite Trinity church. The rival tenement, known by the sign of the Wrestlers, in the Petty Cury, is, as I am assured, beyond the limits of the parish where Jeremy Taylor and his brothers were baptized, where his parents were married, and where his father, as above stated, served the office of churchwarden.

NOTE (B.)

The arms are "Ermine, on a chief indented sable, three escallops, or; the crest a lion rampant, issuant, ermine, having between his paws a ducal coronet, or." I find in Gwyllim's Heraldry, p. 244, (a book so full of odd infor-

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mation and entertainment of a peculiar kind, as almost to justify the predilection of sir Hildebrand Osbaldiston,) that "this coat was confirmed to Roger Taylor, son of Thomas Taylor, son of Roger Taylor, of London, esquire, by sir William Segar, Garter, December 4, 1674, in the 12th year of king James the first." But my enquiries at the heralds' office have not succeeded in tracing any connection between this family, and that either of the bishop, or doctor Rowland Taylor.—[See Taylor's letter to Dugdale, p. xxxv. above.]

NOTE (C.)

The account of Rowland Taylor's character and sufferings may be found in the Book of Martyrs, p. 155, ed. 1752, and in Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. ii. p. 483. The spot where he suffered on Aldham common was distinguished in after times by a rude stone with a ruder inscription:—

Doctor Taylor, for defending what was good,
In this place shed his blood.

This was enclosed with iron rails by David Wilkins, D.D., rector of Hadleigh in 1721. (See Nichols' Illustrations of Literary History, vol. iii. p. 436.) In 1819, a neat obelisk was erected above it by subscription, with the following spirited lines from the pen of the rev. Dr. Hay Drummond:—

"This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.

Mark this rude stone, where Taylor dauntless stood,
Where zeal infuriate drank the martyr's blood!
Hadleigh! that day how many a tearful eye
Saw thy loved pastor dragg'd a victim by!
Still scattering gifts and blessings as he past,
To the blind pair his farewell alms were cast.
His clinging flock ev'n here around him pray'd,
'As thou hast aided us, be God thine aid!'
Nor taunts, nor bribe of mitred rank, nor stake,
Nor blows, nor flames, his heart of firmness shake
Serene, his folded hands, his upward eyes,
Like holy Stephen's, seek the opening skies:—
There, fixed in rapture, his prophetic sight
Views truth dawn clear on England's bigot night.
Triumphant saint! he bow'd to kiss the rod;
Then soar'd on seraph wing to meet his God!"

NOTE (D.)

In the note of Jeremy Taylor's admission at Caius college (see Bonney, p. 3, 4, note,) his tutor Bachcroft represents him as fifteen years of age, and as having been for ten years under the tuition of Mr. Lovering. But in 1626, the year of his entrance, he cannot have been more than thirteen, and he is represented as no more by his friend and encomiast bishop Rust. It is probable therefore that his parents, in order to facilitate his becoming a member of the university, represented him as older than he really was, and as having attended school longer than he could have done with any advantage. Hence however a degree of uncertainty has attached itself to his age; and sir James

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Ware, in the catalogue of Irish bishops, has supposed him at the time of his death to have been two years older than he really can have been.—[See note to p. xiii. above.]

NOTE (E.)

In the *Pietas puerilis* of Erasmus [*inter colloq. famil.* tom. i. col. 650 B] the young scholar is made to say, *Adornata parentibus mensa, recito consecrationem; deinde prandentibus ministro, donec jubeor et ipse prandium sumere.*

[NOTE (E*.)

In Des Maiseaux' Life of Chillingworth, p. 50, ed. 1725, occurs a sentence which has been thought with much probability to refer to Jeremy Taylor during his residence in Oxford, and which will be read with interest. Chillingworth is writing to a friend whom he addresses as 'Deare Harry,' and who is supposed to be the same with Henry (afterwards sir Henry) Coventry: and in alluding to a conversation which he had lately had before leaving Oxford with this 'Harry' and Mr. Coventry, introduces the name of another person, who appears to have been present at the conversation;—

"Mr. Taylor did much confirme my opinion of his sufficience; but let mee tell you in your eare—methinks he wants much of the ethicall part of a discourser, and slights too much many times the arguments of those he discourses with: but this is a fault he would quickly leave, if he had a friend that would discreetly tell him of it. If you or Mr. Coventry would tell him, that you heard one that knows him, magnifye him exceedingly for other things, but censure him for this, you might doe him a very friendly office: and my writing to you thus gives you ground enough to say so truly; but you must not give the least suspicion that I am the man, and therefore not do it yet a good while."

Taylor's character as a controversialist in later years was certainly open to the remark conveyed in the above sentence, and makes it sufficiently probable (the date and other circumstances agreeing) that he was the person referred to.]

NOTE (F.)

The archbishop's letter of recommendation is as follows: it has been already published by my friend Mr. Bliss, in his excellent edition of the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, art. Taylor, p. 782, vol. iii., from Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian. A copy also, corresponding exactly with this, is in the archives of All Souls.

"To the warden and fellows of All-Souls coll. Oxford.

Salutem in Christo.

"These are on the behalf of an honest man and a good scholar: Mr. Osborn, being to give over his fellowship, was with me at Lambeth, and, I thank him, freely proferred me the nomination of a scholar to succeed in his place. Now having seriously deliberated with myself touching this business, and being willing to recommend such an one to you as you might thank me for, I

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am resolved to pitch upon Mr. Jeremiah Taylour, of whose abilitys and sufficiencys every ways I have received very good assurance. And I do hereby heartily pray you to give him all furtherance by yourself and the fellows at the next election, not doubting but that he will approve himself a worthy and learned member of your society. And tho' he has had his breeding for the most part in the other university, yet I hope that shall be no prejudice to him, in regard that he is incorporated into Oxford (*ut sit eodem ordine, gradu, &c.*) and admitted into University college. Neither can I learn that there is any thing in your local statutes against it. I doubt not but you will use him with so fair respects as befits a man of his rank and learning, for which I shall not fail to give you thanks. So I leave him to your kindness, and rest

Your loving friend

WILLIAM CANT.

Lambeth House, October 28, 1635."

My authority for the account I have given of the proceedings of the college in consequence of this letter, is a certificate signed 'William Page,' contained in a note to a MS. copy of the statutes of All Souls, with many marginal observations, which formerly belonged to warden Gardiner, and is now kept in the warden's lodgings as an heir-loom. Page gives the account nearly as I have stated it, and vouches from his own knowledge (he having been a fellow of the college at the time) that the fellows were 'almost unanimous in their election of Taylor.'

The William Page whose narrative this is, was a person of some reputation among his contemporaries. He became a fellow of All Souls, 1619, and was afterwards, through the patronage of Laud, rector of Reading school, and of East Locking near Wantage. He wrote, among other things, a treatise on bowing at the name of Jesus, which archbishop Abbot commanded him to suppress, but which Laud on succeeding to the primacy encouraged him to publish.—Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. ii. p. 332. ed. 1721[a].

The nomination of Taylor to the fellowship on its devolving, as I have stated, to the visitor, has been also published both by Mr. Bliss and Mr. Bonney.

Nominatio Jer. Taylor ad locum Socii in Coll. Omn. Anim. Oxon.

Gulielmus providentia divina Cant: archiep'us, totius Angliæ primus et metropol. necnon universitatis Oxon. cancellar. collegiique Animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum de Oxon. visitator, patronus et ordinarius. Dilectis nobis in Christo custodi, vice-custodi, omnibusque et singulis dicti collegii sociis et scholaribus salutem et gratiam. Cum locus socii artistæ collegii vestri dudum vacaverit et vacuus est in præsenti, cumque potestas supplendi deficientem numerum sociorum vestrorum nobis per statuta vestri collegii sit reservata, ratione negligentiæ vestræ, eo quod dictus locus socii vacantis infra dies in statutis

[a] [Wood is in error here, in two points. First, the Page who was appointed master of Reading school (in 1636) was a fellow of St. John's, and only M.A., whereas Wm. Page of All Souls took the degree of D.D. in 1634. See Abp. Laud's Berkshire Benefactions, pp. 15, 9; Lond. 1841. Secondly, Laud when he encouraged the publication of Page's book was bishop of London, not abp. of Canterbury. See Laud's History of his chancellorship, p. 89, and Bliss's note.]

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collegii vestri limitatos per vos non fuerit perimpletus: nos numerum sociorum vestrorum secundum potestatem a fundatore vestro nobis commissam implere volentes, Jeremiam Taylor artium m^r^ ad dictum locum artistæ vacantem designamus, vobis mandantes ut præfatum Jeremiam Taylor ad dictum locum vacantem secundum formam statutorum collegii vestri recipiatis et admittatis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum archiep'ale præsentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. in manerio nostro de Lambehith, vicesimo primo die mensis Novembris, anno D'ni 1635, *et nostræ trans. anno tertio.*

In consequence of this mandate Taylor was admitted, as appears by the college book, where he is described as *Jeremias Taylor, Dioc. Elie. Artium Mag.* 1636. *Jan.* 14. It is remarkable that both he and two others who were admitted at the same time are described as admitted *in veros et perpetuos socios.* But to become an actual fellow in the first instance, without a previous year of probation, is a privilege peculiar to founder's kin. How Taylor came by it I am ignorant. If I could trace his descent to any of the families connected with the stock of Chichele, it would sufficiently confirm my hypothesis of his gentility; but on this point I am without information.—[Taylor was elected probationary fellow, Nov. 3, 1635, and actual fellow, Jan. 14, 1636. —Willmott.]

NOTE (G.)

"Then followed the charge of Sancta Clara's book, *alias* Mounsieur S^t^. Giles: so they expressed it, and I must follow the way they lead me. First then, they charge that I had often conference with him while he was writing his book intituled *Deus, Natura, Gratia.* No; he never came to me till he was ready to print that book. Then some friends of his brought him to me. His suit then was, that he might print that book here. Upon speech with him, I found the scope of his book to be such, as that the church of England would have little cause to thank him for it: and so absolutely denied it. Nor did he ever come more at me after this, but twice or thrice at most, when he made great friends to me, that he might print another book to prove that bishops are by divine right. My answer then was, that I did not like the way which the church of Rome went in the case of episcopacy. And howsoever, that I would never give way that any such book should be printed here from the pen of a Romanist, and that the bishops of England were able to defend their own cause and calling, without calling in aid from Rome; and would in due time. Maintenance he never had any from me, nor did I then know him to be a priest. Nor was there any proof so much as offered in contrary to any of this."—Laud's Troubles and Trials, p. 385.

For the manner of Davenport's introduction to Laud by Lindsell, see Canterbury's Doom, p. 427; quoted in the *Athenæ Oxonienses,* vol. iii. col. 1223.

NOTE (H.)

Quotidianis eorum quos regiæ commendarent literæ ad gradum quemcunque promotionibus lassata demum universitas, frequentem vicesimo primo Febr. senatum coegit, in quo vice-cancellarii et præfectorum libellus supplex, regi

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contra gradus temere et quasi fortuito conferendos porrigendus, palam recitatur. Hi vero damna nobis necessario facienda Carolo ob oculos ponebant, actibus utique et exercitiis quibusque scholasticis in desuetudinem abeuntibus, vel etiam omnino deletis, ærarium academicum exinanitum fore, restinctis quoque magnorum ingeniorum studiis summa universitatem infamia laboraturam edocentes. Accepto autem supplici illo togatorum libello, tunc quidem ostendit rex quam vere et animitus bonarum literarum curam ageret. Quamvis enim et opibus et authoritate haud adeo abundanti percommodum videretur fidem suorum et officia honoribus togatis remunerare, statuit tamen et edixit nequis gradum academicum in quæstum ambiens literas suas commendatrices deinceps expectaret; quod si cuiquam concederentur, ad locum inter academicos quem expeteret habilem sese et idoneum secundum statuta probaret, cautionem de præstandis exercitiis interponeret, et feuda consueta persolveret; aliter nullam literarum suarum habendam esse rationem.—Wood, *Hist. et Ant. Ox. ann.* 1642. l. i. p. 358.

NOTE (I.)

"I had no books," says Taylor, "of my own here, nor any in the voisinage; and but that I remembered the result of some of those excellent discourses I had heard your lordship make, when I was so happy as in private to gather up what your temperance and modesty forbids to be public, I had come *in prælia inermis*, and like enough might have fared accordingly."—Epistle dedicatory to the Liberty of prophesying, vol. v. p. 343. [And at the end of the epistle, p. 364, .. "Your lordship knows your own; for out of your mines I have digged the mineral, only I have stamped it with my own image, as you may perceive by the deformities which are in it."] For the encouragement and assistance afforded by Hatton to Dugdale, see Wood, *Athen.* ii. *Fasti*, p. 92; and Dugdale's dedication to the Antiquities of Warwickshire. Hatton's loyalty and attachment to the church of England have been never impeached. Of the first, the letter from king Charles, published by Mr. Bonney, is an evidence: as is also the sequestration of his estate by the parliament in 1649; Whitelock, p. 125. The latter was shewn by the pains which he took in frustrating the attempt of queen Henrietta Maria to bring over the duke of Gloucester to popery; see Clarendon, Hist. Reb. iii. 426; and Carte, Life of Ormond, ii. pp. 164, 7, 8. It is something remarkable that none of Taylor's biographers have noticed a passage in his dedication of the Great Exemplar, in which he appears to claim kindred with Hatton. He there 'entreats his lordship to account him in the number of his relatives.' This is a very unusual expression, if he meant by it no more than 'friends' or 'dependants;' and the word 'relative' is elsewhere employed by Taylor in its usual and modern acceptation. The family of Taylor himself is involved in so much obscurity, that it is hopeless to enquire whether or at what period his ancestors had become connected with those of his patron. But the connexion (though it would in this case hardly amount to relationship) may have been through one of his wives; though on this point also I am without information.—[See note to p. xxxviii. above.]

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NOTE (J.)

The first edition of this work is in 12mo., entitled, 'The psalter of David, with titles and collects according to the matter of each psalm. By the right honourable Christopher Hatton. Oxon. 1644.' The same work occurs in Royston's catalogue at the end of 'The Great Exemplar, Lond. 1653.' And the 'Fifth edition, with additionals,' is mentioned in the catalogue of the same bookseller, appended to the Σύμβολον Ἠθικο-πολεμικὸν, Lond. 1657.

In both cases it is said to be by the right honourable Christopher Hatton; and accordingly it is regarded as his work by both Wood and Collins. The preface however, and many of the prayers, bear evident marks of Taylor's characteristic and inimitable workmanship. And at length, in the eighth edition enlarged, published by Royston in 1672, the name of Hatton is omitted, and that of 'Jer. Taylor, D.D., Chaplain to king Charles 1st, of blessed memory,' is inserted in its place.—To these facts nothing can be opposed but the assertion in the preface that its author did not 'wait at the altar.' But if the work were designed to pass for Hatton's, such an expression is no more than we should expect to find; and the authenticity of the volume is now indeed very generally acknowledged.

For most of the facts contained in the above note, I have again to acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Bonney's manuscript information.

[Note.—The 'psalter' is omitted from the present edition of Taylor's works.

The book was originally put forth as Hatton's, and for many years currently known and spoken of as his. In the Bodleian library are two copies; the one bearing date 1644, and having this MS. note in the beginning, with every appearance of originality, "For the use of the publique library of the famous university of Oxford, in testimony of the high esteem and affection towards her by Chr. Hatton." The other is of date 1646, with this MS. note, "Liber Thom. Barlow e coll. Reg. Oxōn. ex dono honoratissimi viri Chtophori Domini Hatton authoris."

In Roger North's Life (p. 251, 4to. Lond. 1744) of the hon. and rev. Dr. John North, who was nephew of lady Hatton, the author, having occasion to mention lord Hatton, says, "This noble lord had bright parts, and professed also to be religious; for he published the book of psalms, with a prayer suitable to each, formed by himself: which book is called 'Hatton's Psalms,' and may be found in the closets of divers devout persons. Such difference is often found between men's pretensions and actions." (Compare Rochester's 'Meditation,' mentioned by Macaulay, Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 73, ed. 1849.) The writer here, though entertaining no respect for lord Hatton, and alive to the inconsistency which there was between the book and the character of the person, does not hint that it was not his, or seem even to have heard of the suspicion.

The book has been commonly referred to as "Lord Hatton's Psalms:" see Comber, Companion to the Temple, part i. sect. 8. Dr. Edward Hyde ('Christ

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and His Church,' 1658, p. 302) speaking of the author of the book as that 'noble' champion of Christ, would seem to have alluded to Hatton's rank.

On the other side;—In the Ashmolean library is a copy of the 'psalter,' first ed. 1644, with MS. notes by Ant. Wood, to the effect that it was written by Taylor, but got together and published by Hatton.

A note by Antony Wood is but little authority; and a similar testimony of his is set aside, vol. iii. p. 447. Nevertheless it does appear that Hatton and Taylor did in a measure write in concert; see note (l) above. And on the whole, the present editor is inclined to believe that Taylor had a large hand in the psalter from the first: assisting his friend perhaps with the learning of the preface, and contributing something to the piety of the prayers. The impression of its being Taylor's rather than Hatton's would be gradually deepened as time went on, by the internal evidence of the book, and by the characters of the men respectively; and thus Royston was enabled in 1672 to put it forth with the more honoured name of Taylor.

The preface seems to the present editor to be professedly written by a person in Hatton's position rather than in Taylor's; and the book must, he considers, be presented to the world as Hatton's, though with an understood probability that Taylor gave large assistance towards it.]

NOTE (K.)

William Nicholson was the son of Christopher Nicholson, a rich clothier of Stratford, near Hadleigh, Suffolk. He was brought up as a chorister at Magdalen college, Oxford, where he was afterwards bible-clerk; and eventually became tutor to the lord Percy, and chaplain to his father the earl of Northumberland. In 1616 he was elected master of the free-school at Croydon, where his discipline and powers of instruction were much celebrated. He resigned this situation in 1629, when he obtained the rectory of Llandilo Vawr, in Caermarthenshire; to which were afterwards added the dignities of residentiary of S. David's and archdeacon of Brecknock. In 1643 he was named as one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, probably by the interest of the earl of Northumberland; but he never took his place among them, and his livings being shortly after sequestered, he again taught school for his maintenance, in which way of life he continued till the Restoration.

In 1660-1, he was appointed bishop of Gloucester, by the interest of lord Clarendon, whom Wood insinuates that he had bribed. But as his character appears to have stood high with all parties, and as he had a strong and legitimate claim on the patronage of government, for his unshaken loyalty, and bold and pertinacious defence of the church during its most helpless and hopeless depression, it seems most reasonable, as well as most charitable, to ascribe his preferment rather to his merits than to simony. He died Feb. 5, 1671, and was honoured with the following epitaph by the excellent George Bull, afterwards bishop of S. David's:—

ÆTERNITATI S.
IN SPE BEATÆ RESURRECTIONIS
HIC REVERENDAS EXUVIAS DEPOSUIT
THEOLOGUS INSIGNIS, EPISCOPUS VERE PRIMITIVUS,

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GULIELMUS NICOLSON:
IN AGRO SUFFOLCIANO NATUS
APUD MAGDALENSES OXON: EDUCATUS
OB FIDEM REGI ET ECCLESIÆ AFFLICTÆ PRÆSTITAM
AD SEDEM GLOCESTRENSEM MERITO PROMOTUS MDCLX.
IN CONCIONIBUS FREQUENS, IN SCRIPTIS NERVOSUS,
LEGENDA SCRIBENS, ET FACIENS SCRIBENDA.[a]
GRAVITAS EPISCOPALIS IN FRONTE EMICUIT,
OMNES TAMEN BLANDE ET HUMANITER EXCEPIT,
PAUPERIBUS QUOTIDIANA CHARITATE BENEFICUS,
COMITATE ERGA CLERUM ET LITERATOS ADMIRANDUS.
GLORIÆ AC DIERUM SATUR,
IN PALATIO SUO UT VIXIT PIE DECESSIT FEB. V.
ANNO { ÆTATIS LXXXII. / DOMINI MDCLXXI. }
ELIZABETHA CONJUX PRÆIVIT IN HOC SACELLO SEPULTA
APRIL. XX. AN. DOMINI MDCLXIII.

OWENUS BRIGSTOCK
DE LLECHDONNY IN COMITATU CAERMARTHEN ARMICER
PRÆDICTÆ ELIZABETHÆ NEPOS
HOC GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM
(EXECUTORE RECUSANTE)
PROPRIIS SUMPTIBUS EREXIT.
MDCLXXIX.

Bishop Nicholson's published works, of which a catalogue is given by Wood, are all of a practical and useful character. That he was joined, for a time at least, with Taylor in his school at Newton, appears from the following epitaph which Mr. Bonney has published, and to which I have already alluded in the text:—

M.S.
GRIFFINI LLOYD
DE CWMGWILLY ARMIGERI
QUI HONESTIS PARENTIBUS LLANARTHNEIÆ NATUS
LITERARUM TIROCINIA POSUIT SUB SUMMIS VIRIS
GUL. NICHOLSONO EP. POSTEA GLOCESTRENSI
ET JER. TAYLORO EP. DUNOCORONENSI
QUI GRASSANTE CROMWELLII TYRANNIDE
PUERIS INSTITUENDIS
VICTUM IN HAC VICINIA QUÆRITABANT.

Bonney, p. 175.

William Wyat, Taylor's other associate in this undertaking, was born at Todenham in Gloucestershire, and after some delay in obtaining his degrees at Oxford through the calamities attendant on the civil war, became B.D. Sept. 12, 1661. On leaving Newton hall, he taught at Evesham in Worcestershire; and afterwards was assistant in a private school at Twickenham, kept by William Fuller, afterwards bishop of Lincoln. Under his patronage he was installed prebendary of Lidington, May 13, 1668, and precentor of Lincoln cathedral, November 6th of the same year. The latter dignity he resigned in 1681, but retained the prebend till his death, which took place in the house of sir Richard Newdigate, at Nuneaton, in Warwickshire. He was buried at Astley in the same county, where, over [?] the communion-table, is a small marble tablet, with the following quaint inscription:—

[a] [See vol. viii. p. 423.]

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P.M.
GUIL. WYAT, S.T.B.
QUEM AB ECCLESIA LINCOLN.
(UBI PRÆCENTOR ERAT MERITISSIMUS)
HUC TRAXIT QUIETIS STUDIUM
ET HONORATÆ JUXTA DE ARBURIA FAMILIÆ
VICINITAS ET PATROCINIUM
QUIBUS FRUI CÆTERA OMNIA LUBENS DESEREret.
OBIIT IX. SEPT. MDCLXXXV.
IN MAGNA SUI CLIMACTERA,
QUIA UTI VIXERAT SIC MORERETUR
OMNIBUS NUMERIS ABSOLUTUS.

ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΕΙΣΘΑΙ 'ΗΣΥΧΑΖΕΙΝ.

Bonney, MS. p. 44. Browne Willis, Hist. of cathedrals, vol. ii. pp. 87, 211.

For sir John Powell's epitaph I am indebted to his descendant, the reverend Mr. Evans, of Newtown hall in the county of Montgomery:—

M.S.
JOHANNIS POWELL, EQUITIS AURATI.
QUALIS FUERIT
NON AB EXIGUO MONUMENTI MARMORE
SED AB ANNALIBUS REGNI ET HISTORICORUM LIBRIS
QUÆRAS EDOCERI.
BONAS ARTES, QUIBUS SUB OPTIMO PRÆCEPTORE
(JEREMIA TAYLOR POSTEA EPISCOPO DUNENSI)
A PRIMA JUVENTUTE ENUTRITUS ERAT,
IN ACADEMIA DEHINC OXONIENSI FELICITER EXCOLUIT.
INDE, QUANQUAM LITERIS HUMANIORIBUS DEDITO
RURE ELEGANTER DELITESCERE,
QUÆ ERAT EJUS MODESTIA, MAGIS ALLUBESCERET,
PATRIÆ TAMEN SESE DEBERI RATUS,
NODOSIS LEGUM VINCULIS IMPLICARI
ET IN FORO SPLENDESCERE MALUIT,
ET DUMMODO PRODESSET
CONSPICI NON GRAVATUS EST.
HONORES ITAQUE NUNQUAM SOLICITUS PETIIT,
ULTRO AD SE DELATOS SÆPISSIME DETRECTAVIT.
UTRUMQUE TRIBUNAL
BANCI REGIS ET COMMUNIUM PLACITORUM
JUDEX ADORNAVIT.
MAGNI SIGILLI CUSTODIAM
NON DUBITAVIT RECUSARE,
OMNI SCILICET TITULO SUPERIOR.
QUAM STRENUUS ECCLESIÆ DEFENSOR FUERIT,
TESTES II SEPTEM APOSTOLICI PRÆSULES
QUOS OB CHRISTI FIDEM FORTITER VINDICATAM
AD IPSIUS TRIBUNAL ACCITOS
INTREPIDUS ABSOLVIT.
HINC A JUDICIARIA CATHEDRA HONORIFICE DEJECTUS
NON MULTO POST MUTATIS REGNI REBUS
EANDEM ITERUM IMPLEVIT.
TANDEM LABORIBUS QUOS TULIT PLURIMOS,
DUM PATRIÆ CONSULERET,
AFFLICTO CUIQUE ET OPPRESSO SUBVENIRET,
TUERETUR LEGUM ET MONARCHIÆ DIGNITATEM,
FRACTUS DECESSIT,
ANNO DOMINI MDCXCVI. ÆTATIS LXIII.

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Sir John Powell's dignified conduct on the trial of the seven bishops is well known. Its merit is enhanced, if the tradition of his family and of this epitaph be correct, that he was offered the great seal, if he would pursue a different course.

NOTE (L.)

"ON THE NEW FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

Because you have thrown off your prelate lord,
And with stiff vows renounc'd his liturgy,
To seize the widow'd whore Plurality
From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorr'd,
Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword,
To force our consciences that Christ set free,
And ride us with a classic hierarchy,
Taught you by mere A. S.[b] and Rutherford?
Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent,
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
Must now be nam'd and printed heretics
By shallow Edwards and Scotch What-d'ye-call.
But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
Your plots and packing worse than those of Trent;
That so the Parliament
May with their wholesome and preventive shears
Clip your phylacteries, though balk your ears,
And succour our just fears,
When they shall read this clearly in your charge,
New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large."

I can hardly think that Goodwin and Peters, the principal individuals who shared with Taylor the indignation of Rutherford and the presbyterians, were men whom Milton, so ordinarily sparing of his praise, could have extolled as those whom S. Paul would have 'held in high esteem.' But Taylor was beyond all comparison the most illustrious champion of those tolerating doctrines for which Milton himself so nobly contended, and I cannot help supposing that his name was in the poet's mind, when he was thus assailing their common adversaries.

Rutherford's work is perhaps the most elaborate defence of persecution which has ever appeared in a protestant country. He justifies it from the 'law of nature,' the Mosaic law, the 'analogy of the christian religion,' the practice of the patriarchs and godly princes of old time; the prophecies which foretel that the kings which have sometimes served the Babylonian harlot shall, on their repentance, burn her with fire, and eat her flesh; and the commandment of S. John, that a true believer is not to say 'God speed' to a false teacher. They who condemn the burning of Servetus would have condemned, he tells us, on the same principles, the slaughter of the priests of Baal; and though he seems in one place to have some compunctious doubts as to the propriety of fire as an instrument of conversion, and on the whole to give the preference to hanging, yet he elsewhere urges that as stoning was the punish-

[b] [Adam Steuart, author of several polemical tracts.]

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ment of idolatry under the Mosaic law, and as the despisers of the gospel are unquestionably worthy of a much sorer punishment, so it may be thought that burning hath something in it marvellously suited to the occasion and to the necessities of christendom. To invade a foreign nation of idolaters with a view to apply such instruments and means of grace, he indeed confesses to be of doubtful morality; but it may be, he says, a most interesting and curious question, whether, such a conquest having been effected on other grounds, it is not the duty of the believing conqueror to force away the children of his new subjects, to the end that they may be brought up in the true religion? Such were the sentiments, and so far as they had the power, the practice of Rutherford himself; of Mather, who published about the same time a pamphlet entitled 'The tenet of persecution washed white in the blood of the Lamb;' and of many others, who, when their own hour of trial and suffering came, were ready enough to accuse their adversaries of unchristian and inhuman severity. The arguments of Rutherford are not likely in the present day to make many converts to his opinion. But if there are any who from the confidence with which he urges the example of the ancient Jewish kings and prophets, are led to form opinions unfavourable to a religion with which our own is so closely connected, they may do well to read the Commentaries of Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, book v. chap. 2; in which the nature of the practices forbidden by the Jewish legislator, and the manner in which his prohibitions differ from persecution in its true and odious sense, are clearly and powerfully stated. I will only add, that where murder or lust are parts of any religious system, the actions, being in themselves offences against the peace of society, are clearly punishable, without examining further into the mistaken notions from which they spring; and such was the case with the superstitions of Canaan.

[NOTE (L 1.)

In sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 301, occurs the following passage;—

"At Causham (Caversham) I had the honour to come into his (Charles the first's) presence, tho' I stayed not there; but, by all I could perceive either from himself or any other, he was very apprehensive in what hands he was, but was not to let it be discerned. Nor had he given that countenance unto Dr. Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying, which some believed he had; but that really and truly it was refreshment to his spirit to be used with some civility, and to serve God as he was wont, and to see some old faces about him."

This passage confirms the general impression, that Taylor's book was distasteful to the royalists; it leads us to apprehend also that the king had suffered some disadvantage in the eyes of his party from being supposed to approve his chaplain's performance.]

[NOTE (L 2.)

To this period of Taylor's life belongs a letter written by him to Dr. Richard Bayly (see p. xlii. above) concerning the alienation of church lands.

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It is preserved in the Tanner MSS. lvii. f. 468, and has been printed in Mr. Cary's 'Memorials of the civil war.' It is as follows:—

"Sir,—I received yours, dated November 27th; and although I read it with much pleasure, as bearing all along so visible characters of your affections towards me, yet I also observed it with much caution and reverence, as carrying along the severities as well as the compliances of a just and religious kindness. What I delivered *in transitu*, when I had the happiness last to meet you, I knew I poured into a breast locked up as religiously as the priests of Cybele; and, but that I was certain you permit all your friends and servants to speak to you with a freedom great as that of the sun or the air, I should not have delivered to you so displeasing a truth, lest by an unnecessary discourse I should have discomposed the state of that friendship, from which I have received so many effluxes and profitable emanations.

However, Sir, I shall most religiously observe your cautions, (and had done so by my own proper purposes,) not to dispute *in triviis* that point which is of so secret consideration, and is too apt to be mistaken and misconstrued by avaricious and prejudicate spirits. I know it is easy to encourage a crime by a neighbouring truth, but nothing is sufficient to secure the church's just interests, if any colour may be pretended for an injury.

But now, Sir, to the particulars of your letter. I have something else to say; and then some other things to the question in its own precise consideration.

I. Concerning the person of a king, to be preserved by all reasonable and just means, you accord, but add this consideration; that it is to be pondered, what it is which makes for the bodily, and what for the ghostly preservation of a king? and that this latter is not to be destroyed by the former: which, although it be very true, yet is not of any distinct consideration from the main question; for if I make it appear lawful that the king may consent to the alienation of bishops' lands, in the present conjunction of circumstances, then the same act that is instrumental to the bodily preservation, will not be an enemy, or impede the spiritual.

II. Next, you are pleased to propound the question, and state it with prudent and wary circumstances: the sum of which is this. 1st. Church lands stand dedicated to God, by the free donation of princes and princely-minded men. 2nd. They are by the donors for His use so separated for ever. 3rd. They are confirmed by the legislative power of the kingdom, and accepted for the same usage for many centuries of years. *Q.* Whether lands so given may, for an end formerly suggested or supposed, (meaning the king's present case,) be wholly alienated?

III. The first is the great article of offence and question, 'The lands were dedicated to God.' I suppose, first, that lands can no more be dedicated to God, or in no other sense, than some persons are, that is, to be employed in the offices of religion; which, for the present, we will suppose as immediately to be a service of God, as charity, but no more. Now it would be considered, whether a person designed to be a priest, may not, upon great reason, recede from the exercise of his holy orders for ever? I instance in the cardinal of Portugal, when his brother the king died without issue, dispensed withal, and

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returned *ad sæculum*, and was supposed as capable of doing service to God in the capacity of a king as of a priest. And (under favour) I conceive, the distinction of 'things' and 'persons' will not alter the consideration. For we have an express place of the New testament for the person, but nothing clear and dogmatical for the unalterable sanctification of things *in specie*. 'He that puts his hand to the plough and looks back, is not worthy.' And yet the wisdom of the most eminent persons, and most zealous for the temporal rights of the church, did think that the particular case was not forbidden by the general rule.

The same also I say concerning 'time' separate for God's service, which in many cases may be employed otherwise than in the precise virtue of religion; even in a great act of charity or convenience. And I desire it may be considered, whether any thing (abating the discourses and considerations of interest) can be pretended, that may substantially distinguish the case of 'persons' and 'time,' from 'goods' and 'lands,' since by all of them God is served, and without the two former He cannot be served, without the last He may; and it is as notorious, that the most solemn separations for the service of God were made of 'persons' and 'time,' these by God's command: that of 'lands' never, excepting only cities and suburbs for the Levites.

IV. But when it is said, lands are given to God; since it cannot be true in a natural and proper sense, for we cannot give what is His already, nor that which He needs not and uses not, to any purposes but our own; it can signify nothing really, but that they are separated for the use of religious persons, and they to be maintained by them, that, without care and diversions, they may attend the offices of religion and public advocation, (for that is

> Magnæ mentis opus, nec de lodice paranda
> Attonitæ)

and so, for their relation sake, are entitled to God: just as those lands which were given for the maintenance of certain knights and military orders against the Saracens, were esteemed holy in order to the use to which they were designed, which was esteemed holy by the age.

But I consider, that since God is not a person capable of any new, proper, acquisite, and inherent right, it is in church lands, as in lands given to a body politic or corporation. It is impossible lands should be given, and the right passed really from the former owner, unless there be some person, real or imaginary, who is, or who is made capable of being the possessor. Now the communities of clergy, and lay bodies politic, are not a person; for in these, there is a succession, but no inheritance: and it is the whole succession which is intended to be maintained by the donative, who cannot be a person in estimation of law, nor in natural consideration. And it is also intended that the present persons should only be usufructuaries; that is, the rights of dominion are not permitted to them, that the possession may be indeterminable; and therefore it is necessary that there be a person substituted by fiction of law, who is supposed the lord. In corporations, not the mayor and aldermen, but the corporation is the *persona ficta*. In church lands, God is the person named; because of the relation and employment of the persons to be maintained in His service. But then the donors are said therefore to have given

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it to Him, by permissions, I mean, and declaration of law, that they might be legally enabled to pass the dominion from themselves, and yet invest no real person with a dominion, who might, according to the right of lords, pass it from his successor. But this fiction of law is but a solemnity and a circumstance, producing no other effect, or real mutation, but that the forms of law are kept in the transmission of the right to such purposes of religion; God being in no other manner capable of a transmitted right, but when, by His own express act, or by ours, He is so put in substitution.

V. To this I add, that the lands themselves so dedicated are not altered: there is no holiness passed upon them, so much as relative and imaginary, but during the use; and that holiness which is attributed to them is but *ens rationis*, which appears most unanswerably in this; that by the canon law, and the voice of all christendom and common sense, church lands may be changed; and when the next field, which the donor gave not, but the bishop for the conveniency of it obtained by contract, belongs to the use of the church, that becomes invested with all the holiness of the other, and yet the other loses nothing of what it had, (for no act passed upon it:) and when a change is made, and yet nothing is lost by this, then nothing is got by that; and then all that was, is like the right and left hand of a pillar, which you may alter by your own posture or discourse: which I the rather note, that I might redargue the fondness of some persons, who fancy strange contingencies and accidents happening to men using in common employments the stones of a monastery, when the society hath been dissolved. I fear, in such cases, the piety of the men wants the ballast of a severe and prudent consideration.

VI. And yet I doubt not but these things shall relate to God: that is, as He accepts the piety of the donor, as He accepted the nard pistic of Mary Magdalen, and the charity of hospitable persons; so He will also, by His care and providence, and the patronage of judgments, secure the support of the defenceless clergy, as He does of all His poor, His widows and orphans; that is, more especially than any other things and persons.

But I desire it may be considered, that, among the masters of spiritual life, there are some sins called 'crying sins;' that is, such which God will more certainly and apparently avenge; and oppression of widows and orphans is one: but, as I remember, they account not sacrilege in this number: from whence I can collect nothing, but that God hath more apparently undertaken the protection of widows' dowries and orphans' portions, than of church lands. And then, if we will suppose these widows placed in an hospital to pray and spin, I would fain know what 'holiness of lands' or 'dedication' signifies, that is not more eminently in the lands given for an hospital of widows, than to a college of priests? and yet, if an hospital be spoiled, or widows injured, we use to call it oppression, not sacrilege.

And, by the way, Sir, be pleased to put the case as it was in some instances in the days of that cormorant of church lands, Henry the eighth, and in Edward the sixth, that lands given to the clergy should be converted to the maintenance of orphans and widows, or sick persons. I desire to be resolved, whether that be sacrilege? and if so, upon what grounds it is said to be so? if not, then, whether the lands be God's portion any more if they maintain

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the clergy, than if they maintain the indigent and necessitous laity? and whether or no, if the condition of the king's restitution were to alien the lands of Bethlehem or S. Thomas's hospital, the clergy of England would not affirm it lawful? and then, why not, if the condition were to alien one manor of the bishop of S. David's, or one close? If one, then more, and then all as well as any; for one is as much dedicated to God as all, and the alienation is as direct a sacrilege.

But this were a hard case, if it should be denied to the king's necessities, and the clamorous importunities of the people, and necessities for peace. However, that which I intended by this consideration is this: that by this proportion and similitude of hospital and church lands, we may possibly understand what dedicating lands to God shall signify in the nature of the thing; even this only, (in the substance of affairs,) that excellent persons, charitable and religious, have set apart certain lands to be spent in religion and charity, for the glory of God, as all good actions are, and this among the chiefest; and God is pleased with such intentions of the donor, and employment of the donative.

VII. For to say that in such donations God is the lord, and the bishops and priests but usufructuaries, is to speak indeed *secundum stylum curiæ*, according to forms of law; God being the person by fiction of law invested with the possession: but what that does mean in the nature and event of things, that is, what real mutation is made, either towards God or to the lands, more than what I have now explicated, I shall much desire to understand from you upon sure foundations.

VIII. 2nd. But you add, these lands were intended to be separate for ever. True; and I would to God they might so abide. But whether that be indispensably and unalterably necessary, or whether that intention of the donor, or the nature of the thing requires it, I shall further consider.

For since it appears, by the instance of permutation, that nothing passes upon the lands that makes a real, either natural or moral, change; that which you say, that the donors did intend they should be separate for ever, does well explicate this part of the question: for in the truth of the thing, not the lands, but the persons are obliged for ever; the lands are alienable, but men's hands are tied, and they bound not to alien them; that is, they who gave them, and they who can be obliged by them, or by any authority that confirms them. And this is not a distinction to no purpose or real use in this question. For, upon supposition of the truth of its parts, it will follow, in order to practice, that when the lands are alienated by a competent authority, I mean the supreme, whether that did religiously or irreligiously; yet, if the thing be done *ad omnem effectum juris*, the lands may be possessed justly by them that acted not in the alienation. For certain persons only being obliged, the lands carry no curse along with them, but to those persons who, being obliged, prevaricated their personal obligation. Now no power but the greatest, and a disobliged power, can meddle with them. For these being *vota Deo*, according to the nature of vows, pass an obligation upon the votary directly; and all other persons (I speak of equals or subjects) are therefore obliged, because they have no right to them, nor power over them; and therefore, if they

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meddle with them, are robbers; and that, in *materia devota* or *religiosa*, is direct sacrilege.

IX. But then it is to be considered, that the donors gave them but with all that right and powers appendent which they had; no man can transfer more than himself hath: since therefore the donors of lands had them but *in basso dominio*, and they were subject to forfeitures, to *præmunire's*, to political burdens, and did owe allegiance to the public interest; I mean, they were to put off their propriety and serve the great ends of the commonwealth, as all particular natures do the unity of the world, and the continuity of its parts. And therefore, as the donor was invested with them, so is God, (for I choose to express myself in the word of art and law.) So that it is wholly a mistake to say, that in this case God is the supreme lord of the land, and the clergy His usufructuaries: for it was but a *bassum dominium* which the donor had, and therefore he could transfer no other. And if a private person makes the prince his heir, and gives him lands that hold of an inferior lord, so also must be the prince's tenure, and the donative must pass with all its burdens. Now in what cases the supreme power of a kingdom can use private lands, or moneys and personal goods, *invito domino*, in the same he may use the church lands, if he might have done so before their dedication; (for else, the private donor had given to God rights that himself had not.) I add also, if there be an equal or proportionable necessity, as the one is not against justice, so the other is not against religion; only it is to be supposed, that church lands are last to be used, because they are of greatest interest for the religion, which all wise and good states believe to be the defensative of the republic. And if the church land be liable to levies, then, when the necessity increases, the levy shall be greater; for he that may take little upon a smaller reason, upon a greater may take more; and if you can suppose a reason strong enough, or a necessity big enough, he may take it all, for the nature of the thing hinders not: for if he may take any of the profit, it is certain the land is liable to a superior lord, who may, *pro rata*, divert it from the use of its first intention.

And I desire it may be considered, that if the revenue may be spent in alienated uses, (pardon the word,) the land without the revenue will signify nothing; and therefore, if it be lawful to take the revenue, it is lawful to take the land. For the land is so wholly for its fruits and emolument, that it is lawful to sell and change the lands, so the church be not injured. And if it be objected, that as long as the land is not sold, it will return to its former use in time: to this I answer, that, *pro tempore*, all the real effects of alienation being produced, obligation for a time, with defalcation of the profits, is in that degree an alienation. (I speak of real events, not notions, and fantastic formalities.) For because the land is wholly for the profit, he that takes that, and in the same degree that he takes it, does contrary, or besides the intention of the donor; that is, he employs it to uses not proper, not ecclesiastical: and the taking the profit *pro tempore* and for ever, are but several degrees of the same action, and therefore make no specifical difference; but they are for the same causes, in several proportions, alike lawful or unlawful.

X. 3rd. But how if the prince gives lands, or, which is as much at least, he, by his legislative power, confirms the donation? then, since all the right

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of man is given up, God shall have the *altum* and the *bassum dominium* too; for He hath the direct right of the donor, and the collateral circumstant and accidental right of the legislative. To this I answer, that when the legislative confirms the donation of a subject, it is only supposed he confirms what the other bestowed, and made it valid in form of law, and therefore his confirmation alters not the manner of the tenure; but if it were so before, it is still in subordination and minority.

But if himself gives lands, and passes the donation into a law, it is true he cannot, without sacrilege, in any ordinary case, revoke his act, or alien the land. But then, whether the supreme power in another age cannot do it, is of another consideration. For no act of parliament can be made perpetual: and if an act be made that a parliament shall not abrogate such a law, it is ridiculous; for it is in the power of the succeeding to disannul that law, which pretended to disable its successor from disannulling it.

And it is certain, the supreme power hath a perpetual equal efflux of authority. And though so many single persons in whom the supreme power is inherent, may be obliged, viz. by their own act, yet the power itself cannot; and when the first persons are extinct, and the power descends upon others, they therefore are not obliged, because they are the supreme, and can be obliged by none but themselves: but the act of the former princes or parliament is subjected to the power of the succeeding, the supreme power being in persons whom no act doth, nor any human power can oblige.

XI. Upon this ground, I consider, that since all distinction of dominion consists in the sentence and limits of the law, and it is theft to take pigeons, or deer, or fish, when the law hath housed pigeons, or emparked deer, and divided shores, and it is not theft to take these when the law hath not made them of private possession; and since sacrilege is a theft, the same power which determines what shall be theft, determines also what shall be sacrilege.

I give a more clear instance. By the law it is made sacrilege to steal *sacrum de non sacro*, as a chalice from the clerk's house. Another law makes it sacrilege to steal *non sacrum de sacro*. And so we find that children's portions were deposited in some of the Greek temples, the same law having obtained there also. But I conceive, that when two sins are the same in their matter and natural complexion, as theft and sacrilege are esteemed to be in law, and are certainly so in the nature of the thing, (sacrilege being defined by theft, as by its *genus*, and therefore, without all peradventure, forbidden directly in the prohibition of theft,) when the law distinguishes their formality, it means nothing, but that either they are to be punished distinctly, or the guilty persons to be proceeded against in their charges by distinct solemnities.

Now the law making any particular instance to be sacrilege, does apportion to it the punishment or (which is a part of the other) the reproach of sacrilege. I would therefore fain know, whether, by the laws of God, all the *species* enumerated by the canon doctors be sacrilege? Is it sacrilege to steal a sword or a horse out of S. Paul's church, (for I have lived to see that case possible; God, in His good time, will string His whip and scourge them thence;) but if yea, by what law of God? if no; then, since it is punished with the punishment and infamy of sacrilege by human constitution, in what does it differ

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from other instances which by the law of God we suppose declared to be so?

The result is this. That the laws of God forbid sacrilege, but in most instances the law of man declares what is sacrilege, and indeed makes it such; as in the foregoing instances. When therefore the supreme power shall dissolve the cancels of the dominion, and lay that in common which before was appropriate to a certain use; the dominion and propriety being taken away, there can be no theft, and, by consequence, no sacrilege. Just as it is no theft in me to put my sheep into a pasture which by the law of the land is disparked, and made to be of common possession; and yet before such a law, or act of a competent power, it was.

Indeed, if the supreme power takes my goods and makes them common, or takes the forfeiture and gives them away without just reason, it is *injuste*, but it is *jure factum*. He that receives the goods after the prince's seizure is *bonæ fidei* possessor, but I am a person injured. So if the supreme power takes away church lands without evident necessity, or just reasons of religion, he is an irreligious person; but I say it is not sacrilege: because the thing ceases to be of appropriate dominion by the act of the legislator, since it is his only power that makes the distinction and propriety. And it is certain the same power that makes an act to be sacrilege which before was not so, may also make that to be no sacrilege, which, supposing the former constitution of laws, was sacrilege.

To steal what is 'sacred' is sacrilege: but (by the way) 'sacred' signifies nothing but what is separate by the cancels of laws, and declared honourable for a religious relation. So are the archives and records of courts, the seats of judicature, the presence chamber, the chair of state, the gates of the city among the Romans; so are temples and holy places: the law hath made all these sacred, and the same power can unhallow all its own consecrations. In all which, as religion is to be taken care of, and the public, to which the several sacreds do relate; so if they be secured, and by other instruments be provided for, or if it be impossible they should, the crime lies not at his door where the impossibility dwells, or where religion is preserved in equivalent instances.

XII. And therefore the legislative power, although it can be irreligious, yet it cannot commit sacrilege: but the persons in whom such power is inherent, may, by accident; I mean, when they become persons directly or collaterally obliged. As the same king and the same persons of parliament cannot take away what they have given to holy uses, because they in their persons are obliged by their own act; but the supreme power, in its emanation, and efflux, being returned to an abstraction and precision from those persons, is totally disobliged, and therefore, in all senses, has power to alter the possession.

For to deny this, were to overthrow the very being and definition of legislative power, and to make private dominion superior to public interests, and the particular rights of persons more secure than the republic and communities of kingdoms. This is not to be done in common accidents, indeed; but when there is a sufficient cause, there is a sufficient power.

XIII. But besides these general grounds, which disclose the nature of the thing, if I shall descend to more minute considerations, I shall propound this:

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that if the church hath power to sell the lands and spend the money, it will be hard to say that such lands are unalienable. Now that the lands which were dedicated at first by the apostles' command or disposition, were sold, and the money spent, is evident in S. Luke's story. Now put case, that the commonwealth of Venice, at their apprehension of the Turks' invading Candy, should have permitted their clergy to have sold their lands, and given the money to the poor, and to their own necessities, lest it should fall into the hands of misbelievers, were this sacrilege? Put case, they should for as great a reason have given them away; is it not as lawful to give them as to sell them? And if either, might not they with the money buy out the enemies of Christian religion? Might not they, or we, or any christian society, have spent them in any holy use, any use that nobly secures a religious interest, or the glory of God? If it be said they may, then I doubt not but the clergy of England would be excused, if they consented that the lands that feed them were parted with, to restore peace, and the king; though in this, I say, as our blessed Saviour said concerning offences, although it be necessary (viz. in the event of things) that offences come, yet woe to them by whom the offence, or that necessity, does come.

But if it be said, they may not; I would know why we do use the lands to uses not designed or permitted by the donors? We know most of them were appointed to purposes which our practice and devotion owns not. If we say, that because they were given to the service of God, so the general end be preserved we are not tied to the particular instance; then I desire it may be considered, whether this will bear us even to a license of spending or using the lands to any use in which God's glory and the public interest may be concerned? To which if we add this appendix, that God is then glorified when any great charity is done, or peace restored; if any company of evil persons, for bad ends, makes this peremptorily to be the condition of peace, we may not unreasonably believe God to be glorified: and therefore the lands not lost, if they buy a peace. Though concerning the special case I shall speak nothing dogmatical, but only of the general, and in a certain supposed instance.

XIV. But, sir, I pray consider, are not tithes dedicated to God, and are God's portion, as much as lands? If there be any degrees of devotion, it is on the behalf of tithes; and yet our colleges are maintained by impropriations for a great part of their provision. And if that alienation of tithes from churches be unlawful, why do we live upon forbidden fruit? If lawful, let us suppose the king a person as capable of being relieved by God's portion as poor scholars are. To which I add this case. That since the canon law allows that patrons, falling to want, may live upon that which we call God's portion and the dowries of the churches, which themselves founded and endowed; since the kings of England are the greatest patrons of the church, and this king is the church's martyr, it will be hard to say, his or their greatest necessities respectively may not be served by the issues of their own charity and religion.

XV. And hither will certainly refer the case of Acacius, bishop of Amida, who, for redemption and feeding seven thousand Persian prisoners, sold the vessels of the church, adding his discourse in verification of his charity, 'that God needed not vessels of gold or silver for His service in religion, but rather

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in charity: for it was not decent that dead temples should be rich and pompous in less necessary appendages, and God's living temples starve in the destitution of necessaries.' He did accordingly; and his charity and his religion too were approved and admired by all christendom.

Now in the degrees of relative holiness, the canon law is express, that the utensils of the altar are more sacred and separate than lands; and it is certain, because vessels cannot be aliened without alteration of the property: when they are changed, they must be melted; and things not permutable are to be burnt; but land may pass in kind, and others accepted in their rooms, so the church lose nothing by it. Which though it be well and fitting that the case of the church, in permutations, should be provided for and secured in her interest, just as all minors are by the care of laws and princes; yet it shews that if there were not more interest in it than real change, the lands might pass, like water at the sluice, without observation and complaint.

For concerning the difference in the case as you state it, that God may be served without rich vessels, and others in their room were easily parable, but lands once lost cannot: I consider that God is not always best served by the richest clergy; that our blessed Lord commends poverty, and entailed it upon His church by His doctrine and example; that He speaks so harshly of riches, that Himself was once put to it to expound the meaning of His words; and yet, after that, His apostles, when they received the Spirit of Christ, still prosecuted the words of Christ against riches. I add, that although lands are not easy to be had, yet the apostles parted with them, and put the sequel to God's providence; and after all, this consideration is wholly extrinsical to the question. For although, upon supposition of the truth of the discourse, it might be of great prudence and caution to keep the lands as long as we can; yet it concludes it not a sin, in all cases, to part with them, nor that they have so many degrees of sacredness, or separation, as vessels and utensils. For since all their sacredness depends upon the sanction of the law, and their relative use; for the first, vessels are with more solemnities dedicated; and for the second, they are more immediate in the offices of religion. So that the argument will be firm, that if the church approved the act of Acacius in alienating things more sacred for a less necessity; it will be too great an adhesion to a temporal interest, upon a pretence of religion, to persuade the king to ruin himself, and his posterity, and the church and her lands too, by not suffering them to be aliened.

XVI. For in the present constitution of affairs, the church lands are like the fruits of our orchards standing upon church ground, *quæ servando servari non possunt;* if you keep them, you lose them: and the king, by holding the lands fast, will have his own arm pulled off, and the lands go along with his ruin. And (under favour) I suppose that consideration will serve to oppose against that other of yours; which, indeed, is matter of prudence, though not of consideration in the question of lawful or unlawful.

For whether the king be captive or no in the sense of the civil law, it matters not; I am sure he is so, to all real and natural effects. And whether the redemption will be real upon his consigning the bill, is to be provided for in his capitulation as well as it can. If it be lawful to consign the bill upon suppo-

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sition he should really be delivered, it is as lawful to do it upon their undertaking, or his own belief. It may be a default in providence or wisdom, if he be not, but none in the matter of his own justice and religion. But the reason you add, "lest the king and his council should sin *gratis*," I suppose (with your favour) is *extra oleas*. For if it be a sin when done *gratis*, it is also a sin when done *pretio*: and if it be a sin, it is not to be done though all the kingdoms and lives of the world were the purchase. But whether it were a sin or no, was the question, and is not to be presupposed or granted.

XVII. I have now considered the proper grounds of the question, and all that you were pleased to propose to me as considerable, excepting your second and fourth consideration; but they, being the same enquiry concerning the punishment and sad consequents of sacrilege, are already answered, if the former grounds be reasonable, and that all alienation of sacred things be not sacrilege. For certainly the evil accidents and cursed *appendices* of this great sin will concern them, who, because they have not the supreme power to act it, nor just reason to desire it, are highly guilty of sacrilege in destitution of the first, of irreligion in destitution of the latter. But to say that this shall concern the king, who hath power of translating dominions in some cases, and great necessity of doing it in this, is a zealous detention of our interest, and a neglecting the king's.

The clergy are bound to pay for the king their lives, when his just needs shall require: and yet our lives are as much given to God, and for His service as immediately as lands; our persons are as sacred as our fields; and possibly it were no sacrilege to give our lands to redeem the clergy from the sword; and therefore they are not to be denied to those needs which may call for our lives, for which we would willingly give our lands in redemption.

XVIII. But who knows but that this alienation of church lands may be a great security of the interest? and that the king might say of the lands, as S. Paul of himself [?] 'therefore I departed for a time that I might abide with you for ever?' But that is a reserve in the counsel of God's predestination. However, unless king Richard I. were sacrilegious in being redeemed with the moveables of God's house, or Edward III. in taking great revenues of the church for support of his armies in France, or archbishop Chichele in giving vast sums of money to maintain the French wars, all which was God's portion as much as lands; with your pardon, I suppose it is a safe case, that the best prince, incomparably the best in christendom, be very much valued more than our lands. For that this is the present case is therefore evident to me, because, although God can preserve the king in his denial, so also He can the lands, when they are consigned to others. But as in such consignation the lands are visibly lost, so also is the king in his denial. It may be otherwise in either, but the case is alike in both.

Sir, I know not whether my long letter may be presumed an amends for my delay of some few days in returning you an answer, or shall be interpreted a new offence. However, you may by it see my confidence of your goodness, that with such openness I discourse this point of danger.

Sir, I expect to be fairly chid for what you shall perceive amiss: but I am the less apprehensive of it, because I know your wisdom will master the pre-

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judice of a long persuasion to the contradictory of this discourse. But whether so or no, I may, by your animadversions, gain a truth, and not lose a friend; whom I desire to preserve with all the services and fairest correspondencies of my life, that I may any way express how great obligations you have passed,

Dear Sir,

Upon your very affectionate friend and servant,

J. TAYLOR.

The Vigils of Christmas, 1648.

P.S. Ad num. x. et xii. "The supreme power cannot be obliged; but the person in whom the supreme power is inherent, by accident may be obliged," viz. by his own act. *Quære:* Whether the king's coronation oath have not personally obliged him, so that without sacrilege he cannot alien them? I answer, that the king's oath binds him to maintain the rights of the church, as it ties him to defend the laws; which he is to defend so long as they are in being, but not bound against all changes, popular petitions, necessities, and emergencies, to preserve their being. So that, as he may consent to the annulling of a law, so also to the alienation of a present right, unless the nature of the thing hinders. But that church lands are in their nature and condition alienable, upon great and notorious necessities, was intended to be proved by this discourse. So that the king not being personally obliged, and the supreme power of itself not obligable, the former considerations may be effectual."]

NOTE (M.)

The pictures of these two ladies are still at Golden Grove, and in good preservation. That of the first displays a countenance marked with all the goodness and benignity which might be expected from the character which Taylor gives her; the second has a much more lofty and dignified air, such as might become the heroine in Comus. The first lady Carbery left three sons and six daughters. Her eldest son, Francis lord Vaughan, married Rachel, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, who survived her husband, and afterwards became conspicuous in English history as the heroic wife and widow of William lord Russel. A copy of Taylor's essay on Repentance, presented to her by the author, is now in the possession of the rev. Dr. Swire, of Melsonby, near Richmond, Yorkshire.

From Mr. Bonney's MS. Notes, and information supplied by archdeacon Benyon.

NOTE (M*.)

"The calamitie which lately arrived you, came to me so late, and with so much incertitude during my long absence from these parts, that 'till my returne, and earnest inquisition, I could not be cured of my very greate impatience to be satisfied concerning your condition. But so it pleased God, that when I had prepared to receive that sad newes, and deplore your restraint, I was assured of your release, and delivered of much sorrow. It were

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imprudent, and a character of much ignorance, to inquire into the cause of any good man's suffering in these sad tymes; yet if I have learned it out, 'twas not of my curiosity; but the discourse of some with whom I have had some habitudes since my coming home. *I had read the preface long since to your 'Golden Grove,' remember, and infinitely justifie all that you have there asserted. 'Tis true vallor to dare to be undon, and the consequent of truth hath ever been in danger of his teeth, and it is a blessing if men escape so in these dayes, when not the safties onely, but the soules of men are betrayed: whilst such as you, and such excellent assistances as they afford us, are rendered criminal and suffer.* But you, Sir, who have furnished the world with so rare precepts against the efforts of all secular disasters whatsoever, could never be destitute of those consolations which you have so charitably and so piously prescribed unto others: yea rather, this has turned to our im'ense advantage, nor lesse to your glory, whilst men behold you living your owne institutions, and preaching to us as effectualy in your chaines as in the chaire, in the prison as in the pulpit: for me thinkes, Sir, I heare you pronounce it, as indeede you act it,—

> Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum
> Si vis esse aliquis[a],

that your example might shame such as betray any truth for feare of men, whose mission and com'ission is from God. You, Sir, know in the general, and I must justifie in particular with infinite cognition, the benefit I have received from the truths you have delivered. I have perused that excellent *Unum necessarium* of yours to my very greate satisfaction and direction: and do not doubt but it shall in tyme gaine upon all those exceptions which I know you are not ignorant appeare against it. 'Tis a great deale of courage, and a great deale of perill, but to attempt the assault of an error so inveterate.

Αἱ δὲ κεναὶ [κενα], R. H.] κρίσεις τὸν ἀπέρατον ὁδόν· false opinion knows no bottome, and reason and prescription meet in so [*qu.* 'no'? R. H.] fewe instances; but certainly you greately vindicate the divine goodnesse, which the ignorance of men, and popular mistakes, have so long charged with injustice. But, Sir, you must expect with patience the event, and the fruites you contend for: as it shall be my dayly devotions for your successe, who remaine,

Rev[d]. Sir, &c.

Sayes Court, 9 Feb. 1654. JOHN EVELYN.

Evelyn Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 97.

On this letter the editor of the interesting work whence it is extracted observes, "The cause of his (Jeremy Taylor's) imprisonment does not appear." Surely the passage here marked in italics intimates it with sufficient clearness. In the preface to his 'Golden Grove' there are in fact many passages at which the government were likely to take umbrage. "The people," says the author, "are fallen under the harrows and saws of impertinent and ignorant preachers, who think all religion is a sermon, and all sermons ought to be libels

[a] [Juv. Sat. i. 73.]

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against truth and old governors, and expound chapters that the meaning may never be understood, and pray, that they may be thought able to talk, but not to hold their peace, they casting not to obtain any thing but wealth and victory, power and plunder." "They that hate bishops have destroyed monarchy, and they that would erect an ecclesiastical monarchy must consequently subject the temporal to it; and both one and the other would be supreme in consciences, and they that govern there, with an opinion that in all things they ought to be attended to, will let their prince govern others, so long as he will be ruled by them."

"If any man shall not decline to try his title by the word of God, it is certain there is not in the world a better guard for it than the true protestant religion, as it is taught in our church. But let things be as it please God," &c. &c.

I am aware that in all these expressions Taylor might plead that he meant no more than to recommend his sect to the toleration or protection of the ruling powers. But even a less jealous party than the Presbyterians, and a less arbitrary governor than Cromwell, might in such times find it necessary to notice them.

The above letter, it will be observed, is dated in 1654. It is certain however either that Evelyn has written 4 for 5 by mistake, or that he has in this instance followed a practice (at that time not uncommon in England, but of which his other letters give us no example) of reckoning the beginning of each year from Lady-day, so that the months of January, February, and March down to the 25th, were ascribed to the preceding year. This space was generally dated 165⅘, &c.; but sometimes also with the date of the preceding year only. And it is certain that the letter in question cannot have been written before 1655, from his assertion that he had "long since read the preface to the 'Golden Grove,' and had now seen the *Unum necessarium*." But on consulting the books of Stationers' Hall, I find that of these works the 'Golden Grove' was only entered there on January 26, 165⅘, and the *Unum necessarium* not till the 3d of May following. It is true indeed, and we must bear it in mind in order to account for the fact of his having seen these works at all, that the entrance of a work at Stationers' Hall is not necessarily or usually immediate on its first publication. But many months are seldom allowed to elapse before this precaution is taken; and we may therefore fix the appearance of the 'Golden Grove' at the beginning of January, and the *Unum necessarium* somewhat later in the same month. For the former indeed it would be desirable if an earlier date could be fixed, both in order to render Evelyn's long acquaintance with it a less improper mode of speaking, and to give time for Taylor's consequent imprisonment. And I am therefore inclined to apprehend that although the first edition of the 'Golden Grove' is dated in 1655, it was nevertheless published in Michaelmas term 1654. I am informed by a learned friend, whose familiarity with the curiosities of English literature has been rarely surpassed or equalled, that "the custom of antedating new books is still practised pretty extensively, and it was equally common in Taylor's day. Among Anthony a Wood's books are (I should think) more than an hundred, on which the honest antiquary hath written, 'This booke came

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out (on such a day) though it be dated (at such a time.)' And it is not impossible that the 'Golden Grove' might have been in a similar predicament. If this be allowed, and we conclude, as I think we well may, that Evelyn's letter was not written till 1655, there will remain a period of between four and six months, which would be quite sufficient to allow Evelyn's long familiarity with the preface."

NOTE (N.)

"April 15, 1654. I went to London to hear the famous Dr. Jeremy Taylor (since bishop of Down and Connor) at St. Greg. on 6 Matt. 48, concerning evangelical perfection."

"March 18, 1655. Went to London on purpose to heare that excellent preacher Dr. Jeremy Taylor, on 14 Matth. 17; shewing what were the conditions of obtaining eternal life; also concerning abatements for unavoidable infirmities, how cast on the accompt of the crosse. On the 31st I made a visit to Dr. Jer. Taylor, to confer with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God almighty to make me ever mindful of and thankful for his heavenly assistances."—Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 273—93.

NOTE (O.)

"Rev. Sir,

It was another extraordinary charity which you did me when you lately relieved my apprehensions of your danger by that which I just now received: and though the general persecution re-inforce; yet it is your particular which most concernes me in this sad *catalysis* and declension of piety to which we are reduced. But Sir, what is now to be don that the starrs of our once bright hemisphere are every where pulling from their orbs? I remember where you have sayd it was the harbinger of the greate day, and a very sober and learned person, my worthy friend the great Oughtred, did the other day seriously persuade me *parare in occursum*, and will needs have the following yeares productive of wonderfull and universal changes. What to say of that I know not: but certaine it is we are brought to a sad condition. I speake concerning secular yet religious persons; whose glory it will only be to lie buried in your ruines, a monument too illustrious for such as I am.

For my part, I have learned from your excellent assistances to humble myselfe, and to adore the inscrutable pathes of the Most High: God and His truth are still the same, though the foundations of the world be shaken. *Julianus redivivus* can shut the schooles indeede and the temples; but he cannot hinder our private intercourses and devotions, where the breast is the chappell and our heart is the altar. Obedience founded in the understanding will be the onely cure and retraite. God will accept what remaines, and supply what is necessary. He is not obliged to externals, the purest ages passed under the cruelest persecutions: it is sometymes necessary: and this, and the fulfilling

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of prophecy, are all instruments of greate advantage (even whilst they presse and are incumbent) to those who can make a sanctified use of them. But as the thoughts of many hearts will be discovered, and multitudes scandaliz'd; so are there divers well-disposed persons who will not know how to guide themselves, unlesse some such good men as you discover the secret, and instruct them how they may secure their greatest interest, and steere their course in this darke and uncomfortable weather. Some such discourse would be highly seasonable now that the daily sacrifice is ceasing, and that all the exercise of your functions is made criminal, that the light of Israel is quenched. Where shall we now receive the *viaticum* with safety? How shall we be baptiz'd? For to this passe it is come, Sir. The comfort is, the captivity had no temple, no altar, no king. But did they not observe the passover, nor circumcise? Had they no priests and prophets amongst them? Many are weake in the faith, and know not how to answer, nor whither to fly: and if upon the *apotheosis* of that excellent person, under a malicious representation of his martyrdom, engraven in copper[d], and sent me by a friend from Bruxelles, the Jesuite could so bitterly sarcasme upon the embleme:

> Projicis in ventum caput, Anglia [leg. Angla] Ecclesia? Cæsum
> Si caput est, salvum corpus an esse potest?

how thinke you will they now insult, ravage, and breake in upon the flock; for the shepheards are smitten, and the sheepe must of necessity be scattered, unlesse the greate Shepheard of soules oppose, or some of His delegates reduce and direct us. Deare Sir, we are now preparing to take our last farewell (as they threaten) of God's service in this citty, or any where else in publique. I must confesse it is a sad consideration; but it is what God sees best, and to what we must submitt. The comfort is, *Deus providebit.* Sir, I have not yet been so happy as to see those papers which Mr. Royston tells me are printing, but I greately rejoyce that you have so happily fortified that batterie, and I doubt not but you will maintaine the siege: for you must not be discouraged for the passions of a few. Reason is reason to me where ever I find it, much more where it conduces to a designe so salutary and necessary. At least, I wonder that those who are not convinced by y^r^ arguments, can possibly resist y^r^ charity, and y^r^ modesty: but as you have greatly subdued my education in that particular, and controversy; so am I confident tyme will render you many more proselytes. And if all doe not come so freely in with their suffrages at first, you must with y^r^ accustomed patience attend the event.

"S^r^, I beseech God to conduct all y^r^ labours, those of religion to others, and of love and affection to me, who remayne,

Sir, your, &c.

Lond. 18 Mar. [*qu.* Mai? R. H.] 1655." ———.

Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 98.

The above letter, as it now stands, is dated Mar. 18, 1655. But on that day, as appeared by the preceding extract from his diary, Evelyn had attended

[d] [The engraving alluded to may be seen in the copy of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, illustrated by the late Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland, and now in the Bodleian Library; tom. iii. part 3. p. 198.]

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Taylor's preaching. The devout laity of the episcopal church were therefore not at that time deprived of the means of grace in the manner which this letter deplores. Nor does it seem likely that a letter of such a length, and written in such a manner, would be addressed to a person with whom the writer expected shortly to communicate personally, or with whom he had a few hours before communicated. Again, when he speaks of having received assurances of Taylor's safety, when he talks of being buried in his ruins, &c. he seems to imply that Taylor was then actually in prison, or in some urgent and great danger. And further, on the 31st of March Taylor and Evelyn had another interview. Then therefore, if such a letter had passed between them a few days before, was the time for Taylor to give an answer to the wish expressed in it. We find however that this letter remained unanswered till January in the following year, since this is clearly the one referred to in Taylor's letter of this last date, inasmuch as he there speaks of "the vile distich on the departed saint." I am therefore of opinion that here again, as well as in the former letter, the date has been incorrectly given, and that we should read not March but May, by which time it is extremely probable that Taylor's imprisonment at Chepstow may have commenced.

It may be observed that the passage in Taylor's works to which Evelyn refers, in which the calamities of the time were said to be 'harbingers of the great day,' is probably to be met with in his 'Episcopacy asserted,' (vol. v. p. 14,) where he suggests "that the abolition of episcopacy is the forerunner and preparatory to the great apostasy." The Oughtred who expressed the same opinion, was William Oughtred, author of the *Clavis mathematica* and other works, and the most illustrious geometrician of his time. The church of England was undoubtedly in 1655 exposed to fresh and bitter persecutions, of which an interesting account will be found in the following extract from Parr's life of Usher:—

"Cromwell being now (in 1655) highly enraged against the loyal party for their indefatigable though unsuccessful endeavours for his Majesty's restoration to his throne, after he had shewed himself very implacable and severe to the cavalier gentry, as they then called them, began now to discharge part of his rage upon the orthodox clergy, forbidding them under great penalties to teach schools, or to perform any part of their ministerial function: whereupon some of the most considerable episcopal clergy in and about London desired my lord primate that he would use his interest with Cromwell (since they heard he pretended a great respect for him) that as he granted liberty of conscience to almost all sorts of religions, so the episcopal divines might have the same freedom of serving God in their private congregations (since they were not permitted the public churches) according to the liturgy of the church of England; and that neither the ministers, nor those that frequented that service, might be any more hindered or disturbed by his soldiers. So according to their desires he went and used his utmost endeavours with Cromwell for the taking off this restraint, which was at last promised (although with some difficulty) that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government. But when the lord primate went to him a second time to get this promise ratified and put into writing, he found him

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under his chirurgeon's hand, who was dressing a great boyl which he had on his breast; so Cromwell prayed the lord primate to sit down a little, and that when he was dressed he would speak with him. Whilst this was a doing Cromwell said to my lord primate, if this core (pointing to the boyl) were once out, I should quickly be well; to whom the good bishop replied, 'I doubt the core lies deeper, there is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well.' 'Ah!' replyed he, seeming unconcerned [*Quære*, concerned? R.H.] 'so there is indeed!' and sighed. But when the lord primate began to speak to him concerning the business he came about, he answered him to this effect, that he had since better considered it, having advised with his council about it, and that they thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men, who are restless and implacable enemies to him and his government; and so he took his leave of him, though with good words and outward civility. The lord primate, seeing it was in vain to urge it any farther, said little more to him, but returned to his lodging very much troubled and concerned that his endeavours had met with no better success. When he was in his chamber, he said to some of his relations, and myself, that came to see him, 'This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised: well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long: the king will return; though I shall not live to see it, you may: the government both in church and state is in confusion; the papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantages as will hardly be prevented.'"—Parr's life of Usher, p. 75.

NOTE (P.)

"12 April, 1656. Mr. Berkeley and Mr. Robert Boyle (that excellent person and great *virtuoso*), Dr. Taylor and Dr. Wilkins, dined with me at Sayes Court, when I presented Dr. Wilkins with my rare burning-glasse. In the afternoone we all went to Colonel Blount's, to see his new-invented plows."

"6 May. I brought Monsr. le Franc, a young French Sorbonist, a proselyte, to converse with Dr. Taylor. They fell to dispute on original sin, in Latine, upon a book newly published by the Doctor, who was much satisfied with the young man."

"7. I visited Dr. Taylor, and prevailed on him to propose Monsr. le Franc to the bishop that he might have orders; I having sometime before brought him to a full consent to the church of England her doctrine and discipline, in which he had till of late made some difficulty: so he was this day ordained both deacon and priest, by the bishop of Meath. I paid the fees to his lordship, who was very poore and in greate want; to that necessity were our clergy reduced!"—Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 298, 9.

What bishop it was whom Evelyn describes as the bishop of Meath, I cannot conjecture. Certain it is that there was no bishop of that see at this time, the last, Dr. Anthony Martin, having died in great poverty at Dublin in the year 1650, and his see not being filled up till after the restoration.—Ware, Hist. Ireland, vol. i. p. 158. Ed. Harris.

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NOTE (Q.)

As the little tract in question is extremely scarce, I have subjoined some extracts, which will give the reader an idea of the manner in which the dialogue is carried on between the lady who inveighs against, and her who justifies face-painting. In the frontispice to the second edition, these two disputants are represented,—the one prim, stern, and plainly apparelled; the other in the style of Lely's portraits, patched, her hair in ringlets, with naked shoulders, a fan in her hand, and, so far as the artist was able, beautiful. The grim lady begins the conversation.

"Madam,—I am not more pleased to see you look so well, beyond what you were wont, than I am jealous (to be free with you) lest a person so esteemed as you are for modesty and piety, should use some colour or tincture to advance your complexion; which indeed I take to be no better than that odious and infamous way of painting, every where in all ages so much and so justly spoken against both by God and good men; being a most ungodly practice, though generally (as they say) now used in England (more or less) by persons of quality, who, not content with nature's stock of beauty, do (not by a fine but filthy art) add something to the advantage, as they think, of their complexions; but I fear to the deforming of their souls, and defiling of their consciences."

[The other replies. Then the first procceds again;—]

"Truly, madam, I absolutely think (without any mincing or distinction) all colour or complexion added to our skins and faces, beyond what is purely natural, to be a sin, as being flatly against the word of God, which I suppose you grant to be the indispensable and unchangeable rule of all moral holiness, from which we may not warp in the least degree upon any pretensions to advance our honours, estates, healths, or beauties. First then, if your la^p look into 2 Kings ix. 30, you shall see wicked Jezebel, though a queen, yet not tolerated or excused, but foully branded and heavily punished for painting her eyes or face; for which she was afterwards, by a most deformed destiny, justly devoured of dogs; as the most reverend lord primate of Armagh observes in his larger catechism upon the seventh commandment. Which fearful stroke of divine vengeance, and censure of so learned and pious a person, (making that her painting a most meritorious and principal cause of her so sad destiny,) are sufficient, I think, to scare the most adventurous woman from any such sinful and accursed practice."

This is wretched work; but these are some of the arguments of the beaten party. Let us now examine the other side. What follows is as favourable a specimen as I can find; and is certainly not without wit, but I cannot persuade myself that it resembles the style of Jeremy Taylor.

"When was your la^p scandalised with any grave and sober matron, because she laid out the combings or cuttings of her own or others more youthful hair, when her own (now become withered and autumnal) seemed less becoming her? How many both men's and women's warmer heats in religion do now admit not only borders of foreign hair, but full and fair peruques on their heads, without sindging one hair by their disputative and scrupulous zeal, which in these things of fashion is now grown much out of fashion?

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Your ladyship's charity doth not reprove, but pity, those poor Vulcanists, who balance the inequality of their heels or badger-legs[e], by the art and help of the shoemaker; nor are those short-legged ladies thought less godly who fly to *chopines*, and by enlarging the phylacteries of their coats, conceal at once both their great defects in native brevity, and the enormous additions of their artificial heights, which make many small women walk with as much caution and danger almost, as the Turk danceth on the ropes. Who ever is so impertinent a bigot, as to find fault when the hills and dales of crooked and unequal bodies are made to meet without a miracle, by some iron bodice ['bodies' edd.] or some benign bolsterings? Who fears to set straight or hide the unhandsome warpings of bow-legs, and baker-feet? What is there as to any defect in nature whereof ingenuous art, as a diligent handmaid waiting on its mistress, doth not study some supply or other, so far as to graff in silver plates into cracked sculls, to furnish cropt faces with artificial noses, to fill up the broken ranks and routed files of the teeth with ivory adjutants or lieutenants? Yet against all or any of these and the like reparative inventions by which art and ingenuity studies to help and repair the defects or deformities which God in nature, or providence, is pleased to inflict upon our bodies, no pen is sharpened, no pulpit is battered, no writ of rebellion, or charge of forgery and false coinage, is brought against any in the court of conscience; no poor creature (who thankfully embraceth, modestly useth, and with more cheerfulness serveth God by means of some such help, which either takes away its reproach, or easeth its pain) is scared with dreadful scruples, or so terrified with the threatenings of sin, hell, and damnation, as to cast away (much against their wills) that innocent succour which God in nature, and art, had given them; from which they part with as much regret as the poor man did from his darling lamb, which the rich man's insolence not his indigence, not his want but wantonness, forced from him. Rather we are so civilly pious in these cases, as to applaud others no less than please ourselves in those happy delusions, whereby we conceal, or any way compensate these our deformities or defects in any kind, which seem to us less convenient, or to others less comely, in this our mortal and visible pilgrimage. Only if the face (which is the metropolis of humane[f] majesty, and as it were the cathedral of beauty, or comeliness, in the little world or polity of our bodies) if this have sustained any injuries (as it is most exposed to them) of time, or any accident; if it stand in need of any thing that our charity and ingenuity in art can help it to, though the thing be never so cheap, easie and harmless, either to enliven the pallid deadness of it, and to redeem it from mortmain, or to pair and match the inequal cheeks to each other, when one is as Rachel, the other as Leah, or to cover any pimples and heats, or to remove any obstructions, or to mitigate and quench excessive flushings, hereby to set off the face to such decency and equality as may innocently

[e] ["It is a vulgar error, still inveterately maintained by many who have sufficient opportunities of informing themselves better, that the badger has the two legs on one side shorter than those on the other. It is noticed as an error by Brown, Vulg. err. iii. 5. It is alluded to as a supposed fact by W. Browne and Drayton." Nares, (Glossary) who quotes the passages.]

[f] [See vol. v. p. 386.]

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please ourselves and others, without any thought to displease God (who looks not to the outward appearance, but to the heart) what censures and whispers, yea, what outcries and clamours, what lightnings and thunders, what anathemas, excommunications, and condemnations, fill the thoughts, the pens, the tongues, the pulpits of many angry (yet it may be well-meaning) Christians, both preachers and others, who are commonly more quick-sighted and offended with the least mote they fancie of adding to a lady's complexion, than with many camels of their own customary opinions and practices? Good men, though in other things not only of the fineness and neatness, but even of some falsity and pretension, they are so good-natured and indulgent as to allow their lame or their crooked wives and daughters, whatever ingenuous concealments and reparations, art and their purses can afford them; yet as to the point of face-mending, they condemn them, like Paul's church[s], to sink under everlasting ruines. The most of your plainer bred and as it were home-spun professors and preachers, who never went far beyond their own homes, can with less equal eyes behold any woman, of never so great quality, if they see or suspect her to be adorned any whit beyond the vulgar mode, or decked with feathers more gay and goodly than those birds use, which are of their own countrey nest. In which cases of feminine dressing and adorning, no casuist is sufficient to enumerate or resolve the many intricate niceties and endless scruples of conscience, which some men's and women's more plebeian zelotry makes, as about ladies' cheeks and faces, if they appear one dram or degree more quick and rosy than they were wonted, so about the length and fashion of their clothes and hair. One while they are so perplexed about the curling of ladies' hair, that they can as hardly dis-intangle themselves as a bee entangled in honey; otherwise they are most scrupulous mathematicians to measure the arms, wrists, necks and trains of ladies, how far they may safely venture to let their garments draw after them on the ground, or their naked skins be seen. Here however some men can bear the sight of the fairest faces without so much as winking (where the greatest face of beauty is displayed), yet they pretend that no strength of humane virtue can endure the least assaults or peepings of naked necks, if they make any discovery or breaking forth below the ears. Not that any modest mind pleads for wanton prostituting of naked breasts, where the civiller customs of any countrey forbid it; but some men's rigour and fierceness is such, that if they espy any thing in the dress, clothes, or garb of women, beyond what they approve or have been wonted to, presently the taylors, the tire-women, the gorget-makers, the seamstresses, the chamber-maids, the dressers, and all that wretched crew of obsequious attendants, are condemned as anti-christian, and only fit to wait upon the whore of Babylon. Nor do the poor ladies (though otherwise young and innocent, though as vertuous as handsome, or if possibly elder, every way exemplary for modesty, gravity, and charity, yet they do not) without great gifts and presents (as by so many fines and heriots) redeem themselves from some men's severe censures; and if they do take any freedom to dress and set forth themselves after

[s] [See Dugdale's hist. of S. Paul's, pp. 110, 5.]

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the best mode and fashion, it costs them as much as the Roman captain's freedom did him; when indeed they are (as St. Paul pleaded) free-born, not only in nature, but as to grace and the new birth, which is no enemy to what fashion's modesty may bear, and which decency, civility, and custom, do require."

The 'Turk' mentioned in the above quotation was no doubt a rope-dancer of that nation, mentioned by Evelyn as 'the famous funamble Turk,' who appears to have been allowed to exhibit his talents during the commonwealth, notwithstanding the prohibition of most public amusements.

NOTE (R.)

"25 March, 1657. Dr. Taylor shewed me his MSS. of Cases of Conscience, or *Ductor dubitantium*, now fitted for the presse.

"7 June. My fourth sonn was born, christened George, after my grandfather; Dr. Jer. Taylor officiating in the drawing-room.

"July 16. On Dr. Jer. Taylor's recommendation I went to Eltham, to help one Moodey, a young man, to that living, by my interest with the patron."—Vol. i. pp. 304—6.

NOTE (T.)

"He (Heneage Finch, afterwards earl of Nottingham) had a brother named Francis Finch, bred up also under E. Silvester, was afterwards a gent. com. of Bal. Coll. but leaving it without a degree, went to London, studied the law, and became a barrister of one of the temples; but before he had long practised he died, yet lives still in those several pieces of ingenuity he left behind him, wherein he falls not short of the best of poets. And because *poeta est finitimus oratori*, he might have proved excellent in that too, having so incomparable a precedent as his brother sir Heneage Finch. Among the several specimens of his poetry which I have seen, is a copy of verses before Will. Cartwright's poems, an. 1651, as there is of his brother John: another before a book entitled 'Aires and Dialogues for one, two, and three voices, Lond. 1653, fol. published by Hen. Lawes. In the body of which book he hath a poem, entitled 'Cælia singing,' to which the said Lawes composed an air of two parts to be sung," &c.—*Fasti*, vol. ii. p. 59. [102, ed. Bliss.]

Mr. Finch's discourse on Friendship is not mentioned by A. Wood, any more than that on Honour, both which however are extolled by Orinda in her address (Poems, p. 19) "to the noble Palæmon on his incomparable Discourse of Friendship:" and her description of "Mr. Francis Finch, the excellent Palæmon," (ib. pp. 91, 3.)

> "'Twas he that rescued gasping Friendship, when
> The bell toll'd for her funeral with men;
> 'Twas he that made friends more than lovers burn,
> And then made love to sacred friendship turn;
> 'Twas he turned Honour inward, set her free
> From titles and from popularity.
> Now fix'd to virtue, she begs praise of none,
> But witness'd and rewarded both at home."

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NOTE (U.)

"TO THE LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER[h].

SIR,

I should begin with the greater apologie for this addresse, did not the consideration of the nature of y^r greate employment and my feares to importune them carry with them an excuse which, I have hope to believe, you will easily admit. But as it is an errour to be troublesome to great persons upon trifling affaires, so were it no less a crime to be silent in an occasion, wherein I may do an act of charity, and reconcile a person to your good opinion, who has deserved so well, and I thinke is so innocent. Sir, I speake in behalfe of Dr. Taylor, of whom I understand you have conceived some displeasure for the mistake of his printer, and the readiest way that I can thinke of to do him honour and bring him into esteeme with you, is to beg of you that you will please to give him leave to waite upon you, that you may learn from his owne mouth, as well as the world has done from his writings, how averse he is from any thing that he may be charged withall to his prejudice, and how greate an adversary he has ever bin in particular to the popish religion, against which he has employed his pen so signally, and with such successe. And when by this favour you shall have don justice to all interests, I am not without faire hopes that I shall have mutually obliged you both, by doing my endeavour to serve my worthy and pious friend, and by bringing so innocent and deserving a person into your protection; who am,

Sir, &c.

From Greenwich, 14 Jan. 1656-7."

NOTE (V.)

"Feb. 25, 1658. Came Dr. Jeremy Taylor and my brothers, with other friends, to visite and condole with us."

"March 7. To London to hear Dr. Taylor in a private house, on xiii. Luke, 23, 4. After the sermon followed the blessed communion, of which I participated. In the afternoon Dr. Gunning at Excester house expounding part of the creede."—Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 312.

It is singular that in the minutes of the privy council, which have been examined for me by the kindness of my valued friend H. Hobhouse, esquire, no traces appear of any order for Taylor's imprisonment, or his appearance before them, either on this occasion, or when he was confined in the castle at Chepstow. For this omission it is not easy to account. How a supposed state criminal could be put in confinement without such an order appearing, is not plain, unless we suppose that in those arbitrary times the committees and inferior agents of the government exercised the power of imprisonment. It is indeed noticeable that Evelyn's letter is addressed to the lieutenant of

[h] "This was written for another gentleman, an acquaintance with the *villain* who was now lieut. of the Tower:—Baxter, by by name, for I never had the least knowledge of him."—Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. ii. part i. p. 112.

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the Tower himself, and that he speaks of Taylor as having incurred 'his' displeasure, as if he had been the cause of his imprisonment as well as the keeper of his prison. In the Tower however, whose records have been also consulted, no warrants or commitments are preserved of a date anterior to the Restoration.

NOTE (V *.)

Had Taylor forgotten the testimony of Hegesippus concerning the grandchildren of S. Jude, the last survivors of the house of David, and after the flesh the kinsmen of our Lord, who were examined and dismissed without injury by Domitian? See Routh, *Rell. sacræ*, vol. i. p. 196. I would rather believe that he had forgotten the story, than that he regarded as fabulous a narrative so probable in itself and so apparently authentic. [Cf. vol. iii. p. 110.]

NOTE (W.)

Taylor alludes to the following passage from the neglected work of Thomas Aquinas, which may serve at least as a specimen of those subtleties which once exercised the best wits in christendom. The practice of Aquinas must be borne in mind; that, namely, he states the arguments on both sides, and then moderates between them.

QUÆSTIO L. ART. 4.

Utrum angeli differant specie.

Ad quartum sic proceditur. Videtur quod Angeli non differant in specie. Cum enim differentia sit nobilior genere, quæcunque conveniunt secundum id quod est nobilissimum in eis, conveniunt in ultima differentia constitutiva, et ita sunt eadem secundum speciem. Sed omnes angeli conveniunt in eo quod est nobilissimum in eis, scilicet in intellectualitate. Ergo omnes angeli sunt unius speciei.

2. *Præt. Magis et minus non diversificant speciem. Sed angeli non videntur differre ab invicem nisi secundum magis et minus: prout s. unus alio est simplicior et perspicacioris intellectus. Ergo angeli non differunt specie.*

3. *Præterea. Anima et angelus ex opposito dividuntur: sed omnes animæ sunt unius speciei; ergo et angeli.*

4. *Præt. Quanto aliquid est perfectius in natura, tanto magis debet multiplicari. Hoc autem non esset si in una specie esset unum tantum individuum. Ergo multi angeli sunt unius speciei.*

Sed CONTRA *est, quod in his quæ sunt unius speciei, non est invenire prius et posterius, ut dicitur in* 3 *Metaphys. Sed in angelis etiam unius ordinis sunt primi et medii et ultimi, ut dicit Dion.* 10 *cap. angelicæ hierarch. Ergo angeli non sunt unius speciei. Conclusio: Cum omnes spirituales substantiæ ex materia et forma compositæ non sint, ejusdem non sunt speciei.*

RESPONDEO. *Dicendum, quod quidam dixerunt omnes substantias spirituales*

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esse unius speciei, etiam animas. Alii vero quod omnes angeli sunt unius speciei, sed non animæ. Quidam vero, quod omnes angeli unius hierarchiæ, aut etiam unius ordinis. Sed hoc est impossibile. Ea .n. quæ conveniunt specie et differunt numero, conveniunt in forma, sed distinguuntur materialiter. Si ergo angeli non sunt compositi ex materia et forma, ut dictum est supra: sequitur quod impossibile sit esse duos angelos unius speciei; sicut etiam impossibile esset dicere quod essent plures albedines separatæ, aut plures humanitates, cum albedines non sint plures, nisi secundum quod sunt in diversis substantiis. Si tamen angeli haberent materiam, nec sic tamen possent esse plures angeli unius speciei. Sic enim oporteret quod principium distinctionis unius ab alio esset materia, non quidem secundum divisionem quantitatis, cum sint incorporei, sed secundum diversitatem potentiarum. Quæ quidem diversitas materiæ causat diversitatem non solum speciei sed generis.

Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod differentia est nobilior genere, sicut determinatum indeterminato et proprium communi, non autem sicut alia et alia natura. Alioquin oporteret quod omnia animalia irrationalia essent unius speciei, vel quod esset in eis aliqua alia perfectior forma quam anima sensibilis. Differunt ergo specie animalia irrationalia secundum diversos gradus determinatos naturæ sensitivæ. Et similiter omnes angeli differunt specie secundum diversos gradus naturæ intellectivæ.

Ad secundum dicendum, quod magis et minus secundum quod causantur ex intensione et remissione unius formæ, non diversificant speciem. Sed secundum quod causantur ex formis diversorum graduum, sic diversificant speciem: sicut si dicamus, quod ignis est perfectior aere. Et hoc modo angeli diversificantur secundum magis et minus.

Ad tertium dicendum, quod bonum speciei præponderat bono individui. Unde multo melius est quod multiplicentur species in angelis, quam quod multiplicentur individua in una specie.—Ad quartum dicendum, quod multiplicatio secundum numerum cum in infinitum protendi possit, non intenditur ab agente, sed sola multiplicatio secundum speciem, ut supra dictum est. Unde perfectio naturæ angelicæ requirit multiplicationem specierum, non autem multiplicationem individuorum in una specie.—S. Thom. Aquin. *Summa totius theologiæ*, pars i. p. 97. [fo. 172. fol. Venet. 1693.]

NOTE (X.)

These facts appear from a letter of lord Conway's, dated June 15, 1658, of which the following is an extract. It is addressed to major George Rawdon, who had married his sister, and who, from his residence and influence in Ireland, might materially contribute to the fulfilment of lord Conway's wishes. It should seem that major Rawdon had, in answer to a previous application, given a discouraging account of the state of the country.

"Dear Brother,

That which you writ me in your letter of the 2d of this month concerning Dr. Taylor, was sufficient to have discouraged him and all his friends from any further thoughts of that country; but I thank God, I went upon a principle not to be repented of, for I had no interest or passion in what I did for

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him, but rather some reluctancy. What I pursued was, to do an act of piety towards him, and an act of piety towards all such as are truly disposed to virtue in those parts; for I am certain he is the choicest person in England appertaining to the conscience, and let others blemish him how they please, yet all I have written of him is true. He is a man of excellent parts and an excellent life; but in regard that this is not powerful to purchase his quiet, I shall tell you what is done in relation to that. Dr. Petty hath written by him to Dr. Harrison and several others, and promist to provide him a purchase of land, at great advantage, and many other intimate kindnesses, wherein your advice will be askt. Dr. Cox, a physician, and a very ingenious man, who hath married the chancellor's sister, hath written on his behalf very passionately, and some of as near relation to my lord Peepes hath recommended him to him. Serjeant Twisden, one of the eminentest lawyers in England, who married sir Matthew Tomlinson's sister, hath written to him very earnestly, and so hath his wife also. Mr. Hall, an understanding man, and always one of the knights for Lincolnshire, hath recommended him to his friend Mr. Bury, and so hath Mr. Bacon, one of the masters of request, done for him to my lord chief baron. But besides all this, my lord Protector hath given him a pass and a protection for himself and his family, under his sign manual and privy signet. So that I hope it will not be treason to look upon him and to own him. Dr. Loftus is his friend. I have sent you and my sister a box of pills, by Dr. Taylor, of the same proportion as that I sent last summer.

Your affectionate brother,

E. CONWAY.

Kensington, June 15, 1658."

NOTE (Y.)

Edwards in his *Gangræna*, speaks of the Perfectists or Perfectionists in the same category with the most detested heretics of his time. "All the sects, yea, the worst of them, as the Antiscripturists, Arians, Anti-trinitarians, Perfectists, being Independents and Separatists." The Dr. Gell who appears to have favoured them, was probably "Robert Gell, D.D. of Pampisford in Cambridgeshire, rector of St. Mary, Aldermary, and sometime chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, which Doctor died in the very beginning of the year (twenty-fifth March or thereabouts) 1665."—*Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. iii. col. 562.

NOTE (Z.)

"I received a letter yesterday from Dr. Taylor: it hath almost broken my heart. Mr. Tandy hath exhibited articles against him to the lord deputy and council, so simple (as colonel Hill writes) that it is impossible it should come to any thing: the greatest scandal being that he christened Mr. Bryer's child with the sign of the cross. I have written to Hyrne to supply him with money for his vindication, as if it were my own business. I hope therefore, when you come over, you will take him (Tandy) off from persecuting

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me, since none knows better than yourself whether I deserve the same at his hands. I would have sent you the Doctor's letter to me, but that I know not whether this will ever come to you. The quarrel is, it seems, because he thinks Dr. Taylor more welcome to Hillsborough than himself.

E. CONWAY.

Kensington, June 14, 1659."

To this same conduct of Tandy's lord Conway elsewhere alludes with a similar resentment: "Mr. Tandy may have enough of these (Anabaptists and Quakers) to set himself against, without troubling his peaceable and best neighbours."—Rawdon Papers, p. 199.

NOTE (A A.)

The first work to which Taylor alludes is 'St. Chrysostom's Golden book for the education of children, out of the Greeke,' 1659. 12mo. The other work alluded to must have been in MS., since I cannot find that Evelyn ever published any account of his travels. The authors of the *Biographia Britannica* (vol. v. p. 610) say, "It is much to be regretted that a work so entertaining as the history of his travels would have been, appeared, even to so indefatigable a person as he was, a task too laborious for him to undertake: for we should there have seen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy which are now very indistinctly and partially represented; and we should have also met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we shall now probably never hear at all."

NOTE (B B.)

This was Thomas Piers, or Pierce, first fellow of Magdalen, afterwards rector of Brington in Northamptonshire, then president of his own College, and lastly dean of Salisbury. He is described by Wood as "a person well read in authors whether civil or prophane, of a florid style, a zealous son of the church of England, though originally a calvinist; but above all a most excellent preacher, whether in the English or the Latin tongue." Wood, *Athen.*, vol. iv. p. 299. The particular works alluded to by Taylor are, 1) "An additional advertisement of Mr. Baxter's book entitled The Grotian religion discovered, &c." printed in the same volume with "Self-condemnation exemplified in Mr. Whitfield, Mr. Barlee, and Mr. Hickman; with occasional reflections on Calvin, Beza, Zuinglius, Piscator, Rivet, and Bullock; but more especially on Dr. W. Twisse and Mr. T. Hobbes." Lond. 1650, quarto. 2) "The new discoverer discovered; by way of answer to Mr. Baxter his pretended discovery of the Grotian religion, with the several subjects therein contained." Lond. 1659, quarto. Pierce seems to have been a pungent and caustic writer, well read in the quinquarticular controversy, and fearless in the defence of the church of England, even during her time of greatest depression. He must however have in some degree complied with the ruling powers, since he held his living unmolested during the whole of the civil war and the usurpation.

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NOTE (C C.)

"Herbert Thorndyke, prebend of Westminster, and sometimes fellow of Trin. Coll., in Cambridge," died in July 1672. He is mentioned by Wood, *Athen.*, vol. ii. p. 302 and 4. But of his literary labours I know nothing; nor from Taylor's estimate do they seem worth much enquiry.

NOTE (D D.)

For a beautiful 'Prayer to be said by debtors and all persons obliged, whether by crime or contract,' see the 'Holy living,' vol. iii. p. 143. It contains many expressions which prove it to have been in frequent use with Taylor himself, and to have been prompted by the necessities of his own condition.

NOTE (E E.)

Extract from the Oliverian minutes of the year 1659: Record Tower, Dublin castle.

"Dr. Taylor.

Ordered,

That Lt. Coll. Bryan Smyth, Governor of Carrickfergus, do forthwith upon sight hereof cause the body of Dr. Jeremiah Taylor to be sent up to Dublin, under safe custody, to the end he may make his personall appearance before the said Com^rs. to answer unto such things as shall be objected ag^t him in behalf of the Com'onwealth. Dated att Dublin ye 11th of August 1659.

Signed, THO. HERBERT Secr."

NOTE (F F.)

These troubles were the rising of sir George Booth and the gentry of Cheshire and the neighbouring counties, after the death of Cromwell, in July 1659. The usual way between London and Ireland was thus rendered impassable, and the severities which were exercised on the loyalists after their defeat were likely to render men unwilling to become the bearers of any communication with a person of such known political principles as Jeremy Taylor.—See Hume, vol. vii. p. 300—2.

NOTE (G G.)

The works here alluded to are, 1st, Evelyn's "Apology for the royal party, written in a letter to a person in the late council of state; with a touch at the pretended plea of the army." London, 1659, quarto; and *Elysium Britannicum*, a projected treatise on gardening in three books, which was never completed.—See Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 90.

NOTE (H H.)

"Here I cannot but instance two acts of the presbyterians, by which, if their humour and spirit were not enough discovered and known, their want of in-

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genuity and integrity would be manifest; and how impossible it is for men who would not be deceived, to depend on either. When the declaration had been delivered to the ministers, there was a clause in it, in which the king declared 'his own constant practice of the Common prayer, and that he would take it well from those who used it in their churches, that the common people might be again acquainted with the piety, gravity, and devotion of it, and which he thought would facilitate their living in a good neighbourhood together,' or words to that effect. When they had considered the whole some days, Mr. Calamy, and some other ministers deputed by the rest, came to the chancellor to redeliver it into his hands. They acknowledged 'the king had been very gracious to them in his concessions; though he had not granted all that some of their brethren wished, yet they were contented;' only desired him that 'he would prevail with the king that the clause mentioned before might be left out; which,' they protested, 'was moved by them for the king's own end; and that they might show their obedience to him, and resolution to do him service. For they were resolved themselves to do what the king wished, and first to reconcile the people, who for near twenty years had not been acquainted with that form, by informing them that it contained much piety and devotion, and might be lawfully used; and then that they would begin to use it themselves, and by degrees accustom the people to it. Which,' they said, 'would have a better effect than if the clause were in the declaration; for they should be thought in their persuasions to comply only with the king's recommendation, and to merit from his majesty, and not to be moved from the conscience of the duty: and so they should take that occasion to manifest their zeal to please the king. And they feared there would be other ill consequences from it, by the waywardness of the common people, who were to be treated with skill, and would not be prevailed upon all at once.' The king was to be present the next morning, to hear the declaration read the last time before both parties; and then the chancellor told him, in the presence of all the rest, what the ministers had desired; which they again enlarged upon, with the same protestations of their resolutions, in such a manner that his majesty believed they meant honestly; and the clause was left out. But the declaration was no sooner published, than, observing that the people were generally satisfied with it, they sent their emissaries abroad; and many of their letters were intercepted, and particularly a letter from Mr. Calamy to a leading minister in Somersetshire, whereby he advised and intreated him 'that he and his friends would continue and persist in the use of the Directory, and by no means admit the Common prayer in their churches; for that he made no question but that they should prevail further with the king than he had yet consented to in his declaration.'

"The other instance was, that as soon as the declaration was printed, the king received a petition in the name of the ministers of London and many others of the same opinion with them, who had subscribed that petition; amongst whom none of those who had attended the king in those conferences had their names. They gave his majesty humble thanks 'for the grace he had vouchsafed to show in his declaration, which they received as an earnest of his future goodness and condescension in granting all those other concessions,

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which were absolutely necessary for the liberty of their conscience; and desired, with much importunity and ill manners, 'that the wearing the surplice, and the using the cross in baptism, might be absolutely abolished out of the church, as being scandalous to all men of tender consciences.' From these two instances all men may conclude that nothing but a severe execution of the law can ever prevail upon that classis of men to conform to government." Clarendon's Life, p. 75 sq. [vol. i. p. 481. 8vo. Oxon. 1827.]

I certainly do not consider Clarendon's inference as an accurate one. The duplicity or bigotry of a few leading individuals can be no good argument against using all just and reasonable means to conciliate a numerous and powerful party, the majority of whom must be, like other men, to be subdued by kindness, and satisfied when their complaints are attended to. Nor is there any method so likely to destroy the consequence of the obnoxious individuals themselves, as a removal of the real or imaginary grievances which constitute the strength of their cause, and supply them with arms against the government. But we know how much mankind are, even in spite of themselves, deterred from a perseverance in conciliatory measures, by the unthankful manner in which those measures are received: nor have they who will make no concessions, any right to complain that they do not obtain fresh privileges.

NOTE (II.)

The inscription on the communion plate is as follows:

IN MINISTERIUM SS. MYSTERIORUM
IN ECCLESIA CHRISTI REDEMPTORIS
DE DROMORE
DEO DEDIT HUMILLIMA DOMINI ANCILLA
D. JOANNA TAYLOR.

Boaney, p. 323.

Here, it will be observed, the lady is called Joanna, without any distinctive mark; but as Mrs. Taylor herself bore that name, she is more likely to have been the giver than her daughter: more particularly since Joanna the daughter had two elder sisters, and can have been little more than a child at this time. Mrs. Taylor was also an heiress, so that she may well have retained some portion of her property in her own hands, so as to make the present really hers.

NOTE (J J.)

"At Michaelmas 1662, Francis Taverner, about twenty-five years old, a lusty proper stout fellow, then servant at large (afterwards porter) to the lord Chichester earl of Donegal, at Belfast in the north of Ireland, county of Antrim, and diocese of Connor, riding late in the night from Hilbrough homeward, near Drum-Bridge, his horse, though of good metal, suddenly made a stand; and he supposing him to be taken with the staggers, alighted to bloud him in the mouth, and presently mounted again. As he was setting forward, there seemed to pass by him two horsemen, though he could not hear the treading of their feet, which amazed him. Presently there appeared

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a third in a white coat, just at his elbow, in the likeness of James Haddock, formerly an inhabitant in Malone, where he died near five years before. Whereupon Taverner asked him in the name of God who he was? He replied, 'I am James Haddock, and you may call to mind by this token: that about five years ago, I and two other friends were at your father's house, and you by your father's appointment brought us some nuts; and therefore be not afraid,' says the apparition. Whereupon Taverner, remembering the circumstances, thought it might be Haddock; and those two who passed by before him, he thought to be his two friends with him when he gave them nuts; and courageously asked him why he appeared to him rather than any other. He answered, because he was a man of more resolution than others: and if he would ride his way with him, he would acquaint him with a business he had to deliver him. Which Taverner refused to do, and would go his own way (for they were now at a quadrivial) and so rode on homewards. But immediately on their departure there arose a great wind, and withal he heard very hideous screeches and noises, to his great amazement; but riding forward as fast as he could, he at last heard the cocks crow, to his comfort; he alighted from his horse, and falling to prayer, desired God's assistance, and so got safe home.

"The night after there appeared again to him the likeness of James Haddock, and bid him go to Elenor Welsh (now the wife of Davis living at Malone, but formerly the wife of the said James Haddock, by whom she had an onely son, to whom the said James Haddock had by his will given a lease which he held of the lord Chichester, of which the son was deprived by Davis who had married his mother) and to ask her if her maiden name was not Elenor Welsh; and if it were, to tell her that it was the will of her former husband James Haddock that their son should be righted in the lease. But Taverner, partly loath to gain the ill will of his neighbours, and partly thinking he should not be credited but looked on as deluded, long neglected to do his message; till having been every night for about a month's space haunted with this apparition in several forms, every night more and more terrible, (which was usually preceded by an unusual trembling over his whole body, and great change of countenance manifest to his wife, in whose presence frequently the apparition was, though not visible to her) at length he went to Malone to Davis's wife, and askt whether her maiden name was not Elenor Welsh; if it was, he had something to say to her. She replied, there was another Elenor Welsh besides her. Hereupon Taverner returned without delivering his message. The same night being fast asleep in his bed (for the former apparitions were as he sate by the fire with his wife) by something pressing upon him he was awakened, and saw again the apparition of James Haddock in a white coat as at other times, who asked him if he had delivered his message? He answered, he had been there with Elenor Welsh. Upon which the apparition looking more pleasantly upon him, bid him not be afraid, and so vanished in a flash of brightness. But some nights after (he having not delivered his message) he came again, and appearing in many formidable shapes, threatened to tear him in pieces if he did not do it. This made him leave his house where he dwelt in the mountains, and betake him-

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self to the town of Belfast, where he sate up all night at one Pierce's house a shoemaker, accompanied with the said Pierce and a servant or two of the lord Chichester, who were desirous to hear or see the spirit. About midnight as they were all by the fire-side they beheld Taverner's countenance to change, and a trembling to fall on him, who presently espyed the apparition in a room opposite to him where he sate, and took up the candle and went to it, and resolutely asked him in the name of God wherefore it haunted him? It replied, because he had not delivered the message, and withal threatened to tear him in pieces if he did not do it speedily; and so changing itself into many prodigious shapes, it vanisht in white like a ghost. Whereupon Francis Taverner became much dejected and troubled, and next day went to the lord Chichester's house, and with tears in his eyes related to some of the family the sadness of his condition. They told it to my lord's chaplain Mr. James South, who came presently to Taverner, and being acquainted of his whole story, advised him to go this present time to Malone to deliver punctually his message, and promised to go along with him. But first they went to Dr. Lewis Downs, then minister of Belfast, who upon hearing the relation of the whole matter, doubted at first the truth of it, attributing it rather to melancholy than any thing of reality. But being afterwards fully satisfied of it, the only scruple remaining was, whether it might be lawful to go on such a business, not knowing whose errand it was; since, though it was a real apparition of some spirit, yet it was questionable whether of a good or a bad spirit. Yet the justice of the cause (it being the common report the youth was wronged) and other considerations prevailing, he went with them. So they three went to Davis's house, where the woman being desired to come to them, Taverner did effectually do his message, by telling her that he could not be at quiet for the ghost of her former husband James Haddock, who threatened to tear him in pieces if he did not tell her she must right John Haddock, her son by him, in a lease wherein she and Davis her now husband had wronged him. This done, he presently found great quietness in his mind; and thanking the gentlemen for their company, advice, and assistance, he departed thence to his brother's house at Drum-Bridge; where, about two nights after, the aforesaid apparition came to him again, and, more pleasantly than formerly, askt if he had delivered his message? He answered, he had done it fully. It replied, that he must do the message to the executors also, that the business might be perfected. At this meeting, Taverner asked the spirit if Davis would do him any hurt; to which it answered at first somewhat doubtfully; but at length threatened Davis, if he attempted any thing to the injury of Taverner, and so vanisht away in white.

"The day following, Dr. Jeremie Taylor, bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, was to go to keep court at Dromore, and commanded me, who was then secretary to him, to write for Taverner to meet him there, which he did. And there in the presence of many he examined Taverner strictly in this strange scene of Providence, as my lord stil'd it; and by the account given him both by Taverner, and others who knew Taverner, and much of the former particulars, his lordship was satisfied that the apparition was true and real; but said no more there to him, because at Hilbrough, three miles from

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thence on his way home, my lord was informed that my lady Conway and other persons of quality were coming purposely to hear his lordship examine the matter. So Taverner went with us to Hilbrough; and there, to satisfy the curiosity of the fresh company, after asking many things anew, and some over again, my lord advised him, the next time the spirit appeared, to ask him these questions: 'Whence are you? are you a good or a bad spirit? where is your abode? what station do you hold? how are you regimented in the other world? and what is the reason that you appear for the relief of your son in so small a matter, when so many widows and orphans are oppressed in the world, being defrauded of greater matters, and none from thence of their relations appear, as you do, to right them?'

"That night Taverner was sent for to Lisburne, to my lord Conway's, three miles from Hilbrough, on his way home to Belfast, where he was again strictly examined in the presence of many good men and women of the aforesaid matter; who was ordered to lie at my lord Conway's all night; and about nine or ten a clock at night, standing by the fire-side with his brother and many others, his countenance changed, and he fell into a trembling, the usual prognostic of the apparition; and being loath to make any disturbance in his lordship's house, he and his brother went out into the court, where he saw the spirit coming over the wall; which approaching nearer, askt him if he had done his message to the executors also; he replied, he had, and wondered it should still haunt him. It replied, he need not fear, for it would do him no hurt, nor trouble him any more, but the executors, if he did not see the boy righted. Here his brother put him in mind to ask the spirit what the bishop bid him, which he did presently. But it gave him no answer, but crawled on its hands and feet over the wall again, and so vanisht in white, with a most melodious harmony.

"Note (1) That Pierce, at whose house and in whose presence the apparition was, being askt whether he saw the spirit, said he did not, but thought at that time he had a mist all over his eyes. (2) What was then spoke to Taverner was in so low and hollow a voice, that they could not understand what it said. (3) At Pierce's house it stood just in the entry of a door, and as a maid passed by to go in at the door, Taverner saw it go aside and give way to the maid, though she saw it not. (4) That the lease was hereupon disposed to the boy's use. (5) The spirit at the last appearing at my lord Conway's house, revealed somewhat to Taverner, which he would not discover to any of us that askt him.

"This Taverner, with all the persons and places mentioned in the story, I knew very well, and all wise and good men did believe it, especially the bishop, and dean of Conner, Dr. Rust.

Witness your humble servant,

THOMAS ALCOCK."

"David Hunter neat-herd at the bishop's house at Portmore, there appeared to him one night, carrying a log of wood into the dairy, an old woman, which amazed him, for he knew her not; but the fright made him throw away his

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log of wood, and run into the house. The next night she appeared again to him, and he could not chuse but follow her all night, and so almost every night for near three quarters of a year. Whenever she came, he must go with her through the woods at a good round rate, and the poor fellow looked as if he was bewitched and travelled off his legs. And when in bed with his wife, if she appeared, he must rise and go. And because his wife could not hold him in his bed, she would go too, and walk after him till day, though she see nothing. But his little dog was so well acquainted with the apparition, that he would follow her as well as his master. If a tree stood in her walk, he observed her always to go through it. In all this while she spake not.

"But one day the said David going over a hedge into the high-way, she came just against him; and he cryed out, 'Lord bless me! would I was dead; shall I never be delivered from this misery?' At which 'And the Lord bless me too,' says she; 'It was very happy you spake first, for till then I had no power to speak, though I have followed you so long.' 'My name,' says she, 'is Margaret ——. I lived here before the war, and had one son by my husband. When he died I married a soldier, by whom I had several children, which that former son maintained, else we must have all starved. He lives beyond the Baun-Water; pray go to him, and bid him dig under such a hearth, and there he shall find 28s. Let him pay what I owe in such a place, and the rest to the charge unpaid at my funeral; and go to my son that lives here, which I had by my latter husband, and tell him that he lives a wicked and a dissolute life, and is very unnatural and ungrateful to his brother that maintained him; and if he does not mend his life, God almighty will destroy him.'

"David Hunter told her he never knew her. 'No,' says she; 'I died seven years before you came into the country.' But for all that, if he would do her message she should never hurt him. But he deferred doing as the apparition bid him; and she appeared the night after as he lay in bed, and struck him on the shoulder very hard; at which he cryed out, and asked her if she did not promise she would not hurt him? She said, that was if he did her message; if not, she would kill him. He told her, he could not go now, by reason the waters were out. She said, she was content he should stay till they were abated; but charged him afterwards not to fail her. So he did her errand, and afterwards she appeared and gave him thanks. 'For now,' said she, 'I shall be at rest; therefore pray you lift me up from the ground, and I will trouble you no more.' So David Hunter lifted her up from the ground, and, as he said, she felt just like a bag of feathers in his arms. So she vanished, and he heard most delicate musick as she went off, over his head; and he never was more troubled.

"This account the poor fellow gave us every day as the apparition spake to him; and my lady Conway came to Portmore, where she asked the fellow the same questions, and many more. This I know to be true, being all the while with my lord of Downe, and the fellow but a poor neat-herd there.

THOMAS ALCOCK."

Glanvill's *Sadducismus triumphatus*, [part ii.] edited by More. Lond. 1682. pp. 248—58.

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[This story, 'which is published many several ways, and that by several authors,' appeared again in Andrew Moreton's (i. e. Daniel Defoe's) 'Secrets of the invisible world,' chap. xii.]

"I cannot but animadvert upon what is here expressed concerning the questions which the bishop would needs have propounded to and resolved by this spectre. I am persuaded that the apostle Paul, who speaks of man's 'intruding into those things which he hath not seen,' Col. ii. 18, would hardly have given such counsel as the bishop did. One of his questions (viz. Are you a good or a bad spirit?) seems to be a needless and impertinent enquiry; for good angels never appear in the shape of dead men, but evil and wicked spirits have oftentimes done so. His other queries savour too much of vain curiosity: they bring to mind what is by that great historian Thuanus (lib. cxxx. p. 1136) reported concerning Peter Cotton the Jesuit; who having a great desire to be satisfied about some questions which no man living could resolve him in, he applied himself to a maid who was possessed with a devil, charging the spirit in her to resolve his proposals. Some of which were of this world; e. g. he desired the devil, if he could, to tell him when calvinism would be extinguished; and what would be the most effectual means to turn the kingdom of England from the protestant to the popish religion? What would be the issue of the wars and great designs then on foot in the world? Other of his enquiries respected the old world; e. g. How Noah could take the living creatures that were brought into the ark? Who those sons of God were that loved the daughters of men? Whether serpents went upon feet before Adam's fall? &c. Some of his questions respected the other world. He would have the spirit resolve him, How long the fallen angels were in heaven before they were cast out from thence? And what is the most evident place in the scripture to prove that there is a purgatory? Who are the seven spirits that stand before the throne of God? Who is the king of the archangels? Where paradise is? Now let the reader judge whether Dr. Taylor's questions, when he would have the spirit resolve him, Where is your abode? What station do you hold? How are you regimented in the other world? &c. be not as curious as some of the Jesuit's. Wise men thought it tended much to the disreputation of Peter Cotton, when, through his incogitant leaving the book wherein his enquiries of the dæmon were written, with a friend, the matter came to be divulged. I cannot think that Dr. Taylor's secretary his publishing these curiosities of his lord, hath added much to his credit among sound and judicious persons. There is a tragical passage related in the story of the dæmon which for three months molested the house of Mr. Perreaud, a protestant minister in Matiscon. One in the room would needs be propounding needless questions for the devil to answer, though Mr. Perreaud told him of the danger in it. After a deal of discourse the devil said unto him, 'You should have hearkened to the minister's good counsel, who told you that you ought not to ask curious questions of the devil; yet you would do it, and now I must school you for your pains:' presently upon which the man was by an invisible hand plucked up by his thumb, and twirled round and thrown down upon the floor, and so continued in most grievous misery I hope then that none will be em-

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boldened from the bishop's advice to enquire at the mouth of devils or of apparitions, until such time as they know whether they are devils or no."—Increase Mather's 'Diary for the recording of illustrious providences.' 12mo Boston, 1684. pp. 223—229.

Mather does not seem to have perceived (indeed if he had, it would not have diminished his displeasure) the drift and object of that sort of cross-examination to which Taylor wished to subject the apparition, nor that it was intended merely to perplex and expose the person who, as he suspected, played the part of spectre. It is singular that the practice, so usual with the Romish exorcists, of asking strange and curious questions of exorcised persons, "cunningly to get out of the devil the confession of some article of faith, for the edification of the standers by," is exposed by Taylor himself in one of his controversial works[1], in a strain of powerful satire, which will well repay the reader who may refer to it. Mather, who was a steady and most intolerant believer in the reality of such visitations, and who trusted in exorcisms as implicitly as Peter Cotton the Jesuit (provided only those exorcisms were after the model of the Directory, and uttered by a minister in a black cloak, instead of a cope and surplice) would have thought his wit indeed grievously out of place; but even Mather himself would have had some difficulty in answering satisfactorily the decision with which he winds up his pleasantries;—

"The casting out of devils is a miraculous power, and given at first for the confirmation of christian faith, as the gifts of tongues and healing were; and therefore we have reason to believe that because it is not an ordinary power, the ordinary exorcisms cast out no more devils than extreme unction cures sicknesses. We do not envy to any one any grace of God, but wish it were more modestly pretended, unless it could be more evidently proved. Origen condemned this whole procedure of conjuring devils long since; . . and S. Chrysostom spake soberly and truly, We poor wretches cannot drive away the flies, much less devils[1]."

NOTE (K K.)

That his health was broken appears by the anxiety expressed by lord Conway (who was a steady believer in the wonderful cures effected by Valentine Greatraiks) that this singular person should be admitted to operate upon him. "I had a letter also from my brother Francis. I am confident Mr. Greatrix would recover him or the bishop of Down, for I do pretty well know what distempers he can cure, and what he cannot cure."—Rawdon Papers, p. 214. Of Mr. Greatraiks and his miracles a strange account is given in a letter from Taylor's friend, dean Rust, to the learned and pious but superstitious Glanvill, *Sadducismus triumphatus*, pp. 81—3. See also Henry More's *scholia* on sect. 58 of his *Enthusiasmus triumphatus*, and "A brief account of Mr. Valentine Greatraks, and divers of the strange cures by him lately performed, in a letter addressed to the hon. R. Boyle." London, 1666. The

[1] [Dissuasive, part i. ch. 2. § 10. vol. vi. p. 263.] [1] [ibid. p. 266.]

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strangest part of the story is the good character and good sense of Greatraiks, who seems to have given no symptoms either of enthusiasm or imposture, and who, though he demanded £155 for his journey into England to try his powers on the lady Conway (Rawdon Papers, p. 207), in general accepted no reward for the benefits which he conferred. After all, in an age of metallic tractors and animal magnetism, we have no right to wonder at the credulity of our grandfathers and grandmothers. [It is never easy to say what the next generation will or will not do. Had the author of the preceding sentence been now alive, he would willingly have cancelled it.—C. P. E.]

NOTE (L L.)

It is my duty to acknowledge that this part of lady Wray's statement is clogged with many difficulties, not unlikely perhaps to occur in the narrative of a person who at an advanced age gives details of events which happened before she was born, but which prevent our receiving all the circumstances which she relates with unhesitating assent. Thus she calls the officer who was killed in a duel 'her uncle Edward,' and says that the duel took place at 'Oxford.' But if a duel so remarkable had occurred at Oxford, it is almost certain that Anthony Wood would have taken some notice of it: and further it appears from the register that Edward Taylor, son of the bishop, was buried not at Oxford but at Lisburn, in March, 1661; too soon to make it probable that he could have attained the rank of captain in the guards, inasmuch as at that time the government were rather occupied in disbanding the old army than in raising or new modelling another. It is therefore most reasonable to apprehend that she had confounded names and dates, and given an erroneous version of a story which might well be true in the main, though it neither happened at the place, nor to the person whom she supposed. A similar mistake occurs in her account of her uncle Charles, whom she asserts to have taken a master's degree in the university of Dublin. This, I have ascertained, he certainly never did. But though I cannot place implicit confidence in the circumstances of her story, I cannot think myself justified in withholding all credence from it, since it is after all as good authority as can generally be expected in cases of family tradition.

NOTE (M M.)

"Feb. 26, 1680. To the R. Society, where I met an Irish bishop with his lady, who was daughter to my worthy and pious friend Dr. Jeremy Taylor, late bishop of Down and Connor; they came to see the Repository. She seemed to be a knowing woman, beyond the ordinary talent of her sex."—Evelyn Memoirs, vol. i. p. 517.

NOTE (N N.)

The son of archbishop Marsh by Mary Taylor, was afterwards dean of Down; but I have been able to discover nothing more concerning him, except

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that he also had a son who left five children; 1) Francis, still living, and father of a numerous family, who is in possession of bishop Taylor's watch, given him by king Charles; 2) Robert, in holy orders, and living in 1817; 3) Digby, also in orders, and fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who died August 12, 1791; 4) Jeremy, also deceased, who had the original of the picture whence Mr. Bonney's print is taken; and 5) a daughter, married to Mr. Simon Digby, and living in 1817.

Of Digby, the third son, the following character appeared at the time of his death, in the public papers. For it, as well as all the preceding particulars concerning the Marsh family, I am indebted to Mr. Bonney's MS. Dr. Marsh I can believe to have been not unworthy of such an ancestor as Jeremy Taylor, though probably he himself, and certainly his great-great-grandfather, would have been surprised at some of those peculiar flowers of eloquence which distinguish the eulogium before us;—

"On Friday last (August the twelfth, 1791) died at his chambers in the college (Dublin) of a severe indisposition, which he bore with becoming fortitude and resignation, the rev. Digby Marsh, D.D., senior fellow of Trinity college, professor of modern history, register (registrar) of the university, and member of the Royal Irish Academy.

"Whether we consider the elevation of his mind, the strength of his talents, or the number of his virtues, we cannot hesitate to pronounce him among the first characters of which the university, or perhaps the nation, could boast.

"Calm, deliberate, and reserved; his calmness was fortitude, his deliberation wisdom, his reserve modesty.

"That magnanimity which raised him above the reach of passion, gave to every action of his life decision and intrepidity; and whilst he seemed slow in deciding, he was retarded not by the dullness of conception, but by the range of his sagacity and the comprehension of his views.

"The austerity of his deportment, the effect not of pride but of constitution, was softened into affability by a native gentleness and benevolence which could not be disguised; and through a severity of manner perhaps not ill-suited to the serious dignity of his mind, beamed the mildest effusions of a generous and feeling heart.

"His affections were not easily excited; but they were strong, steady, and permanent; and whilst he scorned to make professions of regard, his actions proved him a sincere and disinterested friend.

"Noble and elevated in his sentiments, he has left behind him a character unsullied by a single mean or dishonourable act.

"Nor indeed was it possible that a man, the independence of whose virtue rested upon itself, and far from courting, rather shunned applause, could have deviated from the strict path which honour and conscience prescribe: endowed with singular powers of understanding, he sought not their display.

"His genius was too proud to stoop to fame, too modest to hope for it; but the gratitude of that place which has been enriched by his talents and improved by his virtues, will pay to his memory that tribute of admiration and praise, which the diffidence that ever attends real abilities would have prevented him from accepting in his life.

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"The governors of Trinity college unanimously resolved that the late much-lamented Dr. Marsh should be interred in the college chapel with all academical honours, and with every mark of respect that could testify their just sense of his superior merit; but Dr. Marsh's family declined the offer, with many expressions of thankfulness for the honour intended their relation, whom they rather chose should be buried privately in their own family vault."

Of Joanna Taylor and her descendents, the following account is taken from Mr. Todd Jones's MSS. and information furnished by his surviving sisters. Joanna, it will be recollected, was married to Edward Harrison, of Maralave, esquire, member of parliament for Lisburn. By him she had four sons and two daughters: 1) Michael Harrison, muster-master-general of Ireland, and master of the staple in that kingdom, which he inherited from his grandfather, to whom it was granted by Charles the second. The illuminated patent is yet in the possession of the family, but its privileges were taken away in the twelfth year of king William. He represented Belfast in the Irish parliament, and died young without issue. 2) Jeremiah Taylor Harrison, commissary-general of Ireland, and member of parliament for Knocktopher. Of all the grandchildren of bishop Taylor, this his namesake was accounted to bear the strongest resemblance to him in person, countenance, and disposition; but being a Whig, he has fallen under the lash of Swift in the 'Legion club.' It is perhaps singular that Taylor's descendents should have been Whigs; but still more so that the one who most resembled him should be so handed down to posterity by the pen of a malicious satirist.

"There sit Clements, Dilkes, and Harrison;
How they swagger from their garrison;
Such a triplet could you tell
Where to find on this side hell?
Harrison, and Dilkes, and Clements,
Keeper, see they have their payments!
Every mischief's in their hearts;
If they fail, 'tis want of parts!"

He married Mary, daughter of the secretary Vernon, and sister to the admiral of the same name, and died at Brook Hill near Lisburn, also without issue. 3) Francis Harrison, representative for the county of Carlow, who inherited the property of both his brothers, which he largely increased by an advantageous purchase from the crown of the estates of Castlemartin, forfeited by sir Maurice Eustace, late lord chancellor of Ireland, under king James. In 1724 he became a partner in a banking house at Dublin, then esteemed the most flourishing in the British islands. In 1729 however Mr. Harrison died suddenly intestate, and with the whole of his property unsettled; the affairs of the bank became greatly involved, and a burden for which he was extremely ill fitted, devolved, on 4) his youngest brother, Marsh Harrison, captain in the army, a weak and dissipated man, who died soon after, a victim to various excesses. The bank failed, and a great part of the Harrison estates were involved in the ruin. A considerable surplus how-

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ever remained to 5) Mary, the survivor of the whole family; married, first to colonel Francis Columbine, by whom she had two daughters; Frances, married to William Todd, esq., and Harrison, married to sir Christopher Hales, of Lincolnshire. After colonel Columbine's death, his widow again married sir Cecil Wray, of Summer Castle and Brampstone, in Lincolnshire. By him she had another daughter, Albina Casey, who in 1730 married lord Vere Bertie, second son of Robert duke of Ancaster.—6) The sixth of bishop Taylor's grandchildren was Anne, who married colonel John Pacey, secretary to the duke of Ormond, and died without children.

Lady Wray, whose letter to her son-in-law has been so frequently quoted, gave up during her life-time to her daughter Frances Todd the greater part of the Irish property. The children of the above Frances and William Todd were 1) Frances, married to Philip Boyer, esq. 2) Joanna, widow to major Hunt of the twelfth dragoons, still living in 1819, and, at the age of ninety-five, in possession of all her faculties. 3) Mary Wray, married to Conway Jones, M.D., by whom she had 1) William Todd Jones, of Homra, esq., representative for the borough of Lisburn, who died unmarried, at Rosstrevor, February the fourteenth, 1818, aged sixty-three, in consequence of the overturn of a carriage. Of his distinguished talents, and his intention during the latter years of his life to undertake that task which I have now imperfectly accomplished, I have already had occasion to take notice, as well as of the unfortunate fate which attended those family documents which, had they remained in his hands, might have furnished from bishop Taylor's own pen the best picture of his private character and history. 2) Edward Jones, esq., solicitor-general to the state of North Carolina, where he is now living, married, and with a numerous family. 3) Frances, married to Joseph Pollock, esq., by whom she had several children. 4) Mary, living unmarried. 5) Anne, married to lieut.-colonel John de Berniere, eighteenth regiment of foot; has a large family, and resides with a married daughter, near Charleston, in South Carolina. 6) Charlotte, widow of lieut.-colonel Henry Wray, of the Bengal establishment. 7) Catharine, married Robert Pepes Ormsby, esq., and died without issue in 1805.

Besides the above, I have met with several families in England and Ireland who claim the honour of being descended from Jeremy Taylor. The families of French, Storey, and Sneyd, of the counties of Kildare and Cavan, are said to be connected with his line through his daughter Mary; and a similar claim was advanced by the late rev. Mr. Keate, rector of Laverton in Somersetshire, father of the rev. Dr. Keate of Eton, on behalf of his mother, who was a Lacey, and who is said to have preserved with reverential care a copy of the *Ἐνιαυτὸς* which had been a present from the author to her father, who was, as she understood, his grandson. His grandsons however Jeremy Taylor apparently never saw, certainly not at such an age as would enable them to appreciate his presents. Nor had he any grandson of the name of Lacey. A great-grandson of that name he may have had, since the accounts of the Marsh family are so imperfect, and a family tradition of this kind is authority by no means to be despised: since, however inaccurate in some of its details, it must in all probability have had a foundation in truth. But the above tradition seems the only remaining ground for such a belief; at least I have been able to trace

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no other. A letter on the subject was written by Mr. Keate to the rev. Edward Jones, rector of Uppingham, who communicated it to Mr. Bonney, and I have myself made several enquiries of the late Thomas Keate, esq., of Chelsea Hospital, but without obtaining any additional information.

NOTE (OO.)

The watch has been described as being "plain, and having only a single case, with a gold dial-plate, the figures of which are raised. The hands are of steel, and the maker's name is *Jacobus Markwich, Londini.* Originally it had no chain, but went by means of catgut. Bishop Taylor caused a second case of copper to be made for it, covered with green velvet, and studded with gold. At the bottom, the studs are so arranged as to represent a mitre, surrounded by this motto, *Nescitis horam.*"—Bonney, p. 368.

NOTE (PP.)

"CASE OF LORD CONWAY, JEREMY, BISHOP OF DOWN, AND MOSES HILL, ESQ.

Monday, March 19, 1665-6.

In answer to the petition of Moses Hill, esq., it is admitted that the lands of Castlereagh, formerly belonging to Francis Hill, esq., who by fine and other conveyance did settle them on Randal, brother to the said Francis Hill, and the heirs male of his body, and for default of such issue on Edward Hill, the defendant's younger brother, and the heirs male of his body, and for default of such issue on Arthur Hill, the defendant's father, and the heirs male of his body, who afterwards settled the same on the defendant, subject notwithstanding and liable to the lease made to the petitioner for seven years, to commence from the death of the said Arthur Hill.

As to the bishop of Down's receiving his chief rent due to him out of part of the premises, the same was done by him in his politick capacity, and in right of his bishoprick, and was not any waver of his possession that he had of the said lands as one of the said lessees thereof.

The House agree with the paper."

"Saturday, April 14, 1666.

"Whereas by order of this House bearing date the twelfth day of this instant April, the cause between the lord viscount Conway and the lord bishop of Down, members of this House, and Moses Hill, esq., a member of the House of Commons, was this day appointed to be heard, and the time being so far elapsed that this house could not now proceed to the hearing thereof; it is ordered, that the rents of the lands of Castlereagh in the county of Down, and other lands now in question and related to in the petition annexed, be sequestered and retained in the hands of the particular ter-tenants until the further order of this House; and that the said rents be, and are hereby sequestered accordingly, and the Sheriff of the said county of Down is hereby required to see this order put in execution."—Journals of the Irish House of Lords, vol. i. p. 409.

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This contest in its progress brought on a misunderstanding between the two houses of parliament, in which the commons claimed the right of sitting at the conference. (Journals, vol. i. p. 442.) This, on a reference to the lord-lieutenant, was disallowed. It does not appear what became of the bishop's cause. It probably was not settled when the parliament was dissolved. The bishop of Down appears to have been on various committees of the lords. He however is mentioned two or three times as having obtained leave of absence. —For my knowledge of most of these particulars, I have to thank the hon. and rev. J. C. Talbot, and the rev. the provost of Trinity college, Dublin.

NOTE (Q Q.)

A frightful story of this kind is told of Edward I. of England; I wish it may be only the slander of enemies, whom he had grievously injured, and who were not unlikely to propagate or believe any evil of him.

"And quhen he to the dede [i. e. death] wes ner,
The folk that at Kyldromy wer,
Come with prisoneris that thai had tane;
And syne to the king ar gane.
And for to comfort him thai tauld
How thai the castell to thaim yauld;
And how thai till his will war broucht
To do off that quhat euir he thoucht;
And askyt quhat men suld off thaim do.
Then lukyt he angyrly thaim to,
And said grynnand, Hyngis and drawys.
That wes wondir of sic sawis;
That he, that to the dede wes ner,
Suld ansuer apon sic maner,
For owtyn menyng [i. e. moaning] and mercy
How mycht he traist on hym to cry
That suthfastly demys [i. e. dooms] all thing
To haiff mercy for his criyng,
Off him that, throw his felony,
In to sic poynt had na mercy?"

Barbour, ['The Bruce,' book iii.]

NOTE (U U.)[k]

To understand the allusion of Athanasius, it is necessary to observe that in Habakkuk ii. 11, the words which we render 'the beam out of the timber,' are in the LXX. translated 'the beetle out of the timber,' κάνθαρος ἐκ ξύλου. On which Athanasius thus observes, Περὶ τούτου εἶπεν ὁ μέγας προφήτης, καὶ κάνθαρος ἐκ ξύλου φθέγξεται· οἴδατε, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ὁ κάνθαρος περὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα σχολάζει, ἀκάθαρτος ὤν· οὕτως καὶ ὁ λῃστὴς πότε ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν ταῖς λῃστείαις· ὅτε δὲ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἦν ὡμολόγησεν αὐτος, καθὼς προεῖπον, καὶ πληροῦται εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ προφητευθέν. *De eo nimirum locutus est propheta, Et scarabæus e ligno vocem dabit: nostis, fratres, scarabæum ipsum immundum circa immunda negotiosum esse: ita quoque et hic latro negotiosus fuit in latrocinando; in cruce tamen confi-*

[k] [Notes (R R), (S S), (T T), are upon the 'Contemplations on the state of man,' and the 'Christian consolations;' concerning which see note to p. vii. above.]

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tetur, et in eo expletur quod prophetatum fuit.—Athanas. *Cont. omnes hæreses.* Op. tom. i. p. 1078. ed. Colon.

Bernard's exhortation against covetousness is as follows: *Utinam in duodecim (sc. clericis) unus hodie Petrus, unus qui reliquerit omnia, unus qui loculis careat inveniatur. Unus, inquit [Christus], ex vobis diabolus est. A duobus itaque bolis diabolus dicitur, et Judas non loculum sed loculos habet.—Gaufridi declamationes ex S. Bernardi sermonibus collectæ.*—Bernard. Op. tom. ii. p. 304. ed. Mabillone.

NOTE (V V.)

These lines are adapted by Taylor to his purpose from two passages in Prudentius. In the first, the poet is speaking of the fall and redemption of the world: in the second, of the plagues of Egypt.

> Stragem sed istam non tulit
> Christus cadentum *gentium*
> Impune, ne forsan sui
> Patris periret fabrica.—*Cathem. hymn.* xi. 40.
>
> Quæ tandem poterit lingua retexere
> Laudes, Christe, tuas, qui *domitam Pharon,*
> *Plagis multimodis cedere præsuli*
> *Cogis Justitiæ, vindice dextera.—Ib. hymn.* v. 88.

NOTE (W W.)

It is not often that Taylor borrows from contemporary writers[1]; yet from the singularity and aptness of the allusion, which was not likely to occur to two unconnected persons, I cannot help thinking that he has drawn the following passage of his second sermon on the ministerial duties from the 'Golden remains' of John Hales, as well as the work of Julius Agricola. Hales died in great poverty before the Restoration; in his 'Remains,' published first in 1659, the same simile occurs (p. 35) in almost the same words, and the goblin labourers of whom he speaks are represented at work in the vignette to the copper-plate frontispice.

"I remember that Agricola in his book *De animalibus subterraneis* tells of a certain kind of spirits that use to converse in mines, and trouble the poor labourers; they dig metals, they cleanse, they cast, they melt, they separate, they join the ore; but when they are gone, the men find just nothing done, not one step of their work set forward. So it is in the books and expositions of many men; they study, they argue, they expound, they confute, they reprove, they open secrets, and make new discoveries; and when you turn the bottom upwards, up starts nothing; no man is the wiser, no man is instructed, no truth discovered, no proposition cleared, nothing is altered,

[1] [Taylor was acquainted with the writings of the day, and not unfrequently borrows from them allusions, or quotations from the ancients. He knew the writing of Hales from which the passage above is taken; see vol. viii. p. 363.]

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but that much labour and much time is lost; and this is manifest in nothing more than in books of controversy, and in mystical expositions of Scripture; *Quærunt quod nusquam est, inveniunt tamen.*"—Vol. vi. p. 516.

NOTE (XX.)

The dedication is to the chief magistrates and senate of Hamburgh, in which, after complimenting them on their comparatively indulgent treatment of the Jews, the translator proceeds as follows;—

Illustre tradit nobilissimus autor Sadus venerandæ antiquitatis exemplum, Abrahamum patriarcham, hospitalitatis gloria celebratum, vix sibi felix faustumque credidisse hospitium, nisi externum aliquem tanquam aliquod præsidium domi excepisset hospitem, quem omni officiorum prosequeretur genere. Aliquando cum hospitem domi non haberet, foris eum quæsiturus campestria petit; forte virum quendam, senectute gravem, itinere fessum, sub arbore recumbentem conspicit. Quem comiter exceptum, domum hospitem deducit, et omni officio colit. Cum cœnam appositam Abrahamus et familia ejus a precibus auspicarentur, senex manum ad cibum protendit, nullo religionis aut pietatis auspicio usus. Quo viso Abrahamus eum ita affatur: Mi senex, vix decet canitiem tuam sine prævia Numinis veneratione cibum sumere. Ad quæ senex: Ego ignicola sum, istiusmodi morum ignarus, nostri enim majores nullam talem me docuere pietatem. Ad quam vocem horrescens Abrahamus rem sibi cum ignicola profano et a sui Numinis cultu alieno esse, eum e vestigio a cœna remotum, ut sui consortii pestem et religionis hostem, domo ejicit. Sed ecce summus Deus Abrahamum statim monet: Quid agis Abrahame? itane vero fecisse te decuit? Ego isti seni, quantumvis in me usque ingrato, et vitam et victum centum amplius annos dedi; tu homini nec unam cœnam dare, unumque eum momentum ferre potes? Qua divina voce monitus Abrahamus senem ex itinere revocatum domum reducit, tantis officiis, pietate, et ratione colit, ut suo exemplo ad veri Numinis cultum eum perduxerit.—G. Gentius, *Historia Judaica, res Judæorum ab eversa æde Hierosolymitana ad hæc fere tempora usque complexa.* 4to. Amstel. 1651.

The above work is a translation of the *Shebet Jehuda*, or 'Rod of Judah,' of R. Solomon ben Virga, for an account of whom see *Bartolocii Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, p. 4. p. 575.

The Sadus from whom Gentius professes to have taken the story of Abraham, I once supposed to be Saadias Gaon, whose agnomen of *Gaon*, 'the illustrious,' agrees with the title which Gentius assigns to him. The kindness of lord Teignmouth has however pointed out to me the exact narrative, not in a Jewish but a Persian writer, the celebrated poet Saadi, who gives it as 'related to him,' he does not say by whom, in the second book of his Bostan. With the works of Saadi Gentius was well acquainted, having himself published an edition of his *Gulistan*. Lord T. informs me that Saadi relates of himself in this last work, that having been taken prisoner by the Franks, he was compelled to work 'with some Jews,' on the fortifications of Tripoli: and he suggests therefore that he may have possibly heard the story from them, so that it may after all have been originally derived from a

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Jewish source. A learned Jew also, Mr. J. D'Allemand, professes to have a strong impression on his mind that the tradition is to be met with in all its circumstances in one of the commentaries on Gen. xviii. 1, and on the words והוא ישב פתח האהל. No such commentary however has been discovered; and my friend the reverend Mr. Knatchbull, fellow of All Souls, whose extensive acquaintance with every branch of Oriental learning makes his opinion of the highest value, agrees with Mr. Oxlee in giving the credit of the story to Saadi. It is remarkable too that the 'parable' does not occur in the first edition of the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' published in 1647, and therefore before the work of Gentius appeared; but that it is added in the second edition, which came out six years after the *Historia Judaica*. It is therefore most probable that Taylor found the story in Gentius, and that by the common fate of those who quote at second hand, he ascribed to a Jew what his author had taken from a Persian.

The following is a translation of the passage in Saadi, which appeared in the Asiatic Miscellany, Calcutta, 1789; corrected however in one of its expressions by the same distinguished person whose obliging assistance I have already acknowledged. The reader will probably be of opinion that, with whomsoever the praise of originality rests, the story has gained considerably in spirit and terseness, in its progress through Gentius, Taylor, and Franklin.

"I have heard that once, during a whole week no traveller came to the hospitable dwelling of the friend of God, whose amiable nature led him to observe it as a rule not to eat in the morning unless some needy person arrived from a journey. He went out, and turned his eyes towards every place. He viewed the valley on all sides, and, behold, in the desert, a solitary man resembling the willow, whose head and beard were whitened with the snow of age. To encourage him, he called him Friend, and agreeably to the manners of the munificent, gave him an invitation, saying, 'Oh apple of mine eye, perform an act of courtesy by becoming my guest!' He assented, arose, and stepped forward readily, for he knew the kind disposition of his host, (on whom be peace!) The associates of Abraham's hospitable dwelling seated the old man with respect. The table was ordered to be spread, and the company placed themselves around. When the assembly began to utter 'In the name of God!' (or to say grace) and not a word was heard to proceed from the old man, Abraham addressed him in such words as these,—'Oh elder, stricken in years! thou appearest not to me in faith and zeal like other aged ones, for is it not an obligatory law to invoke, at the time of eating your daily meal, that divine Providence from whence it is derived?' He replied, 'I practise no rite which I have not heard from my priest, who worshippeth fire.' The good-omened prophet discovered this vitiated old man to be a Gueber, and finding him an alien to the faith, drove him away in miserable plight, the polluted being rejected by those that are pure. A voice from the glorious and omnipotent God was heard, with this severe reprehension, 'Oh friend! I have supported him through a life of an hundred years, and thou hast conceived an abhorrence of him all at once! If a man pay adoration to fire, shouldst thou withhold the hand of liberality?'"

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NOTE (Y Y.)

These schoolmen are quoted by Aquinas, who however dissents from them. *Quidam dicunt quod primus homo non fuit creatus in gratia, sed tamen postmodum gratia fuit sibi collata antequam peccasset. Plurimæ autem sanctorum auctoritates attestantur hominem in statu innocentiæ gratiam habuisse. Sed quod fuerit conditus in gratia, ut alii dicunt, videtur requirere ipsa rectitudo prima status, in qua Deus hominem fecit: secundum illud Ecclesiast.* vii. *Deus fecit hominem rectum.*—S. Thom. Aquin. *Summa, pars* i. *quæst.* xcv. *art.* i. *p.* 180. [fo. 314. fol. Venet. 1693.]

[NOTE (Y Y*.)

Hic unus locus (Heb. vi. 2) *abunde testatur, hujus cæremoniæ (manuum impositionis) originem fluxisse ab apostolis: quæ tamen postea in superstitionem versa fuit, ut mundus semper fere ab optimis institutis ad corruptelas degeneret. Finxerunt enim esse sacramentum, quo Spiritus regenerationis conferatur. Quo figmento* Baptismum lacerarunt; *nam quod erat ejus proprium, ad impositionem manuum transtulerunt. Sciamus ergo, a primis auctoribus institutum fuisse, ut esset solennis precandi ritus, quemadmodum etiam Augustinus nuncupat. Fidei quidem professionem, quam adolescentes pueritiam egressi edebant, voluerunt approbare hoc symbolo; sed nihil minus cogitarunt, quam* vim Baptismi discerpere.—Calvin. ad loc.]

NOTE (Z Z.)

If Mrs. Phillips thought fit to publish his papers, Taylor desires, in a postscript, "that they may be consigned into the hands of my worthy friend, Dr. Wedderburne." [See p. 98, above.]

NOTE (A A A.)

In stating the cases of intermarriage of kindred, Taylor seems to have been chiefly guided, and sometimes misled, by Grotius. [See p. xlvi. above.] He is wrong in supposing that very few learned men took the affirmative side as to the expediency and necessity of a divorce between Henry the eighth and queen Katharine. Burnet on the contrary observes, what is apparent from all contemporary history, that whatsoever king Henry's secret motives were in the suit of his divorce, he had the constant tradition of the church on his side, and that in all the ages and parts of it, which was carefully searched into and fully proved; so that no author older than cardinal Cajetan could be found to be set against such a current of tradition.

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A

FUNERAL SERMON,

PREACHED AT THE OBSEQUIES OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

JEREMY

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN:

WHO DECEASED AT LISBURNE,

AUGUST 13TH, 1667.

BY

GEORGE RUST,

LORD BISHOP OF DROMORE.

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A

FUNERAL SERMON.

1 JOHN iii. 2.

It doth not yet appear what we shall be.

GLORIOUS things are spoken in scripture concerning the future reward of the righteous; and all the words that are wont to signify what is of greatest price and value, or can represent the most enravishing objects of our desires, are made use of by the holy Ghost to recommend unto us this transcendent state of blessedness. Such are these, 'rivers of pleasures,' a 'fountain of living water,' a 'treasure that can never be wasted, nor never taken from us;' an 'inheritance in light,' an 'incorruptible crown,' a 'kingdom,' the 'kingdom of God,' and 'the kingdom of Christ;' the 'kingdom of glory,' a 'crown of glory and life;' and 'righteousness,' and 'immortality;' the 'vision of God;' being 'filled with all the fulness of God;' an 'exceeding and eternal weight of glory,' καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης, words strangely emphatical, they cannot be put into English; and if they could, they would not be able to convey to our minds the notion that they design: for it is too big for any expressions; and after all that can be said, we must resolve with our apostle, 'It does not yet appear what we shall be.'

At this distance we cannot make any likely guesses or conjectures at the glory of that future state. Men make very imperfect descriptions of countries or cities, that never were there themselves, nor saw the places with their own eyes. It is not for any mortal creature to make a map of that Canaan that lies above: it is to all us that live here on the hither-side of death, an unknown country and an undiscovered land. It may be, some heavenly pilgrim, that with his holy thoughts and ardent desires is continually travelling thitherward, arrives sometimes near the borders of the promised land, and the suburbs of the new Jerusalem, and gets upon the top of Pisgah, and there he has an imperfect prospect of a brave country, that lies a far way off; but he cannot tell how to describe it, and all that he hath to say to satisfy the curious enquirer is only this,—if he would know the glories of it, he must go and see it. It was believed of old that those places that lie under the line were burnt up by the continual heat of the sun, and were not habitable either by man or beast: but later

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discoveries tell us that there are the most pleasant countries that the earth can shew; insomuch that some have placed paradise itself in that climate. Sure I am, of all the regions of the intellectual world, and the several lands that are peopled either with men or angels, the most pleasant countries they lie under the line, under the direct beams of the Sun of righteousness, where there is an eternal day and an eternal spring; where is that tree of life that beareth twelve manner of fruits, and yieldeth her fruit every month. Thus we may use figures, and metaphors, and allegories, and tell you of fruitful meads, and spacious fields, and winding rivers, and purling brooks, and chanting birds, and shady groves, and pleasant gardens, and lovely bowers, and noble seats, and stately palaces, and goodly people, and excellent laws, and sweet societies; but this is but to frame little comparisons to please our childish fancies; and just such discourses as a blind man would make concerning colours; so do we talk of those things we never saw, and disparage the state while we would recommend it. Indeed it requires some saint or angel from heaven to discourse upon the subject; and yet that would not do neither: for though they might be able to speak something of it, yet we should want ears to hear it. Neither can those things be declared but in the language of heaven, which would be little understood by us, the poor inhabitants of this lower world; they are indeed things too great to be brought within the compass of words. S. Paul[a], when he had been rapt up into the third heaven, he saw ῥήματα ἄρρητα, 'things unlawful, or unpossible, to be uttered;' and "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor can it enter into the heart of man to conceive what God hath prepared for them that love Him;" and "It does not yet appear what we shall be," said that beloved disciple that lay in the bosom of our Saviour.

You will not now expect that I should give you a relation of that which 'cannot be uttered,' nor so much as 'conceived;' or declare unto you what our eagle-sighted evangelist tells us 'does not yet appear.' But that you may understand that that which sets this state of happiness so beyond the reach of all imagination, is only its transcendent excellency, I shall tell you something of what does already appear of it, and may be known concerning it.

1. First of all, we are assured that we shall then be freed from all the evils and miseries that we now labour under. Vanity and misery, they are two words that speak the whole of this present world; the enjoyments of it are dreams, and fancies, and shadows, and appearances; and, if any thing be, it is only evil and misery that is real and substantial. Vanity and folly, labour and pains, cares and fears, crosses and disappointments, sickness and diseases, they make up the whole of our portion here. This life it is begun in a cry, and it ends in a groan; and he that lives most happily, his life is chequered with

[a] [2 Cor. xii. 4; 1 Cor. ii. 9.]

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black and white, and his days are not all sunshine, but some are cloudy and gloomy, and there is a worm at the root of all his joy, that soon eats out the sap and heart of it; and the gourd in whose shade he now so much pleases himself, by to-morrow will be withered and gone. But heaven is not subject to these mixtures and uncertainties; it is a region of calmness and serenity, and the soul is there gotten above the clouds, and is not annoyed with those storms and tempests that are here below. All tears shall then be wiped from our eyes; and though sorrow may endure for the night of this world, yet joy will spring up in the morning of eternity.

2. We are sure we shall be freed from this earthly, and clothed with an heavenly and glorified body. These bodies of ours, they are the graves and sepulchres, the prisons and dungeons of our heaven-born souls; and though we deck and adorn them, and pride ourselves in their beauty and comeliness; yet when all is done, they are but sinks of corruption and defilement, they expose us to many pains and diseases, and incline us to many lusts and passions, and the more we pamper them, the greater burden they are unto our minds; they impose upon our reasons, and by their steams and vapours cast a mist before our understandings; they clog our affections, and like a heavy weight depress us unto this earth, and keep us from soaring aloft among the winged inhabitants of the upper regions. But those robes of light and glory which we shall be clothed withal at the resurrection of the just, and those heavenly bodies which the gospel hath then assured unto us, they are not subject unto any of these mischiefs and inconveniences, but are fit and accommodate instruments for the soul in its highest exaltations. And this is an argument that the gospel[b] does dwell much upon, viz. the redemption of our bodies, that "He shall change our vile bodies, that they may be like unto His glorious body;" and we are taught to look upon it as one great piece of our reward, that we shall be "clothed upon with our house which is from heaven;" that "this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality:" that "as we have borne the image of the earthly, so we must bear the image of the heavenly" Adam: who was ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπουράνιος, 'of heaven heavenly;' as the first man was ἐκ γῆς χοϊκὸς, 'of the earth earthly.' And therefore I think the schools put too mean a rate upon this great promise of the gospel, the resurrection of our bodies; and I believe it might be demonstrated from the principles of sound philosophy, that this article of our christian faith which the atheist makes so much sport withal, is so far from being chargeable with any absurdity, that it is founded upon the highest reason: for seeing we find by too great an experience that the soul has so close and necessary a dependence upon this gross and earthy mass that we now carry about with us; it may be disputed with some probability whether it be ever able to act inde-

[b] [Phil. iii. 21; 2 Cor. v. 2; 1 Cor. xv. 47 sqq.]

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pendently of all matter whatsoever: at least we are assured that the state of conjunction is most connatural to her; and that intellectual pleasure itself is not only multiplied, but the better felt, by its redundancy upon the body and spirits: and if it be so, then the purer and more defecate the body is, the better will the soul be appointed for the exercise of its noblest operations; and it will be no mean piece of our reward hereafter, that that which is sown σῶμα ψυχικὸν, an 'animal,' shall be raised a 'heavenly body.'

3. We are sure that we shall then be free from sin, and all those foolish lusts and passions that we are now enslaved unto. The life of a Christian, it is a continual warfare; and he endures many sore conflicts, and makes many sad complaints, and often bemoans himself after such a manner as this, "Wo is me, that I am forced to dwell in Meshech, and to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar;' that there should be so many Goliahs within me, that defy the host of Israel; so many sons of Anak that hinder my entrance into the 'land of promise,' and the rest of God; that I should toil and labour among the bricks, and live in bondage unto these worse than Egyptian task-masters.' Thus does he sit down by the rivers of Babylon, and weep over those ruins and desolations that these worse than Assyrian armies have made in the city and house of his God. And many a time does he cry out in the bitterness of his soul, "Wretched creature that I am! Who shall deliver me from this body of death?" And though through his faith and courage and constancy, he be daily getting ground of his spiritual enemies; yet it is but by inches, and every step he takes he must fight for it; and living as he does in an enemy's country, he is forced always to be upon his guard; and if he slumber never so little, presently he is surprised by a watchful adversary. This is our portion here, and our lot is this; but when we arrive unto those regions of bliss and glory that are above, we shall then stand safely upon the shore, and see all our enemies, Pharaoh and all his host, drowned and destroyed in the Red sea, and being delivered from the world, and the flesh, and the devil,—death, and sin, and hell,—we shall sing the song of Moses and of the Lamb, an *epinicion* and song of eternal triumph unto the God of our salvation.

4. We shall be sure to meet with the best company that earth or heaven affords. Good company it is the great pleasure of the life of man; and we shall then come "to the innumerable company of angels, and the general assembly of the church of the firstborn, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant[c]." The oracle tells Amelius[d], enquiring what was become of Plotinus's soul, that 'he was gone to Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato, and as many as had borne a part in the quire of heavenly love.' And I may say to every good man, that he shall go

[c] [Heb. xii. 22.]

[d] [Porphyr. in vit. Plotin. cap. xxii.]

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to the company of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Moses, David, and Samuel; all the prophets and apostles, and all the holy men of God that have been in all the ages of the world. All those brave and excellent persons that have been scattered at the greatest distance of time and place, and in their several generations have been the salt of the earth to preserve mankind from utter degeneracy and corruption; these shall be all gathered together, and meet in one constellation in that firmament of glory. *O præclarum diem, cum ad illud divinum animorum concilium cœtumque proficiscar, atque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam*[e]*!* 'O that blessed day, when we shall make our escape from this medley and confused riot, and shall arrive to that great council and general rendezvous of divine and god-like spirits!' But, which is more than all, we shall then meet our Lord Jesus Christ, the head of our recovery, whose story is now so delightful unto us, as reporting nothing of Him but the greatest sweetness and innocence, and meekness and patience, and mercy and tenderness, and benignity and goodness, and whatever can render any person lovely or amiable; and who out of His dear love and deep compassion unto mankind, gave up Himself unto the death for us men and for our salvation. And if Saint Augustine[f] made it one of his wishes to have seen Jesus Christ in the flesh; how much more desirable is it to see Him out of His terrestrial weeds, in His robes of glory, with all His redeemed ones about Him! And this I cannot but look upon as a great advantage and privilege of that future state; for I am not apt to swallow down that conceit of the schools, that we shall spend eternity in gazing upon the naked Deity; for certainly the happiness of man consists in having all his faculties, in their due subordinations, gratified with their proper objects; and I cannot but believe a great part of heaven to be the blest society that is there; their enravishing beauty, that is to say, their inward life and perfection, flowering forth and raying itself through their glorified bodies; the rare discourses wherewith they entertain one another; the pure and chaste and spotless, and yet most ardent love, wherewith they embrace each other; the ecstatic devotions wherein they join together: and certainly every pious and devout soul will readily acknowledge with me, that it must needs be matter of unspeakable pleasure, to be taken into the quire of angels and seraphims, and the glorious company of the apostles, and the goodly fellowship of the prophets, and the noble army of martyrs; and to join with them in singing praises, and hallelujahs, and songs of joy, and triumph unto our great Creator and Redeemer, the Father of spirits, and the Lover of souls, unto Him that sits upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.

5. We are sure we shall then have our capacities filled, and all our desires answered; 'They hunger no more, neither thirst any more;

[e] [Cic. de senect. ad fin.]

[f] [Optavit beatus Augustinus . . . videre Christum in carne, Paulum in cathedra, Romam in triumpho.— Citesii opusc. med. p. 121. 4to. Par. 1639.]

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for the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters[g]. What vast degrees of perfection and happiness the nature of man is capable of, we may best understand by viewing it in the person of Christ, taken into the nearest union with divinity, and made God's vicegerent in the world, and the head and governor of the whole creation. In this our narrow and contracted state we are apt to think too meanly of ourselves, and do not understand the dignity of our own natures, what we were made for, and what we are capable of: but, as Plotinus somewhere observes, we are like children, from our birth brought up in ignorance of, and at a great distance from our parents and relations; and have forgot the nobleness of our extraction, and rank ourselves and our fortunes among the lot of beggars, and mean and ordinary persons; though we are the offspring of a great prince, and were born to a kingdom. It does indeed become creatures to think modestly of themselves; yet if we consider it aright, it will be found very hard to set any bounds or limits to our own happiness, and say, hitherto it shall arise and no further. For that wherein the happiness of man consists, viz. truth and goodness, the communication of the divine nature, and the illapses of divine love, it does not cloy, or glut, or satiate; but every participation of them does widen and enlarge our souls, and fits us for further and further receptions: the more we have, the more we are capable of; the more we are filled, the more room is made in our spirits; and thus it is still and still, even till we arrive unto such degrees as we can assign no measures unto.

6. We shall then be made like unto God. Ἡ σωτηρία οὐχ ἑτέρως γίνεται εἰ μὴ θεουμένων τῶν σωζομένων, said the Areopagite[h], 'Salvation can no other ways be accomplished, but by becoming godlike;' "It does not yet appear what we shall be, but when He shall appear we shall be like Him," says our evangelist, "for we shall see Him as He is." There is no 'seeing God as He is,' but by becoming 'like unto Him;' nor is there any enjoying of Him, but by being transformed into His image and similitude. Men usually have very strange notions concerning God, and the enjoyment of Him; or rather, these are words to which there is no correspondent conception in their minds: but if we would understand God aright, we must look upon Him as infinite wisdom, righteousness, love, goodness, and whatever speaks any thing of beauty and perfection; and if we pretend to worship Him, it must be by loving and adoring His transcendent excellencies; and if we hope to enjoy Him, it must be by conformity unto Him, and participation of His nature. The frame and constitution of things is such, that it is impossible that man should arrive to happiness any other way. And if the sovereignty of God should dispense with our obedience the nature of the thing would not permit

[g] [Apoc. vii. 16.]

[h] ['Η δὲ (sc. σωτηρία) οὐχ ἑτέρως γενέσθαι δύναται μὴ θεουμένων τῶν σωζομένων. Dionys. Areop. eccl. hier. cap. i. p. 71 B.]

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us to be happy without it. If we live only the animal life, we may indeed be happy, as beasts are happy; but the happiness that belongs to a rational and intellectual being can never be attained but in a way of holiness and conformity unto the divine will: for such a temper and disposition of mind is necessary unto happiness not by virtue of any arbitrarious constitution of heaven, but the eternal laws of righteousness, and immutable respects of things, do require and exact it. Yea, I may truly say, that God and Christ, without us, cannot make us happy: for we are not conscious to ourselves of any thing, but only the operations of our own minds; and it is not the person of God and Christ, but their life and nature, wherein consists our formal happiness: for what is the happiness of God himself, but only that pleasure and satisfaction that results from a sense of His infinite perfections? And how is it possible for a creature to be more happy than by partaking of that, in its measure and proportion, which is the happiness of God himself?

7. The soul being thus prepared shall live in the presence of God, and lie under the influences and illapses of divine love and goodness; "Father, I will that they whom Thou hast given Me be with Me where I am, that they may behold My glory[j]." They that fight manfully under the banners of heaven, and overcome their spiritual enemies, "They shall eat of the hidden manna, and become pillars in the temple of God, and shall go no more out:" "they shall stand before the throne of God continually, and serve Him day and night in His temple, and He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell amongst them[k]." God shall put under them His everlasting arms, and carry them in His bosom, and they shall suck the full breasts of eternal goodness. For now there is nothing can hinder the most near and intimate conjunction of the soul with God; for things that are alike do easily mingle with one another; but the mixture that is betwixt bodies, be they never so homogeneal, comes but to an external touch; for their parts can never run up into one another. But there is no such *ἀντιτυπία*, or 'resistance,' amongst spiritual beings; and we are estranged from God *οὐ τόπῳ ἀλλ' ἑτερότητι καὶ διαφορᾷ*, 'not by distance of place, but by difference and diversity of nature,' and when that is removed, He becomes present to us, and we to Him: *ὥστε ἐφαρμόσαι*[l] *καὶ οἷον ἐφάψασθαι καὶ θίγειν αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητι κ.τ.λ.*, like the *magnitudines congruæ* in the mathematics, *quando prima primis, media mediis, extrema extremis, partes denique partibus usquequaque respondent*, 'each of whose parts do exactly answer one to the other.' This therefore is the soul's progress from that state of 'purgation' to 'illumination,' and so to 'union[m].' There are several faculties in the soul of man, that are conformed to several kinds of objects; and according to that life a man is awaked into, so these faculties do exert themselves: and

[j] [John xvii. 24.]
[k] [Apoc. iii. 12; vii. 15.]
[l] [Read *ἐναρμόσαι*. Plotin. vi. 9. 7.]
[m] [See p. 125 above; vol. ii. p. 137; ix. 275.]

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though whilst we live barely an animal life, we converse with little more than this outward world, and the objects of our senses; yet there are faculties within us that are receptive of God, and when we arrive once unto a due measure of purity of spirit, the rays of heavenly light will as certainly shine into our minds, as the beams of the sun, when it arises above the horizon, do illuminate the clear and pellucid air: and from this sight and illumination the soul proceeds to an intimate union with God, and to a 'taste' and 'touch' of Him. This is that ἡσυχος πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπαφὴ[n], that 'silent touch' with God, that fills the soul with unexpressible joy and triumph. For if the objects of this outward world that strike upon our senses do so hugely please and delight us; what infinite pleasure then must there needs be in those touches and impresses that the divine love and goodness shall make upon our souls? But these are things that we may talk of, as we would do of a sixth sense, or something we have no distinct notion or idea of; but the perfect understanding of them belongs only to the future state of 'comprehension.'

8. Lastly, we shall have our knowledge, and our love, which are the most perfect and beatifying acts of our minds, employed about their noblest objects in their most exalted measures. For a man to resolve himself in some knotty question, or answer some stubborn argument, or find out some noble conclusion, or solve some hard problem, what ineffable pleasure does it create many times to a contemplative mind? We know who sacrificed a hecatomb[o] for one mathematical demonstration; and another[p] that upon the like occasion cried out, εὕρηκα, εὕρηκα, in a kind of rapture. To have the secrets of nature disclosed, and the mysteries of art revealed, but above all, the riddles of providence unfolded, are such jewels as I know many searching and inquisitive spirits would be willing to purchase at any rate. When we come to heaven,—I will not say we shall see all things in the mirror of divinity, for that it may be is an extravagancy of the schools; nor that any one true proposition through the concatenation of truth, will then multiply itself into the explicit knowledge of all conclusions whatsoever, for I believe that a fancy too;—but our knowledge shall be strangely enlarged, and, for aught I can determine, be for ever receiving new additions, and fresh accruments. The clue of divine providence will then be unravelled, and all those difficulties which now perplex us will be easily assoiled, and we shall then perceive that the wisdom and goodness of God is a vast and comprehensive thing, and moves in a far larger sphere than we are aware of in this state of narrowness and imperfection. But there is something greater and beyond all this; and S. John[q] has a strange expression, that 'we

[n] [John Smith, Disc. ix. 'The Excellency' &c. ch. 5; probably from Plotinus.]

[o] [Pythagoras, teste Apollodoro ap. Diog. Laert. viii. 11.]

[p] [Archimedes, teste Vitruvio, ix. 3.]

[q] [1 John iii. 2.]

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shall then see God even as He is;' and God, we know, is the well-spring of perfection and happiness, the fountain and original of all beauty; He is infinitely glorious, and lovely, and excellent; and if we see Him as He is, all His glory must descend into us and become ours: for we can no otherways see God (as I said before) but by becoming deiform, by being changed into the same glory. But love, that is it which makes us most happy, and by that we are most intimately conjoined unto God, "For he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him[r]:" and how pleasant beyond all imagination must it needs be, to have the soul melted into a flame of love, and that fire fed and nourished by the enjoyment of its beloved; to be transported into ecstasies and raptures of love; to be swallowed up in the embraces of eternal sweetness; to be lost in the source and fountain of happiness and bliss, like a spark in the fire, or a beam in the sun, or drop in the ocean.

It may be you will tell me I have been all this while confuting my text, and giving you a relation of that which S. John tells us 'does not yet appear what it is:' but my design has been the same with the holy evangelist's; and that is, to represent unto you how transcendently great that state of happiness must needs be; when as, by what way we are able to apprehend of it, it is infinitely the object of our desires; and yet we are assured by those that are best able to tell, that the best and greatest part of the country is yet undiscovered, and that we cannot so much as guess at the pleasure of it, till we come to enjoy it. And indeed it is impossible it should be otherwise; for happiness being a matter of sense, all the words in the world cannot convey the notion of it into our minds, and it is only to be understood by them that feel it; *μὴ κατὰ ἐπιστήμην ἡ σύνεσις ἐκείνου, μηδὲ κατὰ νόησιν, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα νοητὰ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ παρουσίαν ἐπιστήμης κρείττονα.*

But though it does not yet appear what we shall be; yet so much already appears of it, that it cannot but seem the most worthy object of our endeavours and desires; and by some few clusters that have been shewn us of this good land, we may guess what pleasant and delightful fruit it bears. And if we have but any reverence of ourselves, and will but consider the dignity of our natures, and the vastness of that happiness we are capable of; methinks we should be always travelling towards that heavenly country, though our way lies through a wilderness: and be striving for this great prize and immortal crown; and be clearing our eyes, and purging our sight, that we may come to this vision of God; shaking off all fond passions, and dirty desires, and breathing forth our souls in such aspirations as these;—

"My soul thirsteth for Thee, O Lord, in a dry and barren land, where no water is; oh that Thou wouldst distill, and drop down the dew of Thy heavenly grace into all its secret chinks and pores!

[r] [1 John iv. 16.]

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One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, and behold His glory: for a day in Thy courts is better than a thousand, and I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord, than dwell in the tents of wickedness.

All the kings of the earth, they are Thy tributaries; the kings of Tarshish and of the isles bring presents unto Thee, the kings of Sheba and Seba offer gifts. Oh that we could but pay Thee that which is so due unto Thee, the tribute of our hearts!

The heathen are come into Thine inheritance; Thy holy temple have they defiled: help us, O God of our salvation, and deliver us, and purge away our sins from us, for Thy name's sake! Oh that the Lord whom we seek would come to His own house, and give peace there, and fill it with His glory! Come and cleanse Thine own temple, for we have made it a den of thieves, which should have been a house of prayer! Oh that we might never give sleep to our eyes, nor slumber to our eye-lids, till we have prepared a house for the Lord, and a tabernacle for the God of Jacob!

The curse of Cain it is fallen upon us, and we are as vagabonds in the earth, and wander from one creature to another. Oh that our souls might come at last to dwell in God, our fixed and eternal habitation! We, like silly doves, fly up and down the earth, but can find no rest for the sole of our feet; oh that, after all our weariness and our wanderings, we might return into the ark; and that God would put forth His hand and take us, and pull us in unto Himself!

We have too long lived upon vanity and emptiness, the wind and the whirlwind; oh that we may now begin to feed upon substance, and delight ourselves in marrow and fatness! Oh that God would strike our rocky hearts, that there might spring up a fountain in the wilderness, and pools in the desert; that we might drink of that water, whereof whosoever drinks shall never thirst more! that God would give us that portion of goods that falleth to us, not to waste it with riotous living, but therewith to feed our languishing souls, lest they be weary and faint by the way! We ask not the children's bread, but the crumbs that fall from Thy table; that our baskets may be filled with Thy fragments: for they will be better than wine, and sweeter than the honey and the honeycomb, and more pleasant to us than a feast of fat things.

We have wandered too long in a barren and howling desert, where wild beasts and doleful creatures, owls and bats, satyrs and dragons, keep their haunts; oh that we might be fed in green pastures, and led by the still waters; that the winter might be past, and the rain over and gone; that the flowers may appear on the earth, and the time of the singing of birds may come, and the voice of the turtle may be heard in our land!

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We have lived too long in Sodom, which is the place that God at last will destroy: oh that we might arise and be gone; and while we are lingering, that the angels of God would lay hold upon our hands, and be merciful unto us, and bring us forth, and set us without the city; and that we may never look back any more, but may escape unto the mountain, and dwell safe in the Rock of ages!—Wisdom hath killed her beasts, she hath mingled her wine, and furnished her table; oh that we might eat of her meat, and drink of her wine which she hath mingled! God knocks at the doors of our hearts; oh let us open unto Him those everlasting gates, that He may sup with us, and we with Him; for He will bring His cheer along with Him, and will feast us with manna and angels' food. Oh that the Sun of righteousness might arise and melt the iciness of our hearts; that God would send forth His spirit, and with His warmth and heat dissolve our frozen souls; that God would breathe into our minds those still and gentle gales of divine inspirations, that may blow up and increase in us the flames of heavenly love; that we may be a whole burnt-offering, and all the substance of our souls be consumed by fire from heaven, and ascend up in clouds of incense; that, as so many sparks, we might be always mounting upward, till we return again into our proper elements; that, like so many particular rivulets, we may be continually making toward the sea, and never rest till we lose ourselves in that ocean of goodness, from whence we first came; that we may open our mouths wide, that God may satisfy them; that we may so perfectly discharge ourselves of all strange desires and passions, that our souls may be nothing else but a deep emptiness and vast capacity to be filled with all the fulness of God!"

Let but these be the breathings of our spirits, and this divine magnetism will most certainly draw down God into our souls, and we shall have some prelibations of that happiness; some small glimpses and little discoveries whereof, is all that belongs to this state of mortality.

I have as yet done but the half of my text: and I have another text yet to preach upon, and a very large and copious one; the great person whose obsequies we here come to celebrate. His fame is so great throughout the world, that he stands in no need of an encomium; and yet his worth is much greater than his fame. It is impossible not to speak great things of him, and yet it is impossible to speak what he deserves; and the meanness of an oration will but sully the brightness of his excellencies: but custom requires that something should be said, and it is a duty and a debt that we owe only unto his memory: and I hope his great soul, if it hath any knowledge of what is done here below, will not be offended at the smallness of our offering.

He was born at Cambridge, and brought up in the free-school there,

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and was ripe for the university before custom would allow of his admittance; but by that time he was thirteen years old[s] he was entered into Caius college; and as soon as he was graduate he was chosen fellow[t]. Had he lived amongst the ancient pagans he had been ushered into the world with a miracle, and swans must have danced and sung at his birth; and he must have been a great hero, and no less than the son of Apollo, the god of wisdom and eloquence.

He was a man long before he was of age: and knew little more of the state of childhood than its innocency and pleasantness. From the university, by that time he was master of arts, he removed to London, and became public lecturer in the church of S. Paul's; where he preached to the admiration and astonishment of his auditory; and by his florid and youthful beauty, and sweet and pleasant air, and sublime and raised discourses, he made his hearers take him for some young angel, newly descended from the visions of glory. The fame of this new star, that out-shone all the rest of the firmament, quickly came to the notice of the great archbishop of Canterbury, who would needs have him preach before him; which he performed not less to his wonder than satisfaction; his discourse was beyond exception, and beyond imitation: yet the wise prelate thought him too young; but the great youth humbly begged his grace 'to pardon that fault,' and promised 'if he lived he would mend it.' However, the grand patron of learning and ingenuity thought it for the advantage of the world, that such mighty parts should be afforded better opportunities of study and improvement than a course of constant preaching would allow of; and to that purpose he placed him in his own college of All Souls in Oxford[u], where love and admiration still waited upon him: which so long as there is any spark of ingenuity in the breasts of men, must needs be the inseparable attendants of so extraordinary a worth and sweetness. He had not been long here, afore my lord of Canterbury bestowed upon him the rectory of Uphingham in Rutlandshire, and soon after preferred him to be chaplain to king Charles the martyr of blessed and immortal memory. Thus were preferments heaped upon him, but still less than his deserts; and that not through the fault of his great masters, but because the amplest honours and rewards were poor and inconsiderable, compared with the greatness of his worth and merit.

This great man had no sooner launched into the world, but a fearful tempest arose, and a barbarous and unnatural war disturbed a long and uninterrupted peace and tranquillity, and brought all things into disorder and confusion; but his religion taught him to be loyal, and engaged him on his prince's side, whose cause and quarrel he always owned and maintained with a great courage and constancy, till at last he and his little fortune were shipwrecked[v] in that great hurricane that overturned both church and state: this fatal storm cast him ashore in

[s] [But see note to p. xiii. above.]
[t] [See p. xvi. above.]
[u] [But see p. xvii. above.]
[v] [cf. vol. v. p. 341.]

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a private corner of the world, and a tender providence shrouded him under her wings, and the prophet was fed in the wilderness; and his great worthiness procured him friends, that supplied him with bread and necessaries. In this solitude he began to write those excellent discourses, which are enough of themselves to furnish a library, and will be famous to all succeeding generations, for their greatness of wit, and profoundness of judgment, and richness of fancy, and clearness of expression, and copiousness of invention, and general usefulness to all the purposes of a Christian: and by these he soon got a great reputation among all persons of judgment and indifferency, and his name will grow greater still as the world grows better and wiser.

When he had spent some years in this retirement, it pleased God to visit his family with sickness, and to take to Himself the dear pledges of His favour, three sons of great hopes and expectations, within the space of two or three months: and though he had learned a quiet submission unto the divine will, yet the affliction touched him so sensibly that it made him desirous to leave the country; and going to London, he there met my lord Conway, a person of great honour and generosity; who making him a kind proffer, the good man embraced it, and that brought him over into Ireland, and settled him at Portmore, a place made for study and contemplation, which he therefore dearly loved; and here he wrote his 'Cases of Conscience:' a book that is able alone to give its author immortality.

By this time the wheel of providence brought about the king's happy restoration, and there began a new world, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, and out of a confused chaos brought forth beauty and order, and all the three nations were inspired with a new life, and became drunk with an excess of joy: among the rest, this loyal subject went over to congratulate the prince and people's happiness, and bear a part in the universal triumph.

It was not long ere his sacred majesty began the settlement of the church, and the great doctor Jeremy Taylor was resolved upon for the bishopric of Down and Connor; and not long after, Dromore was added to it: and it was but reasonable that the king and church should consider their champion, and reward the pains and sufferings he underwent in the defence of their cause and honour. With what care and faithfulness he discharged his office, we are all his witnesses; what good rules and directions he gave his clergy, and how he taught us the practice of them by his own example. Upon his coming over bishop, he was made a privy-councillor; and the university of Dublin[x] gave him their testimony, by recommending him for their vice-chancellor: which honourable office he kept to his dying day.

During his being in this see he wrote several excellent discourses, particularly his 'Dissuasive from Popery,' which was received by a general approbation; and a vindication of it (now in the press) from some impertinent cavillers, that pretend to answer books, when there

[x] [But see p. xciii. above.]

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is nothing towards it more than the very title-page. This great prelate improved his talent with a mighty industry, and managed his stewardship rarely well; and his Master, when He called for his accounts, found him busy and at his work, and employed upon an excellent subject, a 'Discourse upon the Beatitudes;' which if finished would have been of great use to the world, and solved most of the cases of conscience that occur to a Christian in all the varieties of states and conditions. But the all-wise God hath ordained it otherwise, and hath called home His good servant, to give him a portion in that blessedness that Jesus Christ hath promised to all His faithful disciples and followers.

Thus having given you a brief account of his life, I know you will now expect a character of his person; but I foresee it will befall him, as it does all glorious subjects that are but disparaged by a commendation. One thing I am secure of, that I shall not be thought to speak hyperboles; for the subject can hardly be reached by any expressions: for he was none of God's ordinary works, but his endowments were so many, and so great, as really made him a miracle.

Nature had befriended him much in his constitution; for he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humour, of great candour and ingenuity; and there was so much of salt and fineness of wit, and prettiness of address, in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon. His soul was made up of harmony, and he never spake but he charmed his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reason, but all his words, and his very tone and cadencies, were strangely musical.

But that which did most of all captivate and enravish was the gaiety and richness of fancy; for he had much in him of that natural enthusiasm that inspires all great poets and orators; and there was a generous ferment in his blood and spirits that set his fancy bravely a work, and made it swell, and teem, and become pregnant to such degrees of luxuriancy, as nothing but the greatness of his wit and judgment could have kept it within due bounds and measures.

And indeed it was a rare mixture, and a single instance, hardly to be found in an age: for the great trier of wits has told us, that there is a peculiar and several complexion required for wit, and judgment, and fancy; and yet you might have found all these in this great personage, in their eminency and perfection. But that which made his wit and judgment so considerable, was the largeness and freedom of his spirit, for truth is plain and easy to a mind disintangled from superstition and prejudice; he was one of the ἐκλεκτικοὶ, a sort of brave philosophers that Laertius[7] speaks of, that did not addict themselves to any particular sect, but ingeniously sought for truth among all the wrangling schools; and they found her miserably torn and rent to

[7] [Procem. xiv.]

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pieces, and parcelled into rags, by the several contending parties, and so disfigured and misshapen that it was hard to know her; but they made a shift to gather up her scattered limbs, which, as soon as they came together, by a strange sympathy and connaturalness presently united into a lovely and beautiful body. This was the spirit of this great man; he weighed men's reasons, and not their names, and was not scared with the ugly visors men usually put upon persons they hate, and opinions they dislike; not affrighted with the anathemas and execrations of an infallible chair, which he looked upon only as bug-bears to terrify weak and childish minds. He considered, that it is not likely any one party should wholly engross truth to themselves; that obedience is the only way to true knowledge; (which is an argument that he has managed rarely well in that excellent sermon of his which he calls *Via intelligentiæ;*) that God always, and only, teaches docible and ingenuous minds, that are willing to hear, and ready to obey according to their light; that it is impossible a pure, humble, resigned, godlike soul, should be kept out of heaven, whatever mistakes it might be subject to in this state of mortality; that the design of heaven is not to fill men's heads, and feed their curiosities, but to better their hearts, and mend their lives. Such considerations as these made him impartial in his disquisitions, and give a due allowance to the reasons of his adversary[s], and contend for truth and not for victory.

And now you will easily believe that an ordinary diligence would be able to make great improvements upon such a stock of parts and endowments; but to these advantages of nature, and excellency of his spirit, he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction: for there were very few kinds of learning but he was a *mystes* and a great master in them. He was a rare humanist, and hugely versed in all the polite parts of learning; and had throughly concocted all the ancient moralists, Greek and Roman, poets and orators; and was not unacquainted with the refined wits of the later ages, whether French or Italian.

But he had not only the accomplishments of a gentleman, but so universal were his parts that they were proportioned to every thing; and though his spirit and humour were made up of smoothness and gentleness, yet he could bear with the harshness and roughness of the schools; and was not unseen in their subtilties and spinosities, and upon occasion could make them serve his purpose; and yet I believe he thought many of them very near a-kin to the famous knight of the Mancha, and would make sport sometimes with the romantic sophistry and fantastic adventures of school-errantry. His skill was great, both in the civil and canon law, and casuistical divinity; and he was a rare conductor of souls, and knew how to counsel and to advise; to solve difficulties, and determine cases, and quiet consciences. And

[s] [Contrast the character given of Taylor in his early life, by Chillingworth, p. ccliii. above.]

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he was no novice in Mr. I. S.[a] new science of controversy; but could manage an argument and repartees with a strange dexterity; he understood what the several parties in christendom have to say for themselves, and could plead their cause to better advantage than any advocate of their tribe: and when he had done, he could confute them too; and shew that better arguments than ever they could produce for themselves, would afford no sufficient ground for their fond opinions.

It would be too great a task to pursue his accomplishments through the various kinds of literature: I shall content myself to add only his great acquaintance with the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and the doctors of the first and purest ages both of the Greek and Latin church; which he has made use of against the Romanist, to vindicate the church of England from the challenge of innovation, and prove her to be truly ancient, catholic, and apostolical.

But religion and virtue is the crown of all other accomplishments; and it was the glory of this great man to be thought a Christian, and whatever you added to it, he looked upon as a term of diminution: and yet he was a zealous son of the church of England, but that was because he judged her (and with great reason) a church the most purely christian of any in the world. In his younger years he met with some assaults from popery, and the high pretensions of their religious orders were very accommodate to his devotional temper: but he was always so much master of himself that he would never be governed by any thing but reason, and the evidence of truth, which engaged him in the study of those controversies; and to how good purpose, the world is by this time a sufficient witness: but the longer and the more he considered, the worse he liked the Roman cause, and became at last to censure them with some severity; but I confess I have so great an opinion of his judgment, and the charitableness of his spirit, that I am afraid he did not think worse of them than they deserve.

But religion is not a matter of theory and orthodox notions; and it is not enough to believe aright, but we must practise accordingly; and to master our passions, and to make a right use of that *αὐτεξούσιον* and power that God has given us over our own actions, is a greater glory than all other accomplishments that can adorn the mind of man; and therefore I shall close my character of this great personage with a touch upon some of those virtues for which his memory will be precious to all posterity. He was a person of great humility; and notwithstanding his stupendous parts, and learning, and eminency of place, he had nothing in him of pride and humour, but was courteous and affable, and of easy access, and would lend a ready ear to the complaints, yea to the impertinencies, of the meanest persons. His humility was coupled with an extraordinary piety, and I believe he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven; his solemn hours of prayer

[a] [See vol. vi. pp. 285, 9; and Life of Taylor, p. lxxii.]

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took up a considerable portion of his life; and we are not to doubt but he had learned of S. Paul to pray continually, and that occasional ejaculations, and frequent aspirations and emigrations of his soul after God, made up the best part of his devotions. But he was not only a good man God-ward, but he was come to the top of S. Peter's gradation, and to all his other virtues added a large and diffusive charity: and whoever compares his plentiful incomes with the inconsiderable estate he left at his death, will be easily convinced that charity was steward for a great proportion of his revenue. But the hungry that he fed, and the naked that he clothed, and the distressed that he supplied, and the fatherless that he provided for; the poor children that he put to apprentice, and brought up at school, and maintained at the university; will now sound a trumpet to that charity which he dispersed with his right hand, but would not suffer his left hand to have any knowledge of it.

To sum up all in a few words;—This great prelate he had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a school-man, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor[b], the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint. He had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for an university, and wit enough for a college of *virtuosi;* and had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his poor clergy that he left behind him, it would perhaps have made one of the best dioceses in the world. But alas, 'Our father, our father, the horses of our Israel, and the chariot thereof!' he is gone, and has carried his mantle and his spirit along with him up to heaven; and the sons of the prophets have lost all their beauty and lustre which they enjoyed only from the reflexion of his excellencies, which were bright and radiant enough to cast a glory upon a whole order of men. But the sun of this our world, after many attempts to break through the crust of an earthly body, is at last swallowed up in the great *vortex* of eternity, and there all his *maculæ* are scattered and dissolved, and he is fixed in an orb of glory, and shines among his brethren-stars, that in their several ages gave light to the world, and turned many souls unto righteousness; and we that are left behind, though we can never reach his perfections, must study to imitate his virtues, that we may at last come to sit at his feet in the mansions of glory; which God grant for His infinite mercies in Jesus Christ: to whom, with the Father, through the eternal Spirit, be ascribed all honour and glory, worship and thanksgiving, love and obedience, now and for evermore. Amen.

[b] [sic ed.]

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P. xxxi....—"Milton, who is said to have always admired Taylor, and whose zeal for toleration was as unlimited and as consistent as Taylor's was"...

Compare Coleridge's parallel between Milton and Taylor, in his 'Apologetic preface' to 'Fire, Famine, and Slaughter;'—

"If ever two great men might seem, during their whole lives, to have moved in direct opposition, though neither of them has at any time introduced the name of the other, Milton and Jeremy Taylor were they. The former commenced his career by attacking the Church-liturgy and all set forms of prayer. The latter, but far more successfully, by defending both. Milton's next work was then against the prelacy and the then existing Church-government—Taylor's in vindication and support of them. Milton became more and more a stern republican, or rather an advocate for that religious and moral aristocracy which, in his day, was called republicanism, and which, even more than royalism itself, is the direct antipode of modern jacobinism. Taylor, as more and more sceptical concerning the fitness of men in general for power, became more and more attached to the prerogatives of monarchy. From Calvinism, with a still decreasing respect for fathers, councils, and for church-antiquity in general, Milton seems to have ended in an indifference, if not a dislike, to all forms of ecclesiastic government, and to have retreated wholly into the inward and spiritual church-communion of his own spirit with the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Taylor, with a growing reverence for authority, an increasing sense of the insufficiency of the scriptures without the aids of tradition and the consent of authorised interpreters, advanced as far in his approaches (not indeed to popery, but) to Roman-catholicism, as a conscientious minister of the English church could well venture. Milton would be, and would utter the same, to all, on all occasions: he would tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Taylor would become all things to all men, if by any means he might benefit any; hence he availed himself, in his popular writings, of opinions and representations which stand often in striking contrast with the doubts and convictions expressed in his more philosophical works. He appears, indeed, not too severely to have blamed that management of truth (*istam falsitatem dispensativam*) authorised and exemplified by almost all the fathers: *Integrum omnino doctoribus et cœtus christiani antistitibus esse, ut dolos versent, falsa veris intermisceant et imprimis religionis hostes fallant, dummodo veritatis commodis et utilitati inserviant.*

The same antithesis might be carried on with the elements of their several intellectual powers. Milton, austere, condensed, imaginative, supporting his truth by direct enunciation of lofty moral sentiment and by distinct visual representations, and in the same spirit overwhelming what he deemed falsehood by moral denunciation and a succession of pictures appalling or repulsive. In his prose, so many metaphors, so many allegorical miniatures. Taylor, eminently discursive, accumulative, and (to use one of his own words) agglomerative; still more rich in images than Milton himself, but images of fancy, and presented to the common and passive eye, rather than to the eye of the imagination. Whether supporting or assailing, he makes his way either by argument or by appeals to the affections, unsurpassed even by the schoolmen in subtlety, agility, and logic wit, and unrivalled by the most rhetorical of the fathers in the copiousness and vividness of his expressions and illustrations. Here

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words that convey feelings, and words that flash images, and words of abstract notion, flow together, and whirl and rush onward like a stream, at once rapid and full of eddies; and yet still interfused here and there, we see a tongue or islet of smooth water, with some picture in it of earth or sky, landscape or living group of quiet beauty.

Differing, then, so widely, and almost contrariantly, wherein did these great men agree? wherein did they resemble each other? In genius, in learning, in unfeigned piety, in blameless purity of life, and in benevolent aspirations and purposes for the moral and temporal improvement of their fellow-creatures! Both of them wrote a Latin accidence, to render education less painful to children; both of them composed hymns and psalms proportioned to the capacity of common congregations; both, nearly at the same time, set the glorious example of publicly recommending and supporting general toleration, and the liberty both of the pulpit and the press! In the writings of neither shall we find a single sentence, like those meek deliverances to God's mercy, with which Laud accompanied his votes for the mutilations and loathsome dungeoning of Leighton and others!—no where such a pious prayer as we find in bishop Hall's *memoranda* of his own life, concerning the subtle and witty atheist that so grievously perplexed and gravelled him at sir Robert Drury's till he prayed to the Lord to remove him, and behold! his prayers were heard: for shortly afterward this Philistine-combatant went to London, and there perished of the plague in great misery! In short, no where shall we find the least approach, in the lives and writings of John Milton or Jeremy Taylor, to that guarded gentleness, to that sighing reluctance, with which the holy brethren of the inquisition deliver over a condemned heretic to the civil magistrate, recommending him to mercy, and hoping that the magistrate will treat the erring brother with all possible mildness!—the magistrate, who too well knows what would be his own fate, if he dared to offend them by acting on their recommendation."

The Editor did not observe, till the above passage had been stereotyped, that it had been noticed by Mr. Willmott also.]

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* N.B. The Indexes answer to the latest issue of these volumes, (viz. of 1864,) in which a few trifling corrections have been introduced. —Ed.

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